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AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

	PAGE
D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. :—	
No. 18. Alas plates of the Yuvarāja Gōvinda II. ; Śaka-Saṃvat 692	208
„ 28. Plates of Dantivarman of Gujarāt ; Śaka-Saṃvat 789	235
J. F. FLEET, PH.D., C.I.E. (Indian Civil Service, retired) :—	
No. 6. Three Western Gaṅga records in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore	40
„ 11. Nilgund inscription of the time of Amōghavarsha I. ; A.D. 866	98
„ 16. Some records of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings of Mālkhēḍ	160
„ 24. Three inscriptions in the Dhārwar district	251
K. HULTZSCH, PH.D. :—	
No. 8. Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman	84
„ 14. Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja ; Gupta-Saṃvat 300	143
„ 15. Two pillar inscriptions at Amarāvati	146
„ 20. Bhīmavaram inscription of Kulōttuṅga I. ; Śaka-Saṃvat 1037	219
„ 21. Two inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla	223
„ 26. Tsandavōlu inscription of Buddharāja ; Śaka-Saṃvat 1093	268
„ 31. Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman	315
„ 32. Two cave inscriptions at Śiyamaṅgalam	319
„ 33. Raṅganātha inscription of Goppara ; Śaka-Saṃvat 1293	322
„ 34. Two inscriptions of Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷ	331
„ 35. Tēki plates of Rājārāja-Chōḷagaṅga ; dated in the seventeenth year (of Kulōttuṅga I.)	334
PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, PH.D., D. LITT., LL.D., C.I.E. :—	
No. 1. Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II. ; Śaka-Saṃvat 550	1
„ 2. Two Kadamba grants	12
Nos. 3 and 27. Dates of Chōla kings (<i>continued</i>)	20 and 278
No. 4. Konnūr spurious inscription of Amōghavarsha I. , Śaka-Saṃvat 782	25
„ 5. Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāya ; Śaka-Saṃvat 1157	85
„ 7. The date of the Kōṭṭayam (Syrian Christians') plate of Vīra-Rāghava	83
„ 13. Two grants of Dandimahādēvi	133
„ 17. Two Bhuvanēśvar inscriptions	198
„ 23. Rādhapur plates of Gōvinda III. ; Śaka-Saṃvat 730	239
„ 29. Sarsavni plates of Buddharāja ; [Kalachuri-]Saṃvat 361	294
„ 30. Dates of Pāṇḍya kings	301
REV. F. KITTEL, PH.D. :—	
No. 19. Bejatūru inscription of the time of Rājēndradēva ; Śaka-Saṃvat 979	213
H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A. :—	
No. 25. Śrīkūrmam inscription of Naraharitirtha ; Śaka-Saṃvat 1203	260
H. LÜDERS, PH.D. :—	
No. 10. Gadag inscription of Vīra-Ballāla II. ; Śaka-Saṃvat 1114	89
„ 12. Two pillar inscriptions of the time of Kṛishnarāja of Vijayanagara	108
„ 22. Koṇḍavīḍu pillar inscription of the time of Kṛishnarāja of Vijayanagara ; Śaka-Saṃvat 1442	230
FATHER VARTAN MELCHISEDECH, OF THE MECHITHARIST CONGREGATION, VIENNA :—	
No. 9. The Armenian epitaph at the Little Mount near Madras	89
V. VENKAYYA, M.A. :—	
No. 36. Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, dated in the eighth year	347
INDEX	363

LIST OF PLATES.

1. Aihole inscription of Pulakéśin II. ; A.D. 634-35	to face page 6
2. Kādgere plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman	between pages 14 & 18
3. Bannahalli plates of Kṛṣṇavarman II.	" " 18 & 19
4. Doddahundi stone	to face page 41
5. Bēḡḡr stone	" " 46
6. Bēḡḡr inscription and Doddahundi inscription	" " 48
7. Ātakṛ stone	" " 50
8. Ātakṛ inscription of Kṛṣṇa III. and Bātuga II. ; A.D. 949-50	" " 54
9. Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman.— Plate i.	between pages 84 & 85
10. " " " " ii.	" " 86 & 87
11. " " " " iii.	to face page 88
12. Armenian epitaph at the Little Mount near Madras	" " 89
13. Nīlgund inscription of Amōghavarsha I.; A.D. 866	" " 102
14. Gañjām plate of Dapdīmahādēvi ; the year 180	between pages 138 & 139
15. Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja ; Gupta-Saṁvat 300	" " 144 & 145
16. Hattī-Mattūr inscription and Naregal inscription	to face page 162
17. Lakṣmīśvar inscription of the time of Śrīvallabha	" " 166
18. Bhuvanēśvar inscription of Svapnēśvara	" " 202
19. Alās plates of the Yuvarāja Gōvinda II. ; Śaka-Saṁvat 693	between pages 210 & 211
20. Beḷatūru inscription of Rājēndradēva ; Śaka-Saṁvat 979	to face page 216
21. Chēbrōlu inscription of Vikrama-Chōla ; Śaka-Saṁvat 1049	" " 226
22. Śevilimēdu inscription of Vikrama-Chōla ; the sixteenth year	" " 228
23. Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III. ; Śaka-Saṁvat 730	between pages 244 & 245
24. Inscriptions at Dīdgūr, Guḍigere and Mulgund	to face page 253
25. Piṭhāpuram pillar inscriptions	between pages 270 & 271
26. Plates of Dantivarman of Gujarāt.— Plate i.	" " 290 & 291
27. " " " " ii.	to face page 294
28. Sarasvṇī plates of Buddhārāja ; [Kalachuri-]Saṁvat 361	between pages 298 & 299
29. Koḍḡamudi plates of Jayavarman.— Plate i.	" " 316 & 317
30. " " " " ii.	" " 318 & 319
31. Śīyamāṅgalam cave inscriptions	to face page 320
32. Ṭēki plates of Rājārāja-Chōḍagaṅga.— Plate i.	between pages 338 & 339
33. " " " " ii.	" " 342 & 343
34. Rapaṭipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya.— Plate i.	" " 354 & 355
35. " " " " ii.	to face page 358

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

A.—VOLUME V.

- Page 16, text lines 12, 13.—Professor Kielhorn has told me that, in line 41 of the Kauṭhēm plates of A.D. 1009 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 23), he takes what I have presented as *Karkara-rana-stambhau*, “the two pillars of war of Karkara,” as meaning “*Karkara* and *Ranastambha*,” and that he would interpret in a similar way the passage, specified above, in the Managōḷi inscription of A.D. 1161. This latter passage, indeed, when considered apart from the bias created by my previous rendering of the other passage, makes the point quite certain. And, in the abstract of contents (p. 20, lines 5, 6 from the bottom), there should be read “annihilated king *Kakkara* and king *Ranakambha*, the sun and moon in the *Rāshtrakūṭa* sky.”—It is due to Mr. Wathen, who brought to notice the Miraj plates of A.D. 1024 which include the verse given in the Kauṭhēm record, to add that the translation put forward by him presents “*Karkara* and *Ranastambha*, rājās both of the *Rāshtra-kūṭa* race;” see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. III. p. 269.—The idea naturally occurs, to take *Ranastambha* as a northern kinsman and ally of *Kakka* II., and to connect him with the Jaipur territory in Rājputāna, in which there is the fortress of ‘*Ranthambhor*,’ = *Ranastambhapura*,—the ‘*Rintimbore* or *Rantamboor*’ of Thornton’s *Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV. (1854), p. 320.—J. F. F.
- „ 21, line 18,—for of the race of *Vājins*, read of the *Vājivamśa*; and cancel note 2. As has been brought to my notice by Professor Kielhorn, the *Vājivamśa* is mentioned elsewhere, and the Jain *Hulla* or *Hullapa*, a minister of the Hoysala prince *Narasimha* I., belonged to it; see, for instance, *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* Introd. pp. 52, 54.—J. F. F.
- „ 71, line 13 from bottom,—for summer-solstice, read winter-solstice.
- „ 77, line 8,—for °नाक[नति°], read °नाक[नत°].
- „ 96, „ 12,—for summer solstice, read winter-solstice.
- „ 150, line 9.—Mr. Krishna Sastri corrects *jagaḍavāḍu* into *jāgaṭavāḍu*, which would be the same as *jayaghaṭavāḍu*, ‘one who strikes the gong;’ compare *jāgaṃṣa* or *jēgaṃṣa* in Brown’s *Telugu Dictionary*, and *jāgaṭe* or *jēgaṭe* in Kittel’s *Kannada Dictionary*.
- „ 168, line 7,—for Bellary, read Anantapur.
- „ 201, paragraph 3.—The identification, which I put forward in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 378, of *Bhaṇḍāragaviṭṭage* with ‘*Kowteh*,’ a small village six miles south-west-by-west from *Shōlāpur*, on a stream (the ‘*Adeela Nulla*’) which flows into the *Sinā*, which again flows into the *Bhīmā*, is wrong. I cannot recall the circumstances in which I made the mistake, or the book and map which I then consulted. But it is clear, now, that *Bhaṇḍāragaviṭṭage* is the modern ‘*Bhundarkowteh*’ of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), on the north bank of the *Bhīmā* itself, in lat. 17° 27', long. 75° 44', about twenty miles south-west from *Shōlāpur*.—J. F. F.

B.—VOLUME VI.

- Page 6, line 2,—for ānubhāv-, read ānubhāv-.
- „ 11, note 6,—for °sañchanna-, read °sañchanna-.
- „ 26, line 9 from bottom,—for *Sāmāgaḍ*, read *Sāmāgaḍ*.
- „ 27, line 9,—for *Kṛishnaraja* I., read *Kṛishnarāja* I.
- „ 53, note 7, line 6,—for *Maṇḍalikatriniṭra*, read *Maṇḍalikatriṇṭra*.

Page 57, note 9, line 3,— for Vol. V., read Vol. III.

„ 66, line 9,— for Nalambādhirāja, read Nalambādhirāja.

„ 67, note 4, line 3,— for -*Permmānaḍigal*-, read -*Permmānaḍigaḷ*-.

„ 68, „ 6, „ 2,— for Permanadi, read Permanadi.

„ 69, line 11,— for Kyātanahalli, read Kyātanahaḷli.

„ 70, „ 8,— for Kisukād, read Kisukād.

„ 83, „ 16,— for king, read kings.

„ 93, „ 7,— for Maḷapas, read Maḷapas.

„ 105, verse 1, and note 8.— Professor Kielhorn has now fully accounted for the description of Viṣṇu here as *Purāṇḍara-nandana*, “son of Indra;” see *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1900, p. 350 ff., where he has shewn that it may be traced back to the use of *Ākhaṇḍala-sānu*, in the *Kirātārjunīya*, i. 24, to denote primarily Arjuna, “the son of Indra,” and secondarily Viṣṇu, “the younger brother of Indra.” As he has said, in conclusion;—“If a poet like Bhāravi could use *Ākhaṇḍala-sānu* as a name of the god Viṣṇu, we cannot wonder that some petty poet should have employed its exact synonym *Purāṇḍara-nandana*, in just the same sense.”—J. F. F.

„ 110, note 7.— Mr. H. Krishna Sastri aptly identifies *Symamdary* with *Simhādri*, i.e. *Simhāchalam* in the Vizagapatam district; compare Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 27.

„ 111, line 7 f. from bottom.— Mr. H. Krishna Sastri states that Pāranandi Bhāskarāvadhānīn at Nellore possesses a complete copy of the *Chandrikā*, a commentary on Kṛiṣṇa-miśra's *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* by Nāḍiṇḍla-Gōpa, the sister's son of Sālva-Timma. The colophon of the first act reads as follows:—*Iti śrīmad-rājādhirāja-rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Virapratāpa-śrī-Kṛiṣṇarāja-mahārāja-sāmmrājya-dhurāṇḍhara-śrī-Sālva-Timmarāja-daṇḍanāyaka-bhāginēya-Nāḍiṇḍla-Gōpa-māmrīśēkhara-virachitāyām Prabōdhachandrōdaya-vyākhyāyām Chāndrik-ākhyāyām prathamō-mkāḥ ||*

„ 113, line 3 from bottom,— for Mōtupalle, read Mōtupalle.

„ 117, note 11.— *Vṛitrabhid-aśman* is synonymous with *indra-nīla*, ‘a sapphire.’

„ 128, „ 6, line 4,— for -Kṛiṣṇu, read -Kṛiṣṇa.

„ 131, verse 33, line 3 f.— Read: “If not, why (*dost thou*) whose emblem is the Garuda (*assume*) this (*ensign of the hawk*)?”

„ 132, verse 42,— for “whose deep compassion with heroes was,” read “whose heroism and compassion were.”

„ 135, line 20,— for *sāmvachchhaa*, read *sāmvachchhara*.

„ 157, text line 191,— for *सुवर*, read *सुवर*.

„ 169, the last line, and page 170, first line; and throughout subsequent references.—I have recently had occasion to look up Mr. H. H. Dhruva's article on the records of A.D. 915, in the *Jour. German Or. Soc.* Vol. XL. p. 322 ff. His introductory remarks shew that these two records were obtained at Bagumrā. And they ought, therefore, to be referred to as “the Bagumrā plates of A.D. 915,” and not by a title connecting them with Nausāri as their find-place. His remarks further shew that the seal of each of these two records presents, not only the god Śiva as stated by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 253, but also a *svastika* and a Gāṇapati and the legend *śrīman-Nityavarsha*.—J. F. F.

„ 169, note, line 14.— Cancel the words “while his own illustrious queen was prospering.” The correct translation of this passage is given in *South-Ind. Inschr.* Vol. II. p. 92.

„ 185, line 7 from bottom,— for -Bassappa read -Basappa.

„ „ note 14,— for 7, 8, read 6, 7.

„ 189, „ 1.— It might have been added here that *Ratnāvalōka* occurs as a *biruda* of the *Mahāśmānta* Bappuvarasa in the *Mahākūṭa* inscription of A.D. 934: see *Ind. Ant.*



67531

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME VI.

No. 1.—AIHOLE INSCRIPTION OF PULIKESIN II.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 556.

By F. KIELHÖRN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on the east side-wall of an old temple called Mēguṭi, at Aihole in the Hungund tāluḱa of the Bijāpur (formerly Kalādgi) district.¹ It was first edited, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 67 ff., and a revised version of the text and translation, with an improved photo-lithograph, has been given by the same scholar, *ibid.* Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff., and *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 129 ff. I re-edit the inscription at the suggestion of, and from an estampage supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet himself, who was anxious to publish the accompanying photo-lithograph which is the first true facsimile of this record. In common fairness I am bound to state that Dr. Fleet's edition, published more than twenty years ago, was an excellent piece of work, which has been of great assistance to me; and I would wish it to be understood that I consider any improvements in the reading or interpretation of the text which I may be able to offer, to be mainly due to the rapid advance of Indian epigraphy, brought about to no small extent by Dr. Fleet's own exertions.

The inscription contains 19 lines of writing, of which nearly the whole of line 18 and the short line 19 apparently are a later addition of little importance, which may be left out of consideration in these introductory remarks. The writing covers a space of about 4' 9½" broad by 2' ½" high; it is well engraved, and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is between ⅙" and ⅜". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are of the regular type of the characters of the Western Chalukya records of the period to which the inscription belongs. Of initial vowels, the text contains the signs for *a*, *ā*, *i* and *u*, and of the signs of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants, all excepting *q̣h*; but *chh*, *ṭh* and the rare *jḥ*² (in =*ōjjhati*, l. 7) occur only as subscript letters. The alphabet also includes the signs of the *jihvāmūlīya* (e.g. in *Ravikīrttiḥ=kavitā-* at the end of line 17), the *upadhmāniya* (e.g. in *yaḥ=prabhavaḥ=puruṣa-*, l. 1), and the Dravidian *ḷ* (e.g. in *Mālava-*, l. 11, and *puḷina-*,

¹ See *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains Bombay Pres.*, p. 183.

² It is strange that none of the published palæographic Tables should give a single instance of the southern form of *jḥ* from an inscription. The form of the subscript *jḥ* used in the present inscription is almost identical with the one employed in the first Cambodian inscription (in the word *ujjhita* in line 7, *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 13, and Plate), the alphabet of which in other respects essentially differs from that of the Western Chalukya inscriptions.

12); and of final *m* (e.g. in *ratnānām*, l. 1, and *suchiram*, l. 2), final *t* (e.g. in *prakarshāt*, l. 3), and final *n* (in *iv=ābhavan*, l. 11, and *dvijān*, l. 15). Besides we have the ordinary signs of punctuation, one or two vertical lines, but they are employed irregularly.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text is all in verse, the metres employed in the 37 verses being: the ordinary Ślōka, in vv. 20, 22, 27, 31, 33, 34 and 36; Anupachchhandasika, in vv. 9 and 26; Āryā, in vv. 1-4 and 7; Āryāgiti, in v. 37; Upajāti, in v. 6 and v. 19 (Indravajrā); Rathōddhatā, in v. 8; Vamśastha, in v. 12; Drutavilambita, in v. 10; Praharshinī, in v. 30; Vasantatilakā, in vv. 11, 14, 28 and 35; Mālīnī, in vv. 13, 15 and 23-25; Harinī, in v. 13; Mandākrāntā, in v. 17; Śārdūlavikrīḍita, in vv. 5, 29 and 32; Mattēbhavikrīḍita, in v. 18; and Sragdharā, in v. 16. So far as I am able to judge, the author has properly observed the metrical rules, and his choice of the metres in some instances, as when he uses the metre Sragdharā in v. 16, appears most appropriate.—The orthography calls for few remarks. *Visarga* has everywhere been changed to the *jihvāmūliya* before *k*, and to the *upadhmāniya* before *p*, and has been assimilated to a following sibilant. The final *m* of a word is at the end of a verse or half-verse always denoted by the special sign of the final *m*, except in *trayānām* at the end of verse 25; and in the interior of a Pāda before a consonant it is either changed to *anusvāra* or to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs (before *ch*, *chh* and *j* it is always changed to *ñ*). At the end of the first and third Pādas of a verse the rules of *saṁdhi* have occasionally not been observed, and they have once or twice been neglected in other places. The letter *ṇ* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *Jayasinhā*, l. 3; *v* instead of *b* in *vibhatsa*, l. 11, and *=valaiḥ*, l. 14; and *j* instead of *y* in *chirañ=jātaḥ* (for *chiraṁ yātaḥ*), l. 2. Before *r*, *k* is always doubled (e.g. in *parākkrama*, l. 5); and before *y*, *dh* is similarly treated in *ārāddhya*, l. 15. The Dravidian *ḷ* is used in the names *Kālidāsa*, l. 18, *Āḷupa*, l. 9, *Kēraḷa*, l. 15, *Chōḷa*, ll. 14 and 15, *Naḷa*, l. 4, *Māḷava*, l. 11, and *Kaunāḷa*, l. 13; and also in the words *antarāḷa*, l. 13, *aḷi*, l. 8, *āvali*, l. 9, *kālarātri*, l. 4 (but not in *kāla*, l. 16), *ḷuḷina*, l. 12, and *ḷigalita*, l. 11. Clerical errors there are few, and they can be easily corrected.

The inscription is a poem by a certain **Ravikirti**, who during the reign of the **Chalukya Pulikēśin Satyāśraya** (i.e. the Western Chalukya Pulikēśin II.), whom he describes as his patron, founded the temple of the Jaina prophet **Jinendra** on which the inscription was engraved, and who uses the occasion to furnish a eulogistic account (*prastāva*) of the history of the Chalukya family, and especially of the exploits of Pulikēśin II. As a translation of the poem will be given below, it is unnecessary to burden this introduction with an abstract of the contents, the more so because the historical facts related in this record have been fully discussed by Prof. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet;¹ but I may draw attention to one or two statements of our author which are made in verses of which either my text or translation differs from those of the previous edition. From the restitution of the true reading, *Bhaimarathyāḥ*, in verse 17, it appears that the two invaders **Āppāyika** and **Gōvinda**, of whom one was repulsed by Pulikēśin II., while the other was made an ally, had come to conquer the country north of the river **Bhaimarathī**, usually called **Bhīmarathī**, and that no horses from the northern seas are spoken of in that verse. Again, from the wording of verse 22 it would appear now that the **Iḷāṣas**, **Māḷavas** and **Gūrjaras** were not conquered by force, but submitted to, or sought the protection of, Pulikēśin of their own accord. Of greater interest perhaps is my interpretation of verse 28. It will be seen that that verse speaks of a piece of water, apparently containing some islands, which was occupied by Pulikēśin's army, and is called the **Kaunāḷa water**, or the water (or lake) of **Kunāḷa**. The position of this piece of water is indicated by the sequence of events recorded in the poem. Pulikēśin according to verse 26 subdued the **Kaliṅgas** and **Kōsalas**; he then according to verse 27 took the fortress of **Pisṭapura**, the modern **Piṭhāpuram**

¹ See Prof. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., especially p. 51; and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 2nd ed., especially p. 349 ff.

in the Gôdâvarî district; after that, in verse 28, comes his occupation of 'the water of Kunâla;' this again is followed, in verse 29, by his defeat of the Pallava ruler near Kâñchîpura; and in verse 30 he crosses the river Kâvêrî. Pulikésin's march of conquest therefore is from the north to the south, along the east coast of Southern India; and the localities mentioned follow each other in regular succession from the north to the south. This in my opinion shews that 'the water of Kunâla' can only be the well-known Kolleru lake, which is south of Pithâpuram, between the rivers Gôdâvarî and Krishnâ. To that lake the description of 'the water of Kunâla,' given in the poem, would be applicable even at the present day; and we know from other inscriptions that the lake contained at least one fortified island which more than once has been the object of attack. In the Chellûr plates¹ of the reign of the Eastern Chalukya Kulôttunga-Chôda II. of Śaka-Samvat 1056 (exactly five hundred years after the date of the present inscription) we are told that in the Veṅgî-maṇḍala there is a great lake in which, like Vishnu's city Dvârakâ in the ocean, is a town named Sarasîpurî, unconquerable by enemies, and that at the time of the inscription that town was possessed or governed by Kâtama-Nâyaka of Kolanu, a Telugu word meaning 'lake,' which according to other inscriptions² must undoubtedly be connected with the Kolleru lake, and which in my opinion is identical with Kunâla.³

Regarding the date of the inscription as given in verses 33 and 34, I have nothing to add to what Dr. Fleet already has stated about it. It corresponds, for the expired year 3735 of the Kaliyuga, here described as the year 3735 since the Bhârata war, and—which is the same—for Śaka-Samvat 556 expired, to A.D. 634-35.

Important as this inscription is as an historical document, to myself it seems almost more interesting from a literary point of view. The statement in verse 37 that it raises its author to the level of Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi, is surely an exaggeration, but in my opinion this poem indubitably places him in the very front rank of court-poets and writers of *prâsastis*. Ravikîrti is thoroughly conversant with the rules of the Alamkâra-śâstra, and like a true *dâkshinâtya*, he is unsurpassed in some of his *utprêkshâs*. He is familiar with the works of India's greatest poets, and seems to have especially profited by the study of that most perfect poem of Kâlidâsa's, the *Raghuvamśa*. That this *kāvya* of Kâlidâsa's about A.D. 600 was well-known in widely distant parts of India, and even beyond the confines of India proper, there can be no doubt now. I have elsewhere⁴ had occasion to shew that one of its verses (XII. 1) has been present to the mind of the author of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, dated in A.D. 588. I have also drawn attention to the fact⁵ that another verse of the same poem (VI. 23) has been imitated in one of the Nâgârjuni Hill cave inscriptions of the Mankhari Anantavarman, which for palæographic reasons cannot be placed later than the first half of the sixth century. Besides, so far as I can judge, part at least of the text of the *Raghuvamśa* was

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 57.

² See Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 37, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 308.

³ We may compare (see Hémachandra's *Prâkrit Grammar*, II. 116 ff.) *âldna=ânâla, Achalapura=Alachapura, karēṇ=kaṇṇrâ*, etc.—*Kunâla* very probably is the *Kunâla* of the grammarians, which according to Ujjvaladatta is the name of a locality, and according to Hémachandra (*Uṇḍigāṇa* 476) the name of a town.—Moreover, notwithstanding the difference of spelling, I have no doubt whatever that the *Kaundîla* of our inscription is identical with the *Kaurîlaka* in line 19 of the Allâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 7), which in that inscription is enumerated immediately before *Paishîapuraka*, just as in the present inscription the *jalam Kaundîlam* is mentioned immediately after *Pishîapuraka*. (An antiquated statement, lately repeated in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 63, induces me to add that by the inspection of an excellent estampage I have convinced myself that *Kaurîlaka*, as published by Dr. Fleet, is the true reading in Samudragupta's inscription).

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 276.

⁵ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 224.

familiar to the composer of the first Cambodian inscription,¹ which according to the most competent authorities belongs to the commencement of the seventh century. And turning to Chalukyan inscriptions, it is sufficient to say that the half-verse *yathāvidhi-hutāgninām yathākām-ārchitārthinām* of *Ragh.* I. 6, is actually copied by the writer of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēsa,² which may be specifically dated in A.D. 602, and was certainly composed before A.D. 610. As regards the present inscription, I have brought together in the notes to my translation a number of parallel passages both from the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kirātārjunīya*, which can leave no doubt as to Ravikīrti's indebtedness to the authors of those two *kāvyas*. Here I would only add that for the principal part of his poem, the description of the exploits of his patron in verses 17-32, Ravikīrti clearly has taken as his model the *Raghudigvijaya* in *Ragh.* IV., and that very probably he would himself have styled this part (if not the whole) of his *prastāvi* the *Digvijaya* of Polekēśin Satyāśraya.

TEXT.³

- 1 Jayatī⁴ bhagavān(ñ)=Jinēndrō [vi]ta-ja[rā-ma]raṇa-janmanō yasya [1*] jñāna-samudr-āntargga[ta]m=akhilāñ=jagad=antaripam=iva | (||) [1*] Tad=anu chiram=apari[mē]yaś=Chalukya-kula-vipula-jalanidhir=jjayatī || (I) prithivī-mauli-lalāmnām yaḥ=prabhavaḥ=purusha-ratnānām || [2*] Śūrē vidushi cha vibhajan=dānam=mānañ=cha yugapad=ēkatra || (I)
- 2 avihita-yāthāsam[kh]y[ō] [ja]yati cha Satyāśrayas=suchiram || [3*] Prithivīvallabha-śabdō yēshām=anvartthatāñ=chirañ=jātaḥ⁵ [1*] tad=vaṁśēshu jigishushu tēshu bahushv=apy=atitēshu || [4*] ⁶Nānā-hēti-sat-ābhghāta-patita-bhrānt-āsva-patti-dvipē nṛityad-bhima-kavandha-khadga⁷-kirapa-jvālā-sahasr[ē] rapē [1*]
- 3 Lakshmir=bbāvita-chāpal=āpi cha kṛitā śauryyēna yēn=ātmasāt(d=)rāj=āsfj=Jayasiñha⁸-vāllabha iti khyātaś=Chaluky-ānvayaḥ || [5*] ⁹Tad-ātma-jō=bhūd=Baraṇarāga¹⁰-nāmā divy-ānubhāvō jagad-ēkanāthaḥ [1*] amānushatvam kila yasya lōkaḥ¹¹=suptasya jānāti vapuḥ-prakarshāt || [6*] ¹²Tasy=ābhavat=tanūjaḥ=Polekēśi(śi) ya[h]¹³ śrit-ēndukāntir=api [1*]
- 4 Śrī-vallabhō=py=ayāsīd=Vātāpipuri-vadhū-varatām || [7*] ¹⁴Yat-trivargga-padavim=alam kshitau n=ānugantum=adhun=āpi rājakam [1*] bhūs=cha yēna hayamēdha-yājinaḥ prāpit-āvabhṛitha-majjanā¹⁵ babhau || [8*] ¹⁶Naja-Mauryya-

¹ *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 13. When writing the second half of verse 6 (*dvishām asahyō yasyaiva pratāpō na ravēr api*) the author of the inscription had in his mind, and the wording of his verse was influenced by, *Ragh.* IV. 49 (*Dīrī mandāyatē tējō dakṣiṇasyām ravēr api, tasyām ēva Raghōḥ Pāṇḍyāḥ pratāpam na vishēhirē*); in the inscription the use of the particle *api* after *ravēr* in my opinion is awkward, if not improper; in Kālidāsa's verse it is most appropriate. The idea expressed in verse 7 (*Yasya saingarajō dhūtam vjjhīdīlāṅkṛitisho api, ripustrīgaṇḍadēśishu chūrṇnabhāvam upgātām*) was suggested by *Ragh.* IV. 54 (*Bhayōterishhāvibhūshānām tēna Kēralayōshītām, alakēshu chamūrēnuś chūrṇapratinidhikṛitah*).

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, line 1 of the text. The same inscription contains other fragments of verses (I. 2, *riḍḍhā Vaisravanōpamaḥ*; I. 10, *Mahēndra iva durddharahāḥ Rāma iva parajitah Śibir=Anūnara iva*; I. 11, *samudra iva gaṁbhīrahā kṣamayā prithivī-samāḥ*), the source of which I have not discovered yet. The Nerūr plates of Maṅgalēsa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161) also contain a half-verse (I. 11, *Babhaḥ sa Vainya-pratimāna-kīrttiḥ=tamaḥ=pramridwan=svagun-dāśūjdlaiḥ*), which I have not yet identified.

³ From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

⁴ Read =chiram yātaḥ.

⁵ Originally *khdga* was engraved, but the *d* of *khd* seems to have been struck out again.

⁶ Read *Jayasiñha*.

⁷ Read *lōkaḥ*.

⁸ This *yaḥ* (or *ya* ?) was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

⁹ Possibly the *akshara nā* has been altered to *nam* in the original, and *prāpit=āvabhṛitha-majjanam* (ie *prāpitā ava*?) would be a better reading.

¹⁰ Metre: Aupachchhandasika.

¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹² Metre: Āryā.

¹³ Read *Baraṇarāga*.

¹⁴ Metre: Rathōddhatā.

- Kadamba-kālarātriḥ=¹tanayas=tasya babhūma(va) Kirttivarmma [^{1*}] para-dāra-nivṛtta-chittavrittēr=api² dhīr=yasya ripu-śri-
- 5 y=ānukṛiṣṭā || [^{9*}] ³Raṇa-parākkrama-labdha-jayaśriyā sapadi yēna virugna(gṇa)m=aśēshataḥ [^{1*}] nṛpati-gandhagajēna mah-aujasā pṛithu-Kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam⁴ || [^{10*}] ⁵Tasmin=Surēśvara-vibhūti gat-ābhilāshē rāj=ābhavat=tad-anujah=kila Maṅgal[ē]śah⁶ [^{1*}] yah=pūrvva-pāśchima-samudra-taṭ. ōshit-āśva-sēnā-rajah-pata-vinirmitta-digvitānaḥ || [^{11*}] ⁷Sphuran-mayūkhair=asi-dīpikā-śataih(tair=)
- 6 vyudasya mātāṅga-tamisra-saūchayam [^{1*}] avāptavān=yō raṇaraṅga-mandirē Kaṭachchuri-śri-lalanā-parigrahaṃ || [^{12*}] ⁸Punar=api cha jigbhikshōs=sainyam=ākkrānta-sālam⁹ ruchira-bahu-patākam Rēvati-dvipam=āśu [^{1*}] sapadi mahad=udanvat-tōya-samkkrānta-bimbam¹⁰ Vara(ru)ṇa-balam=iv=ābhūd=āgataṃ yasya vāchā || [^{13*}] ¹¹Tasy=āgrajasya tanayē Nahush-ānubhāgē(vē) Lakshmyā kil=ābhi-
- 7 lashitē ¹²Pol[e]kēśi-nāmni [^{1*}] sāsūyam=ātmani bhavantam=ataḥ-pitriyam¹³ jñātv=āparuddha-charita-vyavasāya-buddhau || [^{14*}] Sa¹⁴ yad-upachita-[ma]ntr-ōtsāha-śakti-prayōga-kshapita-bala-viśēshō Maṅgalēśas=¹⁵samantāt [^{1*}] sva-tanaya-gata-rāju-ārambha-yatnēna sārddham nijam=atanu cha rājuān=jivitañ=ch=ōjjhati sma || [^{15*}] ¹⁶Tāvat=tach-chha[t*]tra-bhaṅgē jagad=akhilam=arāty-andhakār-ōparuddham
- 8 yasy=āśahya-pratāpa-dyuti-tatibhir=iv=ākkrāntam=āśit=prabhātam [^{1*}] nṛityad-vidyut-patākaiḥ=prajavini maruti kshuṇṇa-pa[r]yyanta-bhāgair=ggarjjadbhir=vvārivāsai(hai)r=āli-kula-malinam vyōma yātām kadā vā || [^{16*}] Lab[dhv]ā¹⁷ kālām bhuvam=upagatē jētum=Āppāyik-ākhyē Gōvindē cha dviradanikarair=uttarām=Bhaimarathyāḥ [^{1*}] yasy=ānikair=yudhi bhaya-rasa-jñātvam=ēkaḥ=prayātas=tatr=āvāptam=phalam=upakṛitasy=ā-
- 9 parēṇ=āpi sadyah | (||) [^{17*}] ¹⁸Varadā-tuṅga-taraṅga-raṅga-vilasad-dhamsāvali-mēkhalām Vanavāsīm=avampidnatas=surapura-prasparddh[j]nīm sampadā [^{1*}] mahatā yasya bal-ārṇavēna paritas=saūchhādīt-ōrvvitalam¹⁹ sthala-durggañ=jala-durggatām=iva²⁰ gatām tat=tatkshaṇē paśyatām || [^{18*}] ²¹Gaṅg-

¹ Read °rdtriḥ; the sign of *visarga* may have been struck out already in the original.

² Originally -*nivṛttichittēraṇi* was engraved; afterwards the *i* of *tti* and the *ḥ* of *ttḥ* appear to have been struck out, the *akṣaras* *vritt* [ē] were engraved below the line, and the place where they should be inserted was indicated by a vertical line above the line, before *ra*.

³ Metre: Drutavilambita.

Originally °kaḥ seems to have been engraved.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁶ The signs for *li* and *lḥ* being very similar, it is somewhat difficult to say whether the reading here and in line 7 is *Maṅgalīa* or *Maṅgalēa*; in neither place is it *Maṅgalīa*. I read the name *Maṅgalēa*, because I do not think that the engraver twice would have made the same mistake, and because in line 7 the third *akṣara* of the name appears to me undoubtedly to be *lḥ*. Compare the *lḥ* of *kālḥ* in l. 16, and the *li* of *malinam* in l. 8, and of *liṅga* and *Kaliṅga* in l. 13.

⁷ Metre: Varṇasastva.

⁸ Metre: Mālinī.

⁹ Read -*ślan*.

¹⁰ Read -*bimbam*.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹² The sign of the first consonant (*p*) of this name, in my opinion, at the top has the vowel *o*, and below it, *u*, but the latter seems to have been struck out. In the following syllable, originally the full sign of *la* seems to have been engraved; whether the vowel-sign at the top is meant for *i* or *e*, is difficult to say.

¹³ Read -*pitriyam*.

¹⁴ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁵ Instead of the *akṣara* *śa* originally *śō* seems to have been engraved.

¹⁶ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹⁷ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

¹⁸ Metre: Muttēbhavikṛdita.

¹⁹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

²⁰ In the original, between *durgga* and *tāmiva*, the *akṣaras* *tāmiva* were engraved, and then struck out again.

²¹ Metre: Indravajrā.

- Ālup-ēndrā vyasanāni sapta hitvā pur=ōpārjjita-sampadō=pi [1*] yasy=ānubhāv-ōpanatās=sad=āsann=ā-
- 10 sanna-sēvāmṛita-pāna-saundāh¹ [|| 19*] **Konkanēshu²** yad-ādishta-chaṇḍa-daṇḍ-āmbuvichibhiḥ [1*] udastās=tarasā **Mauryya-palvalāmbu-samṛiddhayaḥ** | (||) [20*]
³Apara-jaladhēr=Llakshmi[m] yasmin=**Purim**=**Purabhit**=**prabhē** madagaja-ghaṭ-ākārair=nnāvām śatair=avamṛidnati [1*] jalada-paṭal-ānīk-āki(kf)ṛṇṇan=navōtpala-mēchakañ=jalanidhir=iva vyōma vyōmnas=sa-
- 11 mō=bhavad=ambubhiḥ(dhiḥ) [|| 21*] ⁴Pratāp-ōpanatā yasya **Lāṭa-Mālava-Gūrjjarāḥ** [1*] daṇḍ-ōpanata-sāmanta-charyy-āch[ā]r̥yā iv=ābhavan || [22*] ⁵Aparimita-vibhūti-sphīta-sāmanta-sēnā-makūṭa-maṇi-mayūkh-ākkrānta-pādāravindaḥ [1*] yudhi patita-gaja(jē)ndr-ānīka-vī(bī)bhatsa-bhūtō bhaya-vigalita-harshō yēna ch=ākāri **Harshaḥ** || [23*] Bhuvam=urubhir=anīkais=śā-
- 12 satō yasya **Révō(vā)**-vividha-pulīna-sōbh-āvandanya-**Vindhy**-ōpakāṇṭh[ah]⁶ [1*] adhikatarām=arājat=svēna tējō-mahimnā śikharibhir=ibha-varjyā(rjyō) var[sh]maṇā sparaddhay=ēva [|| 24*] Vidhivad=upachitābhiḥ=śaktibhiḥ=Śakrakalpas=tisṛibhir=api guṇ-anghais=svais=cha mākūl-ādyaiḥ [1*] agamad=adhipatitvam yō **Mahārāshṭrakānām** navanavati-sahasra-grāma-bhājām trayānām [|| 25*] Gṛihīnām⁷ sva-
- 13 sva-guṇais=trivargga-tuṅgā vihit-ānyakshitipāla-mānabhaṅgā[h] [1*] abhavan=upajāta-bhītiliṅgā yad-anīkēna sa-Kō[sa*]lāh=**Kaliṅgā**[h] || 26* **Pishtaṁ**⁸ **Pishtaṭapuram** yēna jātam durggam=adurggamañ=⁹chitraṁ yasya kalēr=vr̥ttam¹⁰ jātam durggama-durggamam | (||) [27*] ¹¹Sannaddha-vāraṇa-ghaṭāsthagit-āntarālam¹² nān-āyudha-kshata-nara-kshataj-āṅgarāgam¹³ [1*] āstj=jalam yad-avamardditam=abhra-garbhām **Kaunālam=a-**
- 14 ubharam=iv=ō[j p]jita-¹⁴sāndhyarāgam || [28*] ¹⁵Uddhūt-āmala-chāva(ma)ra-dhva-śata-chchha[t*]tr-āndhakārair=vva(bba)laiḥ śauryy-ōtsāha-ras-ōddhat-¹⁶āri-matbaṇair=mmaul-a(ā)dibhish=shaḍvidhaiḥ [1*] ākrānt-ātmabalōnnatim=balarajassañchbanna-**Kāñchipuraḥ(ra)**prākārāntarita - p r a t ā p a m = a k a r ṍ d = y a ḥ = **Pallavānām**=patim || [29*] **Kāvērī**¹⁷ dṛita-śaphari-vilōla-nētrā **Chōlānām** sapadi jay-ōdyatasya yasya [1*] praśchyōtanmada-gaja-sē-
- 15 tu-ruddha-nirā saṁsparsām pariharati sma ratna-rāsēḥ | (||) [30*] ¹⁸**Chōla-Kēraḷa-Pāṇḍyānām**¹⁹ yō=bhūt=tatra maharddhayē [1] **Pallav-ānīka-nihāra**-tuhinētaradidhiḥ || [31*] ²⁰Utsāha-prabhu-mantra-śakti-sahitē yasmin=samastā diśō jītvā bhūmi-patin=visṛijya mahitān=ārāddhya dēva-dvijān [1*] **Vātāpin**-nagarim=praviśya nagarim=ēkām=iv=ōvvi(rvvi)m=imām²¹ chañchan-nīradhi(dhi)-nīla-nīra-parikhām

¹ Read -saundāh.² Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).³ Metre: Hariṇi.⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).⁵ Metre of ver ses 23-25: Mālini.⁶ This, in my opinion, is the intended (and undoubtedly correct) reading. Originally °aṭhō was engraved, but the two lines forming the ṍ appear to have been struck out again.⁷ Metre: Anupachchandāsika.—The akshara sva at the end of the line should be struck out, and may have been struck out already in the original.⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).⁹ Read °rggamam l.¹⁰ Read vr̥ttam.¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹² Read °rālam.¹³ Originally -narakshatakshata° seems to have been engraved, but the first kshata apparently has been struck out again.¹⁴ Read =ōdita-.¹⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹⁶ Originally -ōddhit- was engraved.¹⁷ Metre: Prabharṣiṇi.—Read druta-.¹⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁹ Read -Pāṇḍyānām.²⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.²¹ Read =imām.

(V. 14.) When his elder brother's son, named Polekésin, of a dignity like Nahusha's, was coveted by Fortune,¹ and finding his uncle to be jealous of him thereat, had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile,²—

(V. 15.) That Maṅgaléśa, whose great strength became on all sides reduced by the application of the powers of good counsel and energy gathered by Him,³ abandoned, together with the effort to secure the kingdom for⁴ his own son, both that no mean kingdom of his and his life.

(V. 16.) Then, on the subversion of that rule encompassed by the darkness of enemies, the whole world grew light again, invaded as it were by the lustrous rays of His irresistible splendour. Or when was it that the sky ceased to be black like a swarm of bees with thundering clouds, in which flashes of lightning were dancing like banners, and the edges of which were crushed in the rushing wind?⁵

(V. 17.) When, having found the opportunity, he who was named Āppāyika, and Góvinda approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of the Bhaimarathi, the one in battle through His armies came to know the taste of fear,⁶ while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him.

(V. 18.) When He was besieging Vanavāsi, which for a girdle⁷ has the rows of *hamsa* birds that sport on the high waves of the Varadā as their play-place, and which by its wealth

¹ A comparison with *Ragh.* V. 38 suggests the interpretation that it was desired to confer on Polekésin the dignity of *Yuvardja*, or heir apparent.

² The verb *apa-rudh* means 'to debar, to shut out from, to banish, to exile;' it is often joined with *rāshṭrāt*, *rāshṭrād=aparuddhaḥ* being equivalent to *rāshṭrād=bhrasṭaḥ*; and *aparuddhaḥ=charati* is used of a person who as an exile wanders about in foreign countries. Already in the *Atharvaveda*, III. 3, 5, we find the phrase *anyakṣétrē aparuddham charantam*, in a hymn by which the restoration of an exiled king is accomplished; see Bloomfield's *Atharvaveda*, p. 74. And in the *Aitaréya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 10— I take this quotation from the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*—the manner in which a prince who has lost his kingdom may regain it, is described thus: *Yady u ed énam upadhāvēd rāshṭrād aparudhya mānas: tathā mékuru yathāham idam rāshṭram punar avagachchānti, étam évainam diśam upanishkramoyēt, tathā ha rāshṭram punar avagachchāti*; 'if ever there should seek shelter with him (i.e. with the anointed Kshatriya) one who is being shut out from his kingdom, saying "act for me in such a manner that I may regain this kingdom," he (i.e. the anointed Kshatriya) should let him depart in this (north-eastern) direction; so verily he recovers his kingdom.' From all this it is clear that what our poet wishes us to understand, is, that Polekésin, either banished by Maṅgaléśa or having left the country from fear of him, went to neighbouring princes and asked their assistance in the recovery of his rights. The expression *aparuddha-charita* is used by the poet with special reference to the phrase *aparuddha=charati*, as explained above.—*Vyavastya-buddhi* is used by Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasambhava*, IV. 45.

³ I.e. Polekésin, whose exploits are eulogized in verses 15-32. In the original the sentences in these verses are all relative clauses, the relative pronouns of which are correlated with the *tasya* at the commencement of verse 35. In my translation I have written the pronoun, when it refers to Polekésin, with an initial capital letter.

⁴ For the use of the word *gata* compare e.g. *Sītā-gatam snéham*, 'his love for Sītā,' in *Ragh.* XV. 86; see also above, verse 11, *vibhūti-gat-dbhildasha*.

⁵ The first half of the verse states that, as the rising sun dissipates the darkness of night, so Polekésin dispersed the enemies who on the destruction of Maṅgaléśa's rule (literally, of the umbrella which is the sign of sovereignty) on all sides beset the realm. And the second half impresses on the reader the fact that only then, on Polekésin's rise to power, and at no other time, the troubles attending Maṅgaléśa's destruction were put an end to. Though the poet, employing the rhetorical figure of *aprasutaprasādam*, in the second half of the verse actually speaks of a phenomenon of nature, the clearance of the sky of storm-clouds by the agency of the sun, the context and his choice of the words (*patāka*, *paryanta-bhāga*, the verb *garj* for which see e.g. *Ragh.* IX. 9, and *ali-kula* which recalls *ari-kula*) at once suggest to the reader what is intended to be conveyed.—The question ending with *kadd* *va* undoubtedly requires an answer in the negative (*na kaddāpi*). The word *tavat* with which the verse commences I take in the sense of *tasminn=avasoré* or *tatkdla éva*; compare e.g. *Kumārasambhava*, VII. 30 and 63. With the second half of the verse compare Varāhamihira's description of the clouds at the time of an earthquake, *Bṛhat-samhitā*, XXXII. 17.

⁶ Compare *Ragh.* III. 26, *sutasparśarasajñatām yayan*.

⁷ The city of Vanavāsi, being represented as a woman, has for her tinkling girdle the rows of singing *hamsa* birds that play in the Varadā river which flows close to the town. Compare *Ragh.* IX. 37; also *ibid.* XIX. 40, *sakataṁ cha Sarayam vicriṇṇatām śrōṇi-bimbam=iva hamsa-mékhalam*; and *Kir.* IV. I, *kajjalakāṇṇa-mékhaldm . . . priyam=iva . . . dhruvam*.

rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water.

(V. 19.) Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Gaṅga and Ālupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him.¹

(V. 20.) In the Koṅkaṇas the impetuous waves of the forces directed by Him speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools²—the Mauryas.

(V. 21.) When, radiant like the destroyer³ of Pura, He besieged Puri, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky.⁴

(V. 22.) Subdued by His splendour, the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gūrjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave.⁵

(V. 23.) Harsha, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Him had his mirth (*harsha*) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle.

(V. 24.) While He was ruling the earth with his broad armies, the neighbourhood of the Vindhya, by no means destitute of the lustre of the many sandbanks of the Rēvā, shone even more brightly by his great personal splendour, having to be avoided by his elephants because, as it seemed, they by their bulk rivalled the mountains.⁶

(V. 25.) Almost⁷ equal to Indra, He by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by his noble birth⁸ and other excellent qualities, acquired the sovereignty over the three Mahārāṣṭrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages.

¹ Though they had renounced the vice of drink together with the other six vices, they again became drunkards. The seven vices are enumerated e.g. in the verse (Böhtlingk's *Ind. Sprüche*, 2994): *Dyūtaṁ māṁsaṁ surā rāśy=ākṣhēṭa-chaurya-parāṅganāḥ | mahāpāpāni sapt=aiva vyasanīni tyajēt=budhaḥ ||*

² Compare the *Milavikāgnimitra*, in the first act, *atrabhavataḥ kila mama cha samudra-palvalayōr=antaram=astī*; the comparison apparently is a proverbial one.—The juxtaposition of the two words *chaṇḍa* and *daṇḍa* also is most common; compare e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 415 (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 33), l. 11 of the text, *Yama-daṇḍa-chaṇḍa-dōrdanda*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 349, l. 55 (as corrected by Dr. Hultzsch), *bāhu-daṇḍa-chaṇḍ-āsani*; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 218, l. 40, *chaṇḍ-āsi-daṇḍa*; etc. Compare also the very common title or epithet *mahāprachandadaṇḍandya*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 127, l. 6 of the text, and elsewhere.

³ I.e. the god Śiva.

⁴ For a similar way of comparing heaven and earth with each other see *Ragh.* IV. 29, *bhuvāḥ=talam=iva vyōmaṁ kurvaṇ=vyōm=ēva bhūtalam*.

⁵ Although the Lāṭas etc., impressed by his majesty and power, had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection, they behaved so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force. Compare *Ragh.* XVII. 81, where the *daṇḍōpanata-charita* of the gods Indra etc. towards the king Atithi is described. With *āchāryā abhavan* one may compare *dhīryakam chakrē*, *ibid.* XII. 78.

⁶ Really the mountainous country of the Vindhya had to be avoided by the king's elephants, because it was impassable for them; but the poet's reason is, that the elephants were higher than the Vindhya. If they had gone there, the Vindhya by the presence of these mountain-like elephants would have transgressed the command of the sage Agastya (the *Vindhyaśya saṁstambhayitā mahādrēh*, *Ragh.* VI. 61; see also XII. 31) that it should not grow higher so long as Agastya remained in the south. In this way the very absence of the king's elephants becomes an additional token of his might.—With the whole verse compare *Ragh.* XVI. 31; for the use of *avandhya* see *ibid.* I. 86, *āśāmsit-āvandhya-prārthana*, literally 'one whose prayer is not destitute of fulfilment.'

⁷ He was like Indra because, like that deity, he possessed certain *śaktis*; but was inferior to him because his *śaktis* were only three (the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy), while Indra possesses eight *Śaktis* (*Indrāṇi* etc.).

⁸ According to Pāṇini, IV. 1, 141, *māḍkula* would mean 'born in a noble family.'

(V. 26.) Through the excellencies of their householders prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life, and having broken the pride of other rulers of the earth, the **Kālingas** with the **Kōśalas** by His army were made to evince signs of fear.

(V. 27.) Hard pressed (*pishṭa*) by Him, **Pishṭapura** became a fortress not difficult of access; wonderful (*to relate*), the ways of the Kali age to Him¹ were quite inaccessible!

(V. 28.) Ravaged by Him, the **water of Kunāla**²—coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons, and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutred elephants—was like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen.³

(V. 29.) With his sixfold forces,⁴ the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless chowries, hundreds of flags, umbrellas, and darkness,⁵ and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, He caused the splendour of the lord of the **Pallavas**, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obscured by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of **Kāñchipura**.⁶

(V. 30.) When straightway He strove to conquer the **Chōlas**, the **Kāvēri**, who has the darting carps for her tremulous eyes, had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting-juice was dripping down, and avoided the contact with the ocean.⁷

(V. 31.) There He caused great prosperity to the **Chōlas**, **Kēraḷas** and **Pāṇḍyas**, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost—the army of the **Pallavas**.

(V. 32.) While He, **Satyāśraya**, endowed with the powers of energy, mastery and good counsel,—having conquered all the quarters, having dismissed the kings full of honours, having done homage to gods and Brāhmanas, having entered the city of **Vātāpi**—is ruling, like one city, this earth which has the dark-blue waters of the surging sea for its moat;⁸

(V. 33.) (*Now*) when thirty (*and*) three thousand and five years besides, joined with seven hundred years, have passed since the **Bhārata** war;

¹ Against Pāṇini, II. 3, 69, the genitive case is used in construction with *durgama* in accordance with the maxim *khalārtha-yōgā=pi tēsha-vivakṣhāyām shashṭhīm=ichchhanti*; see e.g. Mallinātha on *Ragh.* XVII. 70, where Kālidāsa has *tasya* (instead of *tēna*) *durlabhah*.

² I.e. the Kunāla (Kolannu, Kolleru) lake; compare my introductory remarks, above, p. 2 f.

³ Compare *Ragh.* XVI. 58 (especially the words *galit-āṅgarāgaṃ saṁdhyōdayaḥ sdbhira iva*); XI. 60 (*sādhya-mēgha-rudhīra*); and *Kir.* IX. 9 (*sthaṅgita-vārida-paṅktyā saṁdhyayā*).

⁴ For the *śadvidham balam* see *Ragh.* IV. 26 and XVII. 67.

⁵ The darkness raised by the troops is the dust, the *raḥ-ndhakāra* of *Ragh.* VII. 39. (In *Kir.* XVII. 20 we similarly have a *śar-andhakāra*, and in the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, I. 75, a *khaḍg-andhakāra*). The poetical beauty here lies in the fact that darkness is enumerated together with such very different things as chowries etc.

⁶ *Balarajassañchanna-Kāñchipuraprākārāntarita* is a Karmadhāraya compound. The splendour of the Pallava first (when he was defeated in the open) was only obscured; afterwards (when he had to retire within the walls of his fortress) it entirely vanished. The poet of course wishes us to understand that the splendour of the Pallava is compared with the sun.

⁷ The verse clearly was suggested to our author by *Ragh.* IV. 45: *Sa saingya-paribhōgēna gajādāna-sugandhīn | Kāvērīn saritām patyuh śaṅkantyām=iv-ākarōt ||* By the fact that his soldiers used the water of the river for bathing etc., and in doing so made it fragrant with the rutting-juice of their elephants, Raghun made the (river) Kāvērī an object of suspicion for the ocean, her husband, who by the smell of her body would be led to believe that she had had intercourse with other men. Ravikirti too mentions the rutting-juice, but does so in a mere *epitheton ornans* which he might as well have omitted, because in his verse the real reason for the Kāvērī's keeping away from the ocean is, that her current was obstructed by the bulky elephants on which Polekēsīn crossed the river. Ravikirti has spoiled Kālidāsa's verse by crowding into it an idea from *Ragh.* IV. 38 (*sa tīrtvā Kapiśāṁ saingair=baddha-dēvīrāda-sētibhiḥ*).—The epithet of the Kāvērī, *druta-śapharī-vilōla-nētrā*, apparently was suggested by the epithet *śapharī-praśaphurita-chāru-dīpāḥ* in *Kir.* VI. 16 (compare also *ibid.* IV. 3); *prachyōtan-mada* occurs *ibid.* II. 35.

⁸ Part of this verse was suggested by *Ragh.* IV. 85-87, describing the conclusion of Rāghu's *dig-vijaya*. With the end of the verse compare *ibid.* V. 9: *Sa vāpravalayām paribhōkita-sāgarān | aranyaśāsanām=uroḥ śāśā=aika-purīm=iva ||*

(V. 34.) And when fifty (*and*) six and five hundred years of the Śaka kings also have gone by in the Kali age;

(V. 35.) This stone mansion of Jinēndra, a mansion of every kind of greatness, has been caused to be built by the wise Ravikirti, who has obtained the highest favour of that Satyāśraya whose rule is bounded by the three oceans.

(V. 36.) Of this eulogy and of this dwelling of the Jina revered in the three worlds,¹ the wise Ravikirti himself is the author and also the founder.

(V. 37.) May that Ravikirti be victorious, who full of discernment has used the abode of the Jina, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme,² and who thus by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi!³

No. 2.—TWO KADAMBA GRANTS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Both these grants were discovered by Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, and are edited here, with his kind permission, from ink-impressions made in 1892 by Dr. Fleet from the original plates, which Mr. Rice had been good enough to send to him for examination. Dr. Fleet has placed the impressions at my disposal, and has also supervised the preparation of the accompanying photo-lithographs.

A.—KŪDGERE PLATES OF VIJAYA-ŚIVA-MĀNDHĀTRIVARMAN.

The second year.

These plates were obtained by Mr. Rice at Kūdgere in the Shikārpur tāluka of the Shimoga district of Mysore, and were first publicly mentioned in his *Report* for 1890-1. A summary of their contents has been already given by Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 290.

These are three copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about $6\frac{3}{8}$ " broad by 3" high. The plates are quite smooth, their edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are thin; but, the engraving being shallow, though otherwise quite good, the letters do not shew through on the reverse sides at all. The interiors of the letters, here and there, shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. Various marks and faint lines on the margins and between the lines of writing, in my opinion, render it very probable that the plates originally bore another inscription. The ring on which the plates are strung seems to be of brass, not of copper; it is a plain one, about $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick and $2\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter. It had already been cut when the grant came into Dr. Fleet's hands. There is no seal, and no indication about the ring of one having ever been attached to it. The weight of the three plates is 13 oz., and of the ring, $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz.; total, $14\frac{1}{4}$ oz. — The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet, and in their general appearance, among Kadamba inscriptions,

¹ Or 'the preceptor of the three worlds.'

² *Viz.* the history of the Chalukyas. — In the original verse observe the *Famakas* at the ends of the first and second, and of the third and fourth Pādas (*jinavāśīma* and *ravikīrttiḥ*). The locative *artha-vidhau* is a good instance of a *nimitta-saptamī*.

³ I purposely omit from my translation the line which follows in the original, and which is a later addition to the poem. The first part of it enumerates six villages, the revenues of which apparently were assigned to the temple of Jinēndra founded by Ravikirti. The concluding part of it, which speaks of boundaries, I do not understand.

resemble most those of the Dêvagere plates of the fourth year and the Halsi plates of the *Mahârâja* Mrigêśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, and Vol. VI. p. 24, Plates). As regards individual letters, I would draw attention to the very clear and distinct form of *qh* in *driḍha*, l. 6 (as compared with the sign for *q* in *Kauṇḍinya*, l. 9); to the form of the Dravidian *l* in *Koḷâla*, l. 7; and to the fact that the subscript *t*—while in the conjunct *kt* it is denoted by the ordinary sign for *t* (without the loop) used in this inscription, and in *nt* by the sign with the loop—in the conjunct *tt* is written in both ways, as may be seen *e.g.* from *sva-dattâm* and *para-dattâm*, in line 14. I would lay some stress on this last point, because we have the same two ways of writing the conjunct *tt* also in the Dêvagere plates of the third year of the *Mahârâja* Mrigêśavarman, in which the single *t*, as in the present inscription, is always denoted by the sign without the loop;¹ (compare *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 35, Plate, *nivarttanam* in line 12, and the same word and *dattavân* in line 13). For final consonants the full signs, written below the line, are used in *dattavân*, l. 12 *pramâdât*, l. 13, and *-bhûk*, l. 16. Final *m* is written in the same way in *siddham*, l. 1; but in other places where my text shews a final *m*, that letter is denoted by a small hook, engraved at the bottom of the line.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of two benedictive and imprecatory verses, the text is in prose. In respect of orthography, I need only mention that the word *brahma* is written *brama*, in line 10. The phraseology of the text is the usual one, except that some rare technical terms occur in lines 8 and 9.

The inscription records that the *Dharmamahârâja* of (the family of) the Kadambas, Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhâtṛivarman, at Vaijayanti (*i.e.* Banavâsi), on the full-moon tithi of Vaisâkha in the second year (of his reign), granted some land at the village of Koḷâla to a spiritual teacher (perhaps the king's own teacher), named Dêvaśarman. The charter (*paṭṭikâ*) was written by the *rahasy-âdhikṛita*,² or private secretary, Dâmôdaradatta.

The genealogy of Māndhâtṛivarman is not given; and as his name does not occur in the published inscriptions, his relation to the known princes of the same family cannot for the present be determined with any certainty. But I may say that a comparison of this inscription with the other Kadamba inscriptions would lead me to connect Māndhâtṛivarman more closely with Mrigêśavarman than with any other Kadamba prince. Palæographical reasons for this statement have been given above. Other reasons are, that both princes, and they only, are described as residing at Vaijayanti; that one is called Vijaya-Śiva-Mrigêśavarman,³ and the other Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhâtṛivarman; and that, corresponding to the epithets of Māndhâtṛivarman in the present inscription, *anêka-sucharit-ôpachita-vipula-punya-skandha* and *âhava-ârjita-vipula-parama-driḍha-sattva*, we have, in Mrigêśavarman's inscriptions, *anêka-janmântar-ôpârjita-vipula-punya-skandha* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35, l. 4, and p. 37, l. 6 of the text), and *âhava-ârjita-parama-ruchira-driḍha-sattva* (*ibid.* p. 35, l. 5) or *naik-âhava-ârjita-parama-driḍha-sattva* (*ibid.* p. 37, l. 10). All this looks to me as if Māndhâtṛivarman might have been either, as a younger brother of Śântivarman, the immediate predecessor of Mrigêśavarman, or the younger brother and immediate successor of this prince.

¹ The case is different *e.g.* with the Halsi plates of the fifth year of the *Mahârâja* Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 31, Plate), where the single *t* is denoted by both the sign without the loop and the sign with the loop, and where *tt* is written in three different ways (by two signs of *t* without the loop; both with the loop; and the first without the loop, and the second with it).

² The same official title (in Prâkrit *rahasyâdhikṛita*) occurs in the Pallava inscription in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7, l. 50 of the text. The same inscription has another rare term in common with the present inscription; see below, p. 15, note 7. The *rahasy-âdhikṛita* in other inscriptions is called simply *rahasya*; see above, Vol. III. p. 21, note 1.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, ll. 4 and 17 of the text. Mrigêśavarman is so called also in the Hitnasebbâzilu plates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, No. 18. The same plates apparently have in common with the present inscription the rare term *antañkara-rishṭika*, which I have not found elsewhere. (The term *parihṛita-paṅg-ôikôja* in the same plates may be compared with *sarva-paṅga-parihṛita*—not *sarva-paṅga-parihṛita*, as printed—in line 5 of the Goa plates of Śaka-Samvat 532, *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365, and Plates.)

The village of Kolāla, which is mentioned in this inscription, I am unable to identify with certainty. The *Madras Postal Directory* shews two villages named 'Kolala,' in the Tumkūr district of Mysore,—one in the Tiptūr tāluka, post-town 'Turuvekere,' and the other in the Tumkūr tāluka, post-town 'Kolala' itself; probably Kolāla is one or other of these.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Siddham || Śrī-vijaya-Vaijayantyām² dharmmamahārājaḥ
 2 Svāmi-Mahāsēna-mātrigaṇ-ānu dhya-t-ābhishiktaḥ
 3 Mānavya-sagôtrô Hārītī-putraḥ pratikṛita-svādhyāya-
 4 charchchikaḥ Kadambānām śrī-Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarmma

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 anēka-³suchī(c ha)rit-ô pachita-vipula-punya-skaṇḍaḥ
 6 āhav-ārjjita-vipula-parama-dṛiḍha-sat[t*]vaḥ savassaré⁴
 7 dvitīyē Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām Kolāla-grāmē sīmni⁵
 8 sa-pāṇīya-pātaṁ sa-dakṣiṇam a-khatvā-vās-audana[m]⁶

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 a-bhata-pravêśam antaḥkara-vipti(shṭi)ka[m] Kaunḍinya-
 10 sagôtrāya datt-ānuyôgāya Taittirīya-sabramha(hma)-
 11 chārīṇē Dêvasārmmaṇē Modekarani-nāma-halam
 12 rāja-mānēna vimśati-nivarttanam kēdāram da[tta]vān [t*]⁷

Third Plate.

- 13 Pramādāt ⁸adharmmād=vā yô=sy=ābhiha[r]tt[ā] sa
 pâ[taka]-sa[m]yukt[ô]
 14 bhavati [t*] Uktañ=cha [t*] ⁹Sva-dattām para-datt[ām] vā¹⁰ yô
 harēna(ta) vasundharām [t*]
 15 shapthim(shṭim) varsha-sahasrāṇi narakê pachyatê tu
 saḥ || Yô=sya
 16 abbirakshitâ sa tat-phala-bhāk [t*] Uktañ=cha [t*] Bahubhi¹¹
 vasudhâ bhuktâ
 17 rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [t*] yasya yasya yadâ bhūmiḥ¹² bhūmas=tasya
 tasya tadâ phala[m] [t*]
 18 [D]ām[ô]daradatēna¹³ rahasy-ādhikṛitēna likhit=ēyam paṭṭikâ ||

¹ From Dr. Fleet's impressions.

² Here, and in other places below, the rules of *samāh* have not been observed.

³ Originally *sū* seems to have been engraved.

⁴ Read *samvatsarē*. The alteration of *ssa* into *tta* seems to have been made already in the original.

⁵ Below the *s* of this word originally the letter *m* was engraved. Read *-grāma-sīmni*.

⁶ Originally the full sign of *m* (*ma*) was engraved here, but, with the exception of the 'box' at the top, it has been effaced.

⁷ Below this line some writing—perhaps the words *pramāddāt adharmmād=vā yô=sy=* of the next line—was engraved, and cancelled again.

⁸ Instead of the initial *a* the *akṣhara pra* was originally engraved.

⁹ Metre, here and below: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁰ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹¹ Read *bahubhira*.

¹² Read *bhūmis=tasya*.

¹³ Read *dattēna*.

i.

2
4

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ii a.

6
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श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

10 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

14 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) (*Be it*) accomplished ! At (*the city*) of victory, the famous **Vaijayanti**, the *Dharmamahārāja*¹—anointed after meditating on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the Mānavya *gōtra* (*and*) a son² of Hārītī, studying the requital (*of good or evil*) as his sacred text,³—the glorious **Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman** of (*the family of*) the **Kadambas**, who by his many good actions has accumulated an abundant store of religious merit, and has acquired in war abundant and supreme enduring strength, **on the full-moon tithi of Vaiśākha in the second year (of his reign)**, has given, with pouring out of water⁴ (*and*) with a present (*of money*), the plough-land called⁵ **Modekaranī** within the borders of the village of **Kolāla**, by the king's measure a field of twenty *nivartanas*, to the spiritual teacher⁶ **Dēvaśarman**, who belongs to the Kaundinya *gōtra* and is a student of the Taittirīya Vēda,—exempt from (*the duty of providing*) cots,⁷ abode, and boiled rice, free from the ingress of soldiers, (*and*) exempt from internal taxes and forced labour.⁸

(L. 13.) He who from wantonness or wickedness takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of sin. And it has been said : Whosoever should take away land given by himself or given by

¹ I.e. 'the *Mahārāja* who is devoted to religion,' but the whole is used as a title, as *dharma-mahārāja-dhīrāja* and *dharma-yuvamahārāja* are in Pallava inscriptions.

² This must not be taken literally. The Kadambas generally were *Hārītīputras*, and therefore individual Kadamba kings also have the same epithet.

³ Instead of *pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchika*, which occurs also in the Halsi plates of the *Mahārāja* Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30), other Kadamba plates have *pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchaka* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 35), *pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchāpāra* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 31; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136; and below p. 18), *pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchā-pāra* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 25, and Vol. VII. p. 33), and *pratikṛita-charchāpāra* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 37), where the word *svādhyāya* has probably been omitted by mistake. Since all these epithets apparently are synonymous, it will be sufficient to analyse one of them; and I select for the purpose *pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchāpāra*. *Charchāpāra*, which in the *Mahābhāṣya* on P. III. 2, 1, is given by the side of *vēdādhyāya*, 'one who studies the Vēda,' according to Haradatta denotes 'a person who repeats or studies a particular text, (*charchām pārayati*); and *svādhyāya-charchāpāra* therefore would be 'one who studies his Vēdic text.' The word *pratikṛita*, in previous translations of Kadamba inscriptions, has been either omitted or rendered by 'adopted,' a meaning which *pratikṛita* cannot well convey. In my opinion, it will be safer to take the word as a substantive and in its well-known sense of 'requital, recompense,' and to regard *pratikṛita-svādhyāya* as a Karmadhāraya compound (in the sense of *svādhyāya* *iva* *pratikṛitam* or *pratikṛitam* *eva* *svādhyāyah*), so that the whole epithet would denote 'one who studies the requital (of good or evil) as his sacred text.' If this interpretation be correct, I cannot help thinking that the epithet alludes to the history of the Kadambas, as told in the Tālgund inscription (Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 286; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27). So long as the Kadambas were private Brāhmanas, it was one of their chief duties to study the sacred texts; in other words, they were *svādhyāya-charchāpārās*. When they had become kings, it was an equally sacred duty for them to requite good and evil; to do so was, what the study of the Vēda had been to them before; and thus, having been *svādhyāya-charchāpārās*, they then were *pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchāpārās*.

⁴ The phrase *sa-pāntya-pātam*, which also occurs below, p. 18, l. 17, and in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, is equivalent to *udak-ātisargēṇa*, *udaka-pūrtam*, and similar expressions. In the same sense, but occasionally misunderstood, we repeatedly meet with *udakam pātetvā* in the *Jātakas*; compare e.g. Vol. III. p. 286, l. 3, *udakam pātetvā adāsi*; Vol. II. p. 371, l. 13, *surannabhīmkāreṇa pupphagandharāsitaṃ udakam pātetvā adāsi*; and Vol. VI. p. 344, l. 10, *rājā tussitvā gandhodakapunnāṃ surannabhīmkāram adāya "gāmam rājabhogena dhūñjā" ti seṭṭhissa hatthe udakam pātetvā*. This last quotation clearly states the well-known fact that the water was poured into the hand of the donee.—With the *sa-dakṣiṇam* of our inscription compare the *sa-hiranya*[*] in line 9 of the (spurious) Hosūr plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 97.

⁵ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 23, l. 6 of the text, where also a field has a special name (*Belotara*).

⁶ I take *datt-ānyōga* to be equivalent to *ānyōga-kṛit*, which according to Goldstücker's *Dictionary* denotes 'an Āchārya or spiritual teacher.' Dēvaśarman was perhaps the king's own teacher.

⁷ Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 6, l. 31 of the text, where also we have *khaṭṭāvāsa* (*khaṭvā-vāsa*), in a Pallava inscription.

⁸ The expression *antañkara-viṣṭika* apparently occurs also in the Hiṭṭahebbāgilu plates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, plate iii. b, l. 1.—[With *antañ-kara* compare *antar-āyam*, 'internal revenue,' and its counterpart *parar-āyam*, 'external revenue,' in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 61, text line 5 f.—E. H.]

others, he is burnt in hell for sixty-thousand years. He who preserves this (*gift*), shares the reward of it. And it has been said : The earth has been possessed by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; to whomsoever at any time the land belongs, to him, for the time being, belongs the reward (*of a grant*).

(L. 18.) This charter was written by the private secretary Dāmôdaradatta.

B.—BANNAHALĪ PLATES OF KRISHNAVARMAN II.

The seventh year.

These plates were discovered about 1888, while digging at Bannahalī in the Chikmagalur taluka of the Kadūr district of Mysore, and are now in the possession of the Pāṭil of Halēbid. They were first publicly noticed by Mr. Rice in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Introduction, p. 15 ; and an account of their contents is given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 290.

These are four copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about $8\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by $2\frac{3}{4}$ " high. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The engraving is good, but not very deep. The letters do not shew through on the reverse sides of the plates ; they shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout.— On one of the edges, the plates are numbered, by four notches¹ on plate i., three on plate ii., two on plate iii., and one on plate iv. (i.e. in exactly the reverse order) ; and near these notches there is also a single notch on each plate : whether this marking is ancient or recent, is not apparent.— The plates are strung on a ring, which had been cut already when the grant came into Dr. Fleet's hands ; it is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured in a seal which is roughly circular, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. About a quarter of an inch from the edge of it, there is a raised rim ; and inside this, in relief on a countersunk surface, there is a lion, standing to the proper right.² The weight of the four plates is 1 lb. $9\frac{1}{4}$ oz., and of the ring and seal, 7 oz. ; total, 2 lbs. $\frac{3}{4}$ oz.— The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}$ " and $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the southern alphabet. With those of the Halsi plates of the fifth year of the Mahārāja Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 31, Plate) they have this in common that the letter *t*, both when used singly and in conjuncts, is mostly denoted by the sign with the loop ; but otherwise they quite differ from those of other Kadamba inscriptions, and might, in their general appearance, rather be compared with the characters of the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarmā II. (above, Vol. IV. p. 196, Plate). From the photo-lithograph it will be seen that the letters are frequently finished off, or embellished, with small circles. The *sva* of *svasti* in line 1 has two such circles at the ends of the lines on the proper right ; the *stī* of the same word two at the bottom of the superscript *i*, and one at the end of the proper right stroke of *s* ; the *ya* of the following word *jayaty* has two at the top ; etc. I believe, there can be no doubt that by these circles the writer has tried to imitate the little 'boxes' of the characters of such inscriptions as the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugôpavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51, Plates), and has done this in a not very intelligent manner. A certain influence of the characters of Pallava inscriptions may perhaps be distinctly traced also in the use of the looped *t* already mentioned ; and in the fact that in the *akshara nā* the vowel *ā* is here denoted by a separate downward stroke, while in other Kadamba inscriptions it is nearly always written, in the ordinary way, by bending back the last downward stroke of *n*, in an upward direction ; compare the *aksharas nām* in line 4 of the present inscription, *nō* in line

¹ For other plates which are marked in the same manner, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 197.

² I owe the above information to Dr. Fleet, according to whom the later Kādambas, both of Hāṅgal and of Goa, also had the *simha-lācchāna* or lion-crest ; see his *Dynasties*, second ed., pp. 560 and 566. Mr. Rice finds the lion also on the seal of the Hiṇṇahebbāgilu plates ; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 2.

17 of the Uruvupalli plates, *nā* in line 3 of the plates of the Pallava Simhavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, Plate), and *nā* in line 3 of the Halsi plates of the Kadamba Kākusthavarman (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 23, Plate).¹ The usual test-letters, *kh* (in *dukkham*, l. 22), *j*, *b*² and *l*, are all of the earlier type; but some other letters, such as the subscript *ṭ* of *shṭi* in lines 2 and 24, the *sh* of *śrēshṭhinā*, l. 19, and some forms of *y* (as in *Kaikēya*, l. 7, *saṃyāchāra*, l. 18, *yō*, l. 24, and *śriyā*, l. 11), seem to me to present so late an appearance that, in my opinion, this inscription can hardly be placed earlier than the seventh century A.D. The Dravidian *ḷ* occurs in the names *Vallāvi* and *Koḷa-Nallūra*, l. 16; the sign of the *jihvāmūliya* in *dukkham*, l. 22; and the sign of final *m*, the only final consonant which occurs, in *°pālanam*, ll. 22 and 23.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. After the words *ōm svastī*, the text opens with a verse eulogizing the god Hari (Vishnu), and in lines 20-26 it contains four benedictive and imprecatory verses, ascribed to Manu; otherwise it is in prose. The main part of the text, ll. 3-17, forms a single sentence, the construction of which is not quite correct, and which, except for the phrases with which it commences, reminds one of Pallava grants rather than of other Kadamba inscriptions. The orthography does not call for any particular remarks.

The inscription is one of the Kadamba Mahārāja Kṛishṇavarman [II.], the son of the Mahārāja Simhavarman, who was a son of the Dharmamahārāja Vishṇuvarman, who was begotten by the Dharmamahārāja Kṛishṇavarman [I.] on a daughter of Kaikēya. It records (in ll. 13-17) that, on the fifth tithi and under the nakshatra Jyēshṭhā in the waxing half of the month Kārttika, in the seventh year of his reign, the king granted the village Koḷa-Nallūra in the Vallāvi-vishaya to a Brāhmaṇ of the Kauśika gōtra, named Vishṇuśarma; and adds (in ll. 17-20) that the king was advised (to make this donation) by the Śrēshṭhin Haridatta of the Tuṭhiyalla gōtra and pravara.

I consider it very probable that the Kṛishṇavarman I. of this inscription is the Dharmamahārāja Kṛishṇavarman who in the Dēvagere plates of the Yuvarāja Dēvavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 33) is mentioned as the father of this Dēvavarman. Judging from the writing, the Dēvagere inscription undoubtedly is earlier than the present inscription; the Kṛishṇavarman who is mentioned in it, like Kṛishṇavarman I. of this inscription, is described as *astvamēdha-yājīn*, 'the performer of a horse-sacrifice'; and the (in these inscriptions unusual) statement of the present grant that Vishṇuvarman was Kṛishṇavarman's son 'from the daughter of Kaikēya,' seems pointedly to indicate that Kṛishṇavarman I. had one or more sons from another wife, and would thus agree with the fact that the Dēvagere grant is by a son of Kṛishṇavarman named Dēvavarman.—The names of the Kadamba Mahārājas Vishṇuvarman and Simhavarman do not occur in other inscriptions of the same family.

Of the localities mentioned, the name of the Vallāvi vishaya appears to survive in 'Ballāvi,' the name of a town in the Tumkūr district of Mysore, Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, Plate 34, Cc; the village Koḷa-Nallūra I am unable to identify.

The date does not admit of verification. Judging from a number of native calendars, the nakshatra Jyēshṭhā is joined more frequently with the 4th than with the 5th tithi of the bright

¹ In the Hīrahadagalli plates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5, Plates) the *ā* of *nā* is denoted by a line attached to the foot of *n*, on the proper left side; compare the word *bamhaṇḍanam*, in line 8. Practically the same way of writing *nā* we have e.g. in lines 1 and 9 of the Dēvagere plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba Mṛigēśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, Plates). And the same sign for *nā* occurs in line 6 of the Halsi plates of the same king (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 24, Plate); there, however, a separate downward stroke originally was wrongly added to *nā*, and subsequently cancelled again. (In Prof. Bühler's *Indische Paläographie*, Plate VII. Col. xiii No. 43, the uncorrected wrong form is given; the correct sign for *nā* is given *ibid.* No. 21). In the Halsi plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30, Plate) the sign for *nā* which is used in the present inscription is employed once, exceptionally, in line 1.

² The sign of *b* in *baḷa*, l. 1, apparently is open on the proper right; see above, Vol. V. p. 119.

half of Kārttika; but it sufficiently often goes together with the 5th as a current *tithi*, to render the mention of it, by itself, practically useless.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti || ⁴Jayaty=udrikta-Daityēndra-bala-vīryya-vimarddanah [!*]
 2 jagat-pravṛitti-samhāra-sṛishti-māyādhārō Hariḥ [!*]
 3 Svāmi-Mahāsēna-mātrigaṇ-ānudhyāt-ābhishiktānām Mānavya-
 4 sagotrāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchchāpārāṇām

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 ⁵śrī-Kadambānām Kṛishṇavarmma-dharmmamahārājasya⁶ aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ
 6 anēka-samara-samkaṭ-ōpalabdha-vijayakīrttēḥ vidyā-vinitasya
 7 Kaikēya-sutāyām=utpannēna śrī-Vishṇuvarmma-dharmmamahārājēna
 8 ⁷gandharvva-hastīśikshā-dhanurvvedēshu Vatsarāj-Ēndr-Ārjuna-samēna

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 śabdārthta-nyāya-vidush-ōtpāditasya⁸ putra śrī-Simhavarmma Kadambānām
 10 mahārājā(jō) vikrāntō=nēka-vidyā-vīsāradas=tasya sūnunnā śrī-Kṛishṇavarmma-
 11 mahārājēna sva-vīryya-bala-parākram-ōpārjita-rājyaśriyā
 12 paramabrahmanyēna samyak-prajāpāla[na*]-dakshēṇa kshīṇa-lōbbhēna
 13 varddhamāna-vijayarājya-samvatsarē saptamē Kārttika-māsē

Third Plate; First Side.

- 14 āpūryyamāṇa-pakshē pañchamyām Jyēsthā-nakshatrē Kausika-sagotrāya
 15 vēda-pāragāya shaṭkarmma-niratāya āhit-āgnayē Vishṇusarmma-nāma-
 16 dhēyāya ātma-nisrēyasārttham Vallāvi-vishayē Koḷa-Nallūra-
 17 nāma-grāmō dattah sa-pāniya-pātaḥ⁹ sarvva-parihārah[!*] Tuṭhiyalla-gōtra-
 18 pravareṇa samay-āchāra-sa[m]pannēna svakarm-ānushṭhāna-tatparēṇa

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 19 rāja-pūjitēna gō-sahasra-pradātrā Haridatta-śrēsthinā upadēsah
 20 kṛitah [!*] Atra Manu-gītā ślōkā bhavanti || ¹⁰Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā

¹ A *nakshatra* (Uttara-bhadrapadā) is mentioned together with a *tithi* (the 10th of the dark half of Kārttika) also in the date of the Dēvagere plates of the third year of the Kadamba Mṛigēśavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35; but that date is incorrect. The *nakshatra* either was *Uttara-phalgunt* (for the 10th of the dark half of Kārttika) or the *tithi* was the 10th of the *bright* half of Kārttika. Curiously, exactly the same mistake was made in the date of the Hāsan plates of Dēvarāya I. of Vijayanagara, of Śūka-Samvat 1328; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 150, *P.S.O.-C.I.* No. 25.

² From Dr. Fleet's impressions.

³ Represented by a symbol, which stands on the proper right margin, before the space between lines 2 and 3. The same symbol, similarly placed, we have in the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava *Tucamahārāja* Vishṇugōpavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51. And the same symbol, placed before the first line of the text, occurs in the plates of the Pallava *Mahārāja* Simhavarmman, *ibid.* p. 155; in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarmman II., above, Vol. IV. p. 195; and elsewhere.

⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushṭubh).

⁵ The letter *s* is imperfect on the proper right side.

⁶ Here, and in other places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁷ Read *gāndhārva*.

⁸ Since some correction is necessary in lines 9 and 10, it is simplest to alter *ōditasya* to *ōditah*. Similar mistakes occur in the Vakkalēri plates of Kīrtivarman II., above, Vol. V. p. 202.

⁹ Read *-pātaḥ*.

¹⁰ Metre, here and below: Ślōka (Anushṭubh).

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
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ii a

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श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
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ii b.

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श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

- 21 rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s=] tasya tasya
 22 tadā phalaṃ || Svām dātum sumahach=chhakyam duḥkham=any-ārttha-
 pālanam [*]
 23 dānam vā pālanam v=ētil dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [||*]

Fourth Plate.

- 24 Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [*] shasṭi-varsha-sahasrāpi
 25 ghōrē tamasi pachyatē [||*] Adbhir=ddattām tribhir=bhuktām sadbhis=cha
 paripālītām [*]
 26 ētāni na nivarttantē pūrvva-rāja-kṛitāni cha || Yō=sya lōbhān=mōhād=v=ā-
 27 bhihartt[ā*] sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-²samyuktō bhavati [||*] Svasty=astu
 gō-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm. Hail! Victorious is Hari (Vishnu), who crushes the strength and heroism of the haughty lord of the Daityas, (and) owns the art of upholding, destroying and creating the world.

(L. 3.) (In the family) of the glorious **Kadambas**, anointed after meditating on Svāmi-Mahāsena and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the Mānavya gōtra (and) sons of Hārītī, who study the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text, (there was³) the *Dharmamahārāja* **Kṛishṇavarman**, the performer of a horse-sacrifice, who obtained the fame of victory in many a hard-fought battle, (and was) well-trained in learning. To him was born, from the daughter of **Kaikēya**, the *Dharmamahārāja*, the glorious **Vishṇuvarman**, in the art of music,⁴ the management of elephants and the science of archery like the king of Vatsa,⁵ Indra and Arjuna, learned in grammar⁶ and logic. He begot as his son the *Mahārāja* of the **Kadambas**, the glorious **Simhavarman**, valiant (and) conversant with many branches of learning.

(L. 10.) His son, the *Mahārāja*, the glorious **Kṛishṇavarman**, who has gained the fortune of royalty by his heroism, strength and enterprise, (and is) most devoted to religion, able to protect properly his people, (and) free from greed,—in the seventh year of his prosperous reign of victory, on the fifth tithi in the waxing half in the month Kārttika, under the nakshatra Jyēshthā,—for the sake of his beatitude in the life to come, has given, with pouring-out of water, the village named **Koḷa-Nallūra** in the **Vallāvi-vishaya**, with every exemption (from taxes), to the Brāhmaṇ who keeps alive the sacred fire, named **Vishṇuśarman**, who belongs to the **Kauśika gōtra**, knows the whole Vēda, (and) delights in the six duties (enjoined on Brāhmaṇs).

(L. 17.) The *Śrēṣṭhīn* **Haridatta**, of the **Tuṭhiyalla gōtra** and *pravara*, whose conduct is conformable with his obligations, who is solely devoted to the performance of his duties (and) is honoured by the king, (and) who bestows thousands of cows,⁷ has advised⁸ (the king to make this donation).

¹ After this there is a mark on the plate, perhaps intended for a sign of punctuation, which, however, is unnecessary.

² This *ka* was at first omitted, and then engraved below the line.

³ In the original, lines 3-17 form a single sentence, which has been broken up here into four.

⁴ Some words here and below remind one of line 13 of the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 259; for *gāndharva* see also e.g. *Rāmāyana*, Bo. ed., II. 2, 35.

⁵ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 357, verse 29.

⁶ *Śabdārtha* literally is 'the words and their meanings' or 'the meanings of words.' In the Junāgaḍh rock inscription the expression has generally been taken to mean 'grammar and polity.'

⁷ *Ushavadāta* gave (as alms) three hundred thousand cows; see *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV, p. 99, No. 5, line 1.

⁸ Compare the Hāsi plates of the *Mahārāja* **Harivarman**, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30, l. 8 of the text.

(L. 20.) Here there are (*the following*) verses sung by Manu:—[Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

(L. 26.) He who from greed or infatuation takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of the five great sins. May blessings rest on cows and Brâhmanas! ¹

No. 3.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. V. page 200.)

Vol. IV. of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica* again contains a number of Chôla inscriptions with Śaka dates. Dr. Hultzsch has sent me revised transcripts and translations of six of them (Nos. 32-37), which are all in the Heggaḍadêvankôte tâluka of the Mysore district. The transcripts were made from inked estampages, prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Śastri, B.A. The seventh of the new dates (No. 38) is taken from Vol. III. of Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*.

I would add here a few words about the commencement of Râjarâja's reign. Above, Vol. V. p. 48, I found that that reign commenced between (approximately) the 24th December A.D. 984 and the 29th August A.D. 985. By the statement of the Śuchindram inscription, *ibid.* p. 44, according to which the tenth year of the king's reign commenced with the month of Karkataka, the previously found period is reduced to the time from the 25th June to the 25th July A.D. 985.

A.— RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

32.— On a stone at the Bânêśvara temple at Beḷatûru.²

- 1 Śri svasti [||*] Saka-varisha ³vombhaynûṛa-nâlvatta-mûṛe(ṛa)neya varishada⁴
 Raudra-saṁvatsarada Â-
 2 śhâḍha-mâsada puppave Uttarâśhâḍha-nakshatram Maka-
 3 ra-chandram Bri(bṛi)haspati-vâram śri-Muḍigoṇḍa-Râjendra-Chôlam râjyam [ge]-
 4 yyutt-ire iyânḍu ombhattâvudara(ṛo)l.

"Thursday, the moon being in **Makara**, the *nakshatra* being **Uttarâśhâḍhâ**, during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Âśhâḍha in the **Raudra** year (*which corresponded*) to the nine-hundred-and-forty-third year of the Śaka years,—in the ninth year of the reign of the glorious **Muḍigoṇḍa-Râjendra-Chôla**."

The Jovian year **Raudra** by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṁvat 943 as a current year (= A.D. 1020-21). In that year the month Âśhâḍha was intercalary, and the full-moon *tithi* of the second or *nija* Âśhâḍha ended 17 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday**, the 7th July A.D. 1020, when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâśhâḍhâ**, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., and by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., after mean

¹ Cows and Brâhmanas are often mentioned together in this order; compare *e.g.* line 15 of Rudradâman's inscription referred to above; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 32, l. 10 of the text; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7, l. 52, and p. 129, l. 28; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 39, l. 1; *Râmâyana*, Bo. ed., I. 26, 5; III. 23, 28 (*svasti gô-brâhmanâbhyas-tu*); III. 24, 21 (*svasti gô brâhmanânam cha*); VI. 107, 49; *etc.*

² Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 16.

³ The opening words of line 1 as far as *vombha* are engraved at right angle to the remainder.

⁴ This word is entered below the line and its omission indicated by a cross above *neya*.

sunrise. The ending point of Uttarāshāḍhā being $276^{\circ} 42' 15''$ or 280° , the moon of course was in the sign **Makara** ($270^{\circ} - 300^{\circ}$).

According to our date, this **Thursday**, the 7th July A.D. 1020, fell in the ninth year of the king's reign. How far this statement may agree with other dates of Rājendra-Chōla I. will be considered below, under No. 34.

33.— On a stone lying at the Bāṇēśvara temple at Beḷatūru.¹

1	Svasti	śrī	[I*]	Pūrvva-dēsamum
2	Gaṅgeyum	Kaḍāramum	goṇḍa	kō Pa-
3	rakēsarivarmmar-āna			śrī-Rājendra-
4	Chōḷadēvargg-iyāṇḍu			irppatt-eraḍā-
5	vudū	[I*]	svasti	[I*] Saka-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-
6	śataṅga	955ya	Śrīmukha-samvatsarada	Mārggaśi-
7	ra-suddha-pāḍivam	=Mūl-Ārkkad	=amdu.	

"In the twenty-second year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadēva, who conquered the Eastern country, the Gaṅgā, and Kaḍāram,² — on **Sunday**, (the *nakshatra* being) **Mūla**, during the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgasīra in the Śrīmukha year (which was) the 955th of the hundreds of years passed from the time of the Śaka king."

The Jovian year Śrīmukha by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 955 as an expired year (= A.D. 1033-34). In that year the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgasīra ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th October A.D. 1033, when the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā. This in no way satisfies the requirements of the case.

I have no doubt that the month intended in the original is really the month **Pausa** of our Tables³ (which follows immediately upon Mārgasīra), because, for that month, the date regularly corresponds to **Sunday**, the 25th November A.D. 1033,⁴ when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 14 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Mūla**,⁵ by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal-space system for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

According to our date, this **Sunday**, the 25th November A.D. 1033, fell in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. This, too, will be considered under the next date.

34.— On a stone in front of the Arkēśvara temple at Aṅkanāthapura.⁶

1	Svasti	[I*]	Sha(śa)ka-varisham	959neya	I(i)śvara-shatsamrada ⁷
2	Āśaḍa-māssada ⁸		Kālashtavaya	Shāti-naktra	Somma-
3	varada	[a]ndu	śrī-Mmu(mu)ḍigoṇḍa-Gaṅgegoṇḍa-Rājhē(jē)ndra-Chō-		
4	ḷadēvarkk-īya(yā)ṇḍu		ippata-aṅavudū. ⁹		

¹ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 17.

² Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 69, date No. 5.

³ I must add that there may be a way of proving the quotation in the original date of the month *Mārgasīra* to be correct. In Śaka-Samvat 955 expired, by the rules of mean intercalation, a month was intercalated before **Pausa**. That month would ordinarily be called *Pausa*; but it might be called *Mārgasīra* on the supposition that it was calculated by the Ārya-siddhānta, and named according to Brahmagupta's rule; see my *List of North. Inscr.* No. 484. This remark does not affect the correctness of the European equivalent of the date, given above.

⁴ On the immediately preceding day the *Dhanuh-samkrānti* took place, 13 h. after mean sunrise.

⁵ That it is correct to translate *Mūl-Ārkkad-amdu* by 'on Sunday, (the *nakshatra* being) **Mūla**,' is proved by a date on p. 17 of the Roman text of *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. That date gives us for calculation Śaka-Samvat 1039 (current, the year *Durmukha*), *Jyēṣṭha-bahula* 1, and *Mūl-Ārkatāra*; and it corresponds to **Sunday**, the 28th May A.D. 1116, when the first *tithi* of the dark half commenced 4 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise, and when the *nakshatra* was **Mūla** by all systems.

⁶ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 104.

⁷ Read *-samvatsarada*.

⁸ Read *Āśāḍha-māssada Kālashtamīyam Śrāti-nakshatram Sōma-ādīad-amdu*.

⁹ Read *irppatt-ārādādu*.

"On Monday, the *nakshatra* being *Svāti*, during the *Kālāshṭamī* (*tithi*) of the month of *Āshāḍha* in the *Īśvara* year (*which was*) the 959th Śaka year,—in the twenty-sixth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious *Mudigoṇḍa-Gaṅgegoṇḍa-Rājendra-Chōḷadēva*."

The Jovian year *Īśvara* by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 959 as an expired year (= A.D. 1037-38). *Kāl-āshṭamī* is a name of the 8th *tithi* of the dark half. As this *tithi*, in the month of *Āshāḍha*, can under no circumstances be joined with *Svāti* (the 15th *nakshatra*), the given date cannot be correct.

As a matter of fact, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of *Āshāḍha* of Śaka-Saṃvat 959 expired ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 8th July A.D. 1037, when the *nakshatras* were *Aśvini* and *Bharanī* (the first and second *nakshatras*). And the 8th *tithi* of the dark half cannot have been quoted erroneously instead of the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (on which in *Āshāḍha* the *nakshatra* may be *Svāti*), because in the given Śaka year the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshāḍha* ended on a Thursday (the 23rd June A.D. 1037), not on a Monday. I have calculated the date also for other months of the given year, but without any satisfactory results.

Giving up this date as hopelessly wrong, we have still to consider what data are furnished by the two preceding dates for ascertaining the time of the commencement of the reign of *Rājendra-Chōḷa I.* By No. 32 the 7th July A.D. 1020 fell in the ninth year, and by No. 33 the 25th November A.D. 1033 in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. Accordingly (approximately) the 7th July A.D. 1012 and the 25th November A.D. 1012 must have fallen in the first year; and the reign of *Rājendra-Chōḷa I.*, according to the two new dates, therefore undoubtedly must have commenced some time between (approximately) the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July A.D. 1012.

I have previously (above, Vol. IV. p. 266) stated that the king's reign commenced between the 24th October A.D. 1001 and the 23rd October A.D. 1002. That statement necessarily was based solely on the date No. 5 (*ibid.* p. 69), which corresponds to the 23rd October A.D. 1032, and which, according to the actual reading of the date, is of the 31st year of the reign of *Rājendra-Chōḷa I.* With the new dates before me, in which the numbers of the regnal years are given in words, I feel sure that the number 31 in the date No. 5 has been put erroneously for 21, and that the 23rd October A.D. 1032 really fell in the 21st year of the king's reign, which would agree with the new result. This result would also tend to shew that in the incorrect date No. 34 the Śaka year (959 expired), at any rate, is given correctly.

B.—RAJADHIRAJA.

35.—On a stone in front of the *Māri* temple at *Koḷagāla*.¹

- 1 Śrī-Rājādhīrājādēva[r*]gg-iyāṇḍu [35].²
- 2 āvadu [Sa]kha-va[ri]śam³ 975[ne].
- 3 ya ⁴Vijayōśchaiva-saṃvatsara[da]
- 4 Jēshṭa-māsada sukla-pakshada tra[yō*]-
- 5 daśi Ādityavārad-andu.

¹ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 114.

² The two figures of the date are damaged, but cannot be read otherwise. Mr. Rice reads *yāṇḍugemāradu*. From this erroneous reading he further concludes that *Rājādhīrāja's* regnal years were reckoned in two different ways; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 13 of the Introduction.

³ Read *Śaka-varsham*.

⁴ This curious form is derived from certain *versus memoriales* (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1881, p. 276), in which the year *Vijaya* is introduced by the words *Vijayāśchaiva*. Compare the two similar terms *Pramōdūta* and *Pramōdīcha*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 109, note 2.

“In the [35]th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on **Sunday**, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyaishṭha in the Vijaya year (*which was*) the 975th Śaka year.”

The Jovian year Vijaya by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 975 as an expired year (=A.D. 1053-54). For that year the date is incorrect; for the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaishṭha of the given year corresponds to Tuesday, the 1st June A.D. 1053, which was entirely occupied by the *tithi*.¹

The date would be correct for the third (instead of the 13th) *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaishṭha of the given year, which ended 8 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday**, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.

From what I have stated above, Vol. IV. p. 266, about the commencement of Rājādhirāja's reign, it is clear that any date of the 35th year of that king's reign must fall between (approximately) the 15th March A.D. 1052 and the 2nd December A.D. 1053.

C.—RAJENDRADEVA.

36.—On a stone near the Binakalamma temple at Beḷatūru.²

1 Ōm [||*] Svasti śrī-Chōḷa-rājāṃ sakāḷa-vasudheyaṃ koṇḍu Rājēndradēvaṃ
 3 dust-āri-vrāta-ghātāṃ negaḷe barisaṃ=āṅ=āge mattaṃ Sak-ābdam [!*]
 vis[t]ā-

2 rak[k*]=oṃbhat-ēl-oṃbhatum=ene barisaṃ Hēmalambī-prasiddhaṃ svastaṃ māsaṃ
 gaḍaṃ Kā[r*]ttikam=asi[ta]-dinam dvādasī Sōmavāraṃ I(II)

“Hail! When it was six years after the glorious Chōḷa king Rājēndradēva, renowned as the slayer of crowds of wicked enemies, had taken possession of the whole earth,—and again, in detail, in the Śaka year reckoned as nine, seven and nine (*i.e.* 979), in the year known as Hēmalambin, on **Monday**, the twelfth *tithi*, a day of the dark (*fortnight*) of the auspicious month of Kārttika.”

The Jovian year Hēmalambin by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 979 as an expired year (=A.D. 1057-58); and for that year the date corresponds to **Monday**, the 27th October A.D. 1057, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Kārttika ended 22 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

Below, under No. 38, it will be seen that the words of the date ‘when it was six years after’ *etc.*, simply are intended to convey the sense of ‘in the sixth year of the reign of.’

37.—On a virakal at Gujjappanahūṇḍi.⁴

5	Vīra-siṃggāsanattu	vīṭr=irind=aruḷina	kōv=Irājakēsaripadmar=āna	oḍeya
6	śrī-Rājēndradēvargg=iyāṇḍu	pannirāṇḍāvudu	. . . . .
7	. . . . .		
8	Saka-varisha		11	Pāḷguṇa-mā-
9	984 ⁵		12	sada puṇṇavc-
10	saṃvatsarada		13	y-andu.

¹ The date would be incorrect also for the current Śaka year 975.

² Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 18.

³ Read *dusht*.

⁴ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 115. The original is much worn and many *akṣaras* are indistinct, but the figures of the Śaka date in line 9 are clear. The introduction (ll. 1-4) mentions Rājēndra's elder brother (*viz.* Rājādhirāja), the planting of a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram, and the defeat of Āhavamalla at Koppam.

⁵ Here two or three *akṣaras* are lost.

"In the twelfth year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman¹ *alias* the lord śrī-Rājendradēva, who was pleased to be seated on the throne of heroes,—during the full-moon day of the month of Phālguna in the year (*which was*) the Śaka year 984."

This date does not admit of verification. All that I can say about it, is, that if the Śaka year is Śaka-Samvat 984 expired, the date, which is stated to be of the twelfth year of the king's reign, will ordinarily correspond to the 15th February A.D. 1063. From No. 38, below, it will be seen that this day fell really in the eleventh year of the king's reign.

38.—In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.²

13 kō=Ppara[k]ēsari[panmar]=āna [u]ḍai[y]ār śrī-
Rājendradēva[ku] yāṇḍu nālāva-
14 du [nā*]l s[2] || ivv-āṭṭai Si[m*]ha-nāyarru
apara-paksha[t]tu aṣṭamiyū Viyāla-kkūlamaiyū
15 perṟa Rōja(hi)ṇi-nāl.

"On the 8[2]nd day of the fourth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the lord śrī-Rājendradēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha in this year."

Of the years indicated in a general way by the two preceding dates, the one which yields a correct (and a most satisfactory) result for this date, is Śaka-Samvat 977 expired. In that year the month of Simha lasted from the 27th July to the 26th August A.D. 1055; and during that time the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (which was the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* *śrāvaṇa*) commenced 14 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055, when the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi, from sunrise (or, by the equal space system, from about midday) to the end of the day. Although the *tithi* commenced so late in the day, the result is correct, because the *tithi* with which we are concerned is the *Janm-āṣṭamī* or *Krishṇ-āṣṭamī*, a *tithi* which must be joined with that day of which the time of midnight is occupied by it, and which therefore, in the present instance, could have been joined only with the Thursday on which it commenced about four hours before midnight. The occasion was the more auspicious as the *nakṣatra* at midnight was Rōhiṇi.³

The equivalent of this date, then, undoubtedly is Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055. As this was the 82nd day of the fourth year of the king's reign, the first day of the fourth year was the 25th May A.D. 1055, and Rājendradēva's reign commenced (approximately) on the 28th May A.D. 1052. The result shews that the equivalent of the date No. 36 (the 27th October A.D. 1057) fell in the sixth year of his reign, while the equivalent suggested for No. 37 (the 15th February A.D. 1063) fell in the eleventh, not in the twelfth year.

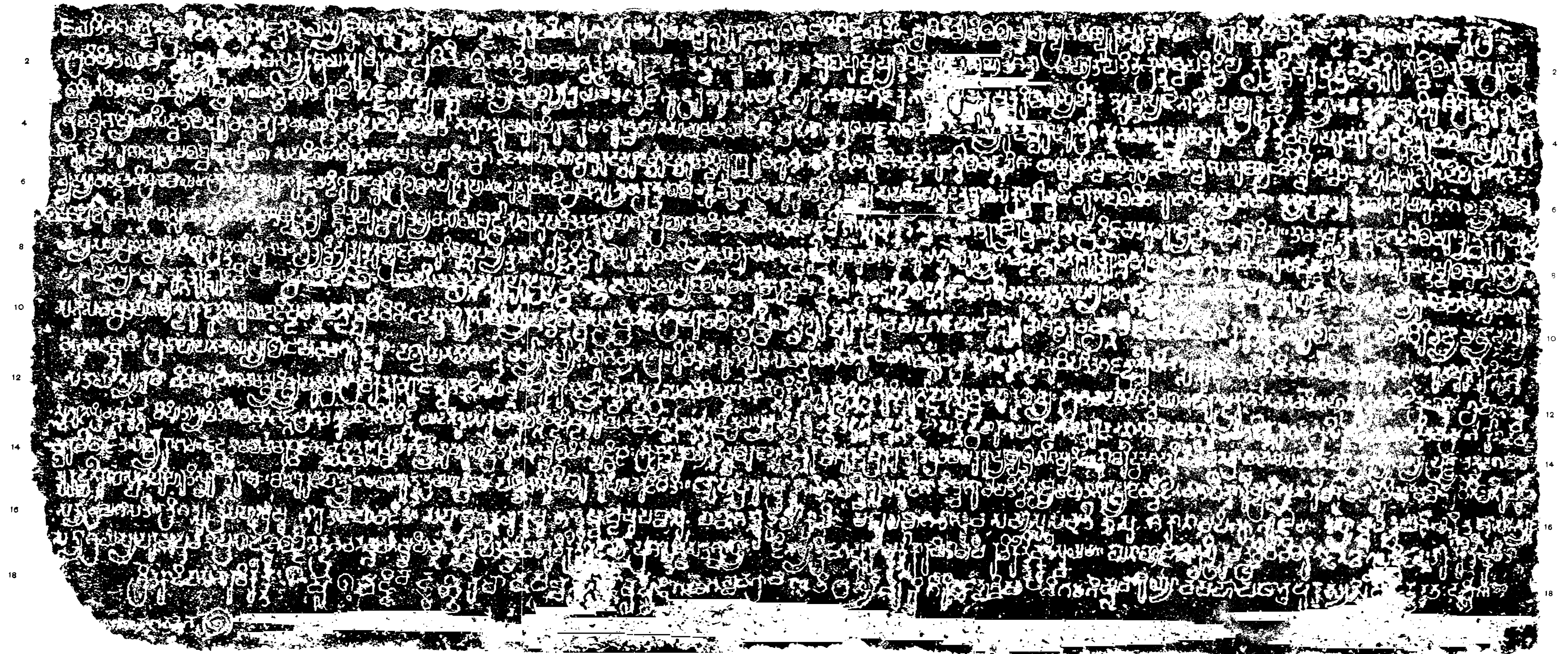
For convenience of reference the commencement of the reigns of the seven Chōla kings whose dates have been examined in the preceding, may now be given thus:—

- 1.—Rajarāja: between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.
- 2.—Rājendra-Chōla I.: between the 26th November A.D. 1011, and the 7th July 1012.
- 3.—Rajādhirāja: between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.
- 4.—Rājendradēva: (approximately) the 28th May A.D. 1052.
- 5.—Kulōttunga-Chōla I.: between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.
- 6.—Vikrama-Chōla: (most probably) the 18th July A.D. 1108.
- 7.—Kulōttunga-Chōla III.: between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178.

¹ In all other published inscriptions the king bears the surname Parakēsarivarman.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 29, pp. 61 and 63.

³ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 182, *Śrāvaṇa-kṛishṇapakṣha* VIII.



- 16 **Satyāśraya** śāsati || [32*] **Trimśatsu** tri-sahasrēshu **Bhāratād-āhavād-**
 itaḥ [1*] **sapt-ābdaśata-yuktēshu** śa(ga)tēshv=abdēshu **pañchasa** || [33*]
Pañchāśatsu Kalau kālē² **shaṣṭsu** pañcha-śatāsu **cha** [1*] **samāsu**
samatitāsu Śakānām=api bhūbhujām || [34*] ³Tasy=āmbudhitraya-nivārīta-
 śāsanasya
- 17 **Satyāśrayasya** param=āptavatā prasādam [1*] śailaṅ-Jinēndra-bhavanam
 bhavanam=⁴mahimnān=nirmāpitam=matimatā **Ravikirtin**=ēdam || [35*]
⁵Prasastēr=vvasatēś=ch=āsyāḥ⁶ **Jinasya** trijagad-gurōḥ=⁷kartā kārayitā ch=
 āpi **Ravikirttiḥ**=kṛitī svayam || [36*] ⁸Yēn=āyōji navē=śma-sthīram=arttha-
 vidhau vivēkinā Jina-vēśma [1*] sa ⁹vijayatām **Ravikirttiḥ**=kavitā-
- 18 śrīta-**Kālidāsa-Bhāravi**-kīrttiḥ | (||) [37*] @ ¹⁰Mūlavallī-Veṃmātikavāda-
 [Ma]¹¹chchanūr-Ggaṅgavūr-Puligere-Gaṇḍavagrāma(mā) iti asya bhuktiḥ [1*]
 Giri(rē)[s=ta]tāt=paśchim-[ā]bhigata¹² Nimūvārīr=yyāva[t*] mahāpathāntapurasya
 si(sī)mā uttarataḥ dakṣiṇatō
- 19-13 ga . . . 14 na @

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious¹⁵ is the holy **Jinēndra**— he who is exempt from old age, death and birth—in the sea of whose knowledge the whole world is comprised like an island.

(V. 2.) And next, long victorious is the immeasurable, wide ocean of the **Chalukya** family, which is the birth-place of jewels of men that are ornaments of the diadem of the earth.

(V. 3.) And victorious for very long is **Satyāśraya**, who in bestowing gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned, both together on either, observes not the rule of correspondency of number.¹⁶

¹ Metre of verses 33 and 34: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

² After this a second *lē* seems to have been engraved and then cancelled again.

³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁴ Originally = *bhavanam* was engraved.

⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁶ Read = *āsyāḥ*.

⁷ Read = *gurōḥ*.

⁸ Metre: Āryāgītī.

⁹ In the place of *vi* originally *ja* was engraved; afterwards it was erased and *i* was engraved above and below it.

¹⁰ From here the writing differs from, and seems undoubtedly more modern than, that of the preceding part of the inscription. Compare especially the signs for *a*, *k*, *t*, *r* and *l*.

¹¹ Dr. Fleet read this *akṣhara pa*, and he may possibly be right.

¹² Not understanding the passage, I am unable to say whether (as proposed by Dr. Fleet) this should be altered to *gataṃ*.

¹³ Here one or two *akṣharas* are illegible.

¹⁴ Here one *akṣhara* is illegible.

¹⁵ Ravikirti in verses 1-3 glorifies first the Jaina prophet, Jinēndra, for whom he has built the temple at which the inscription was engraved; secondly (*tad=anu*), the Chalukya family, the history of which forms the theme of his poem; and lastly, his patron, the king Satyāśraya (Pulikesin II.) of that family. Similarly, in the first three verses of the (unpublished) Tālgund Kadamba inscription the poet Kubja first glorifies the god Sthānu (Śiva), near whose temple the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman founded a tank; secondly (*tam=anu*), the Brāhmaṇa caste to which the Kadambas, whose rise to power Kubja describes, belonged; and lastly, the king Kākusthavarman himself.—With the epithet commencing with *etta*, compare *etta-janma-jarasaṃ* (*param śuchi brahmaṇaḥ padam*) in the *Kirātārjunīya*, V. 22.

¹⁶ Interpreted by Pāṇini's rule, I. 3, 10, *yathā-samkhyam=anudēśaḥ samānām*, the statement that Satyāśraya bestowed gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned 'would mean, that he bestowed gifts on the brave and honours on the learned. But the fact that the king really bestowed gifts and honours, both together, on the brave as well as on the learned, shews that the above statement should not be interpreted by, or, as the poet puts it, that Satyāśraya did not act in accordance with, Pāṇini's *yathā-samkhyā*-rule. As Ravikirti here refers to Pāṇini, I. 3, 10, so Bhāravi in the *Kirātārjunīya*, XIII. 19, clearly refers to the immediately preceding rule of Pāṇini's, I. 3, 10, *tasya lōpah*; compare Mallinātha's commentary on the verse. Similarly, to give only one more instance, Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa*, XII. 58 (*dhatōḥ sthāna iv=ādēśam*), alludes to Pāṇini, I. 1, 56, *sthānivad=ādēśo=naivādhau*.

(V. 4.) When many members of that race, bent on conquest, applied to whom the title of Favourite of the Earth had at last become appropriate, had passed away,—

(V. 5.) There was, of the **Chalukya** lineage, the king named **Jayasimha-vallabha**, who in battle—where horses, footsoldiers and elephants, bewildered, fell down under the strokes of many hundreds of weapons, and where thousands of frightful headless trunks and of flashes of rays of swords were leaping to and fro¹—by his bravery made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness.²

(V. 6.) His son was he who was named **Baṇarāga**, of divine dignity, the one master of the world, whose superhuman nature, (*even*) when he was asleep, people knew from the pre-eminence of his form.³

(V. 7.) His son was **Polekēśin**, who, though endowed with the moon's Beauty, and though the favourite of Fortune, became the bridegroom of **Vātāpipuri**.⁴

(V. 8.) Whose path in the pursuit of the three objects of life⁵ the kings on earth even now are unable to follow; and bathed by whom with the water of the purificatory rite, when he performed the horse-sacrifice, the earth beamed with brightness.

(V. 9.) His son was **Kirtivarman**, the night of doom to the **Nāḷas**, **Mauryas** and **Kadambas**, whose mind, although his thoughts kept aloof from others' wives, was attracted by the Fortune of his adversary.

(V. 10.) Who, having secured the fortune of victory by his valour in war, being a scent-elephant of a king, of great strength, at once completely broke down the multitude of the broad *kadamba* trees—the **Kadambas**.⁶

(V. 11.) When his desire was bent on the dominion of the lord of the gods,⁷ his younger brother **Maṅgalēśa** became king, who by the sheets of dust of his army of horse, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched an awning over the quarters.⁸

(V. 12.) Who in that house which was the battle-field took in marriage the damsel, the Fortune of the **Kaṭachchuris**, having scattered the gathering gloom, (*viz.*) the array of elephants (*of the adversary*), with hundreds of bright-rayed lamps, (*viz.*) the swords (*of his followers*).

(V. 13.) And again, when he was desirous of taking the island of **Rēvatī**, his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, as it was reflected in the water of the sea appeared like **Varuṇa's** forces, quickly come there at once at his word (*of command*).

¹ Literally, 'dancing.' The compound commencing with *ṇṛityad-* reminds one of *Ragh.* VII. 48, where a warrior whose head has been cut off with the sword (*khaḍga*) rises into the sky, and from there views his headless trunk dancing on the battle-field (*ṇṛityat=kabandham samarē dadarīa*).—The preceding *atva-patti-dvipa* is equivalent to *atva-dvipa-vāra*, *ibid.* verse 39.

² Compare *Ragh.* XVII. 46, *chopal=āpi svabhāvataḥ . . . Śrīḥ*.

³ The gods are called *a-nimisha*, or *a-nimēsha*, because they do not shut their eyes (compare *Ragh.* III. 43). When the king was asleep, he did shut his eyes, yet even then the pre-eminence of his form shewed him to be a god. *Vapuḥ-prakarṣa* occurs *e.g. ibid.* III. 34 and 52, and *Kir.* III. 2.—It may be noted that the word *jagad-ekantāhaḥ*, used in this verse, occurs in *Ragh.* V. 23, together with *divyārāja-kāntiḥ* which is synonymous with the epithet *īrit-śrīndukāntiḥ* in the next verse of this inscription.

⁴ Beauty (*Kānti*) personified is regarded as the wife of the Moon. The town *Vātāpipuri* is represented by the poet as a newly married woman (*Vātāpipury=eva vadhūr=navādhā, tasya varo vādha*); compare *Ragh.* XVII. 25, *ṛijyatrī-vadhū-varaḥ*.

⁵ *I.e. dharma, artha and kāma.*

⁶ The expression *prithu-Kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam* apparently was suggested to our author by the *prithu-kadamba-kadambaka* in *Kir.* V. 9. In the *Tālgund Kadamba* inscription the *kadamba* tree and the *Kadamba* family have the epithet *uru*, corresponding to the adjective *prithu* in the present inscription and in the *Kaṭhēm* plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22, l. 21.

⁷ *I.e. when he died.*

⁸ Compare *Ragh.* XVIII. 22, *vēdā-taṭēṣh=śhita-sainikāścam*; and IX. 50, *gaganam=atvakhur-ōddhata-rēvubhir=ṇṛi-savitā sa-vitānam=ivākarōt*. The eastern and western seas bound the earth on either side; compare *Kumdrasambhava*, I. 1.

No. 4.—KONNUR SPURIOUS INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 782.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription is built into a wall of the temple of Paramêśvara at **Konnûr**,¹ the 'Khonor' of the map, a large village on the south bank of the Malparbhâ river, 23 miles in a north-easterly direction from Nawalgund, the chief town of the Nawalgund tâluka, Dhârwar district; *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 41, long. 75° 34' E., lat. 15° 51' N. I edit the inscription from an excellent impression, kindly given to me by Dr. Fleet.²

The inscribed surface of the stone measures about 5' 4½" high by 2' 10" broad. Above the writing, in the arched top with which the stone ends, there are some sculptures, viz., in the middle, a shrine holding a sitting Jaina Tîrthamkara, with a chowrie-bearer on either side of him; on the proper left of the shrine, a cow with a sucking calf and, above them, a sword and the sun; and on the right of the shrine, another chowrie-bearer and an elephant, with the new moon above them. The writing is well executed, and for the most part in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ⅞". The characters are Kanarese of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, excepting a verse in lines 62-64, and the prose passage at the end of the inscription, lines 70-72, which are in Kanarese. The greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of orthography, it will suffice to draw attention to the frequent use of the Dravidian *l*, and of the sign of the *upadhmaniya* (also in the word *puḥpa* for *pushpa*, l. 40), and to the occasional employment of the sign of the *jihvâmûliya* (in *dharmmah-kêvalam*, l. 14, *yah-kâmchanam*, l. 54, and *kîrttik-kakubhâm*, l. 69).

The inscription divides itself into two parts. Lines 1 to (the word *sarvam* in) 59 record a grant, professedly made by the Râshtrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha [I.] on a date which falls in A.D. 860. Lines 59 (from the word *mithyâbhâva*) to 72, on the other hand, after praises of the Jaina creed and the two sages Mēghachandra-Traividya and his son Vîranandin, inform us that, at the request of Huliymarasa, the *Mahâprabhu* of Kolanûra, and others, Vîranandin had a copper charter, which they had seen, rewritten here as a stone charter. According to this statement, lines 1-59 of the inscription were copied from a copper-plate inscription;³ and from the dates which we possess for Vîranandin and his father Mēghachandra-Traividya, the time when this copy was made, and when the inscription, as we have it, was engraved, may approximately be determined to be the middle of the twelfth century A.D. From an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgola (Roman text, p. 26, ll. 3-6) we know that Mēghachandra-Traividya died on Thursday, the 2nd December A.D. 1115;⁴ and according to a notice published by Mr. Pathak,⁵ Vîranandin finished the writing of his *Āchâra-sâra* on a date which I find to correspond to Monday, the 25th May A.D. 1153.

The principal part of the inscription (lines 1-59, the alleged copy of a copper-plate inscription) records, that—at a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of the month Āśvayuja

¹ I am told by Dr. Fleet that a similar name in the Belgaum district is distinctly *Konṇûr*, from the old form *Konḍanûr*, as well as by actual verification of the present spelling. But the name with which we are here concerned is derived from *Kolanûra*, which occurs in this record.

² The inscription is mentioned by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 406, note 4.

³ That other stone inscriptions have been copied from copper-plates, there can be no doubt; and the fact is distinctly stated e.g. in the inscriptions in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 281, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 20.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 116, No. 17.

⁵ See *ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 14. The date given by Mr. Pathak is 'Śaka 1076, the Śrîmukha *samvatsara*, on Monday the first day of the bright fortnight of Jyaishtha.' On the corresponding European date given above, the first tithi of the bright half of the second Jyaishtha commenced 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

(or Āśvina) in the [Jovian] year Vikrama, Śaka-Saṃvat 782 expired or, as is expressly stated, 83 current (ll. 43 and 44)—king Amôghavarsha [I.], the successor of Jagattuṅga (ll. 15 and 16), residing at his capital of Mānyakhêṭa¹ (l. 34), at the request of his subordinate Baṅkêśa (Baṅkêya) and in recognition of important services rendered by him, granted the village of Taleyûra (l. 38) and some land in other villages (ll. 45-48), for the benefit of a Jaina sanctuary founded by Baṅkêya at Kolanûra, to the sage Dêvêndra,² who had been appointed by Baṅkêya to the charge of the sanctuary, the disciple of Trikâlayôgîśa, of the Pustaka *gachchha* of the Dêśîya *gana* of the Mûla *saṅgha* (ll. 35-38). The introductory part of the inscription—after two verses of which one invokes the blessing, at the same time, of the god Viṣṇu (Jina) and the first Jaina prophet (Jinêndra), and the other³ the protection of both Viṣṇu (Nârâyana) and the king Amôghavarsha himself, here, as in verse 34, called Vira-Nârâyana⁴—in verses 3-11 gives the genealogy of Amôghavarsha. Verses 17-34 contain a eulogistic account of the services rendered by Baṅkêśa (Baṅkêya). And the concluding lines 57-59 record the writer's name, Vatsarâja, and that of Baṅkêyarâja's chief adviser, the Mahattara Gaṇapati.

It may at once be stated here that the date given above undoubtedly is correct. The Jovian year Vikrama corresponds to Śaka-Saṃvat 782 expired, by both luni-solar systems;⁵ and on the full-moon day of Āśvina of that year, corresponding to the 3rd October A.D. 860, there was a total eclipse of the moon, fully visible in India for more than three hours. But much as the correctness of a date, containing such particulars as are given here, would speak in favour of the genuineness of a record, there is at least one point in the preceding, which raises a doubt whether the stone inscription, even if it was based on a genuine copper-plate charter, is an authentic copy of it in every detail. Excepting the Kaḍaba grant of Prabhûtavarsha (Gôvinda III.) the form of which is altogether peculiar, the earlier Sanskrit copper-plate inscriptions of the Râshtrakûṭas of the main line, from the Sâmaṅgaḍ plates of Dantidurga to the Nausârî plates of Indrarâja III. of Śaka-Saṃvat 836, all commence with the verse *Sa vû=vyûd=Vêdhasû dhûma*; and as that verse is found also in Amôghavarsha's own Śîrûr inscription, I should have expected the present inscription also to begin with it, and might well fancy that the Jaina copyists substituted for it a verse referring to their own creed.

However this may be, it is certain that the genealogical account in verses 3-11 of this inscription, which we now have to consider, cannot possibly be admitted to be a true copy of a genuine copper-plate charter. To shew this, I place side by side here the line of succession as

¹ According to the Dêoli plates of Śaka-Saṃvat 862 (above, Vol. V. p. 193, l. 18 of the text) Mānyakhêṭa was founded by Amôghavarsha I. The earliest plates in which it is described as the residence of a king, are the Nausârî plates of Indrarâja III. of Śaka-Saṃvat 836 (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 257 and 261).

² This may be the Dêvêndra of Baṅkâpura, mentioned in *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Roman text, p. 49, l. 8.

³ With this second verse may be compared the third verse of the Nausârî plates mentioned above, which eulogizes the king Indrarâja III. who issued the grants, by comparing him with, and ascribing to him actions which were performed by, the god Viṣṇu.

⁴ I.e. 'a Nârâyana (or Viṣṇu) in the shape of a hero,' or 'a hero who is like Nârâyana (Viṣṇu).' Amôghavarsha I. is described as *Vîra-Nârâyana* also in the Nausârî plates; and the same epithet is given to Amôghavarsha Kakkarâja II. in the Kardâ plates of that king (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, l. 40 of the text). Similar epithets are *Kîrti-Nârâyana*, 'a Nârâyana (or Viṣṇu) in fame,' applied to Gôvinda III. in the Śîrûr inscription of Amôghavarsha I. (*ibid.* p. 218, l. 5 of the text), and to Indrarâja III. in his Nausârî plates; and *Vîkrânta-Nârâyana*, 'a Nârâyana (or Viṣṇu) in valour,' applied to Gôvinda IV. in his Sânglî plates (*ibid.* p. 251, l. 38 of the text).—In the case of the present inscription, what, in my opinion, must strike one as somewhat suspicious, is, that, in verse 34, the king in his own speech should have been made to represent himself as Vira-Nârâyana.

⁵ Judging by other dates, the proper system for Śaka-Saṃvat 782 is the so-called northern luni-solar system; but by the strict mean-sign system also the day of the date would fall in the year Vikrama, which ended on the 14th October A.D. 860.

furnished by this inscription, and the genealogy of the Râshtrakûta princes from Gôvindarâja I. to Amôghavarsha I., as we know it from their copper-plates.

From this inscription.

1. In the Yâdava lineage,
Gôvinda, son of Prichchhakarâja.
2. Karkara, son of king Indra.
3. His son Dantidurga.
4. Śubhatuṅgavallabha-Akâlavarsha.
5. Prabhûtavarsha, son of Dhârâvarsha.
6. His son Prabhûtavarsha-Jagattuṅga.
7. Amôghavarsha.

From the copper-plates.

- Gôvindarâja I.
His son Kakkarâja or Karkarâja.
His son Indrarâja.
His son Dantidurga.
Śubhatuṅga-Akâlavarsha (Kṛishṇarâja I., son of Kakkarâja).
His son Prabhûtavarsha¹ (Gôvindarâja II.).
His younger brother (Dhruvarâja-Nirupama) Dhârâvarsha.
His son Prabhûtavarsha-Jagattuṅga (Gôvindarâja III.).
His son Amôghavarsha.

From the above it will be seen that, excepting the strange name Prichchhakarâja² for which I cannot account, the same names, though not always written uniformly, are there on either side. But to the writer of this part of our inscription the mutual relationship of the princes whose names he knew, apparently was a riddle. He therefore either observed a discreet silence or perpetrated such blunders as to make Karkara the son of Indrarâja, whereas he was his father; or to put down Prabhûtavarsha as the son of Dhârâvarsha, to omit Dhârâvarsha altogether from the line of kings, and then to make Prabhûtavarsha-Jagattuṅga the son of Prabhûtavarsha. Moreover, the assignment of these kings to the Yâdava lineage,³ and especially the occurrence of the name Karkara,⁴ instead of Kakkarâja or Karkarâja, seem clearly to indicate that the genealogy was concocted some time after the date which is recorded in this inscription, and has not been copied from a genuine copper-plate charter of Amôghavarsha I.

The person with whom our inscription is chiefly concerned, is Baṅkêśa or, as the name also is written, Baṅkêya, or Baṅkêyarâja, by Amôghavarsha's favour in the enjoyment of, or governing, thirty-thousand villages the most important of which was Vanavâsi (verse 21). As reported by Dr. Fleet,⁵ an unpublished inscription at Nidagundi in the Dhârwar district mentions, as a feudatory of Amôghavarsha I., Baṅkeyarasa, governor of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Belgali three-hundred, the Kunderage seventy, the Kundûr five-hundred, and the Purige three-hundred, who apparently is the same personage. According to our inscription, Baṅkêśa *alias* Sella-kêtana was the son of Adhôra (or Âdhôra), proprietor of Kolanûra, and his wife Vijayânkâ, and grandson of Erakôri, of the Mukula family (*kula*; vv. 17-19). The name Baṅkêśa (or Baṅkêya) together with the *biruda* Sellakêtana identify

¹ I take this name from the Kadaba plates.

² According to the fragmentary Ellôrâ Daśavatâra cave temple inscription (*Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. V. p. 87) Gôvindarâja I. was the son of Indrarâja.

³ In line 17 of the Wanî plates of Gôvindarâja III. of Śaka-Saṃvat 730 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157) the Yâdava *vanîsa* is mentioned by way of comparison; but the earliest plates in which the Râshtrakûtas are stated to belong to the *Yadûnâm vanîsa*, are the Nausâri plates of Śaka-Saṃvat 836.

⁴ The earlier inscriptions have only the names *Kakkarâja* and *Karkarâja*; the name *Kakkala* occurs in the Kardâ plates of Śaka-Saṃvat 894 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 264), in the Guṇḍûr inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 896 (*ibid.* p. 271), and in later inscriptions; and *Karkara* I first meet with in the Kauthêrî plates of Śaka-Saṃvat 930 (*ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, l. 41 of the text).

⁵ See *Dynasties*, p. 403. Dr. Fleet has informed me that in the Nidagundi inscription Paṅkêya is described as *Chellakêtana iṣṭmat Baṅkeyarasa*, but is also called simply *Baṅkeya*. See below.

him with the **Chellakêṭana**, whose son Lôkâditya *alias* Chellapatâka (the younger brother of Chelladhvaja), of the Mukula *kula*, in A.D. 897 was governing the Vanavâsa country at **Baṅkapura**, so named by his father *after his own name* (Baṅkêṣa);¹ and there can therefore be hardly any doubt that the date of our inscription (in A.D. 860) may give us a true date for the time of Baṅkêṣa.—The exploits of Baṅkêṣa are told in verses 22-31. As leader of the hereditary forces, he at the king's command invaded Gaṅgavâḍi² (the country of the Western Gaṅgas), took the fort of Kêḍala, put to flight the ruler of Talavanapura, and after crossing the river Kâvêri, conquered the enemy's country. Recalled then by Amôghavarsha on account of disturbances which had broken out at home, and in which, as appears from verse 31, the king's own son was concerned,³ he quickly returned, and succeeded in quelling the insurrection and restoring his master's fortune.—The Talavanapura here mentioned is the well-known capital of the Western Gaṅgas, the modern Talakâḍ on the left bank of the river Kâvêri;⁴ and Kêḍala may perhaps be the modern 'Kaidala' which, according to the map in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, is to the north-east of Kaḍaba.

As regards the places mentioned in connection with the actual grant, Kolanûra has already been stated to be the village of Konnûr, where the inscription is. The village granted, Taleyûra, which was in the Majjantiya-seventy *bhukti*, has not been identified; nor have its boundaries, Bendaṇûru,⁵ Sâsavevâ[du], Paḍilagerē, and Kilavâḍa. In addition to the main grant, twelve *nivartanas* of land were granted at Kolanûra itself, and at each of the thirty villages which are enumerated in lines 45-48. Eleven of these may be identified⁶ with modern villages at a reasonable distance from Konnûr, thus:—

Avaravâ[d]ji = 'Owruddee,' 'Aurwâdi,' 6 miles west by north from Konnûr;

Bendaṇûru = 'Bennoor,' 1½ miles north of 'Owruddee';

Sulla = 'Soolah,' 'Sula,' 5 miles east by south from Konnûr;

Mâvinûru = 'Munnoor,' 8 miles east by south from Konnûr;

Mattikatṭe = 'Mutteekuttee,' 'Matikatti,' 12 miles north by east from Konnûr;

Nila[gun]dage = 'Neelgoondee,' 5½ miles north-east from Konnûr;

Tâlikhêḍa = 'Tullakodda,' 'Tâlakwâd,' 2½ miles north-west from Konnûr;

B[e]lleeru = 'Belleeree,' 2½ miles west-north-west from Konnûr;

Muttalagerē = 'Mootulgeeree,' 'Motalgeri,' 7½ miles east by north from Konnûr;

Kâkeyanûru = 'Kakanoor,' 'Kâknur,' 7½ miles north-west from Konnûr;

Neri[la]ge = 'Neerlehgee,' 'Niralgi,' 9 miles north by west from Konnûr.

¹ See the passage from the Jaina *Uttarapurāṇa*, first published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 217, and afterwards, more correctly, in Prof. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 429; also Prof. Bhandarkar's remarks, *ibid.* p. 430 and pp. 120 and 121. Our inscription shews that in the Sanskrit text *Mukula*, and not *Padmālaya*, must be taken to be the name of Lôkâditya's family.—The *biruda* *Chellakêṭana* (or *Sellakêṭana*) Mr. Pathak in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 223 has translated by 'cloth-bannered' (see Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 403, note 2), but, so far as I can see, the Kanarese word for 'cloth' is *sele* = Sanskrit *chêla*. Bôhtlingk's *Dictionary* gives *sella* (from the *Kṛdambart*) and *sella* in the sense of 'a kind of weapon'; and Kittel's *Dictionary* has *ſelle* = *ſalle* = *ſalya*, 'a dart, a javelin, a spear tipped with iron, a pike' etc., and also *selleha* = *salleha* = *ſalya*; I think that these are the words with which the first part of the *biruda* should be connected. In support of this view, I would state that I find *sella* as the first part of a proper name in *Sellavidyâdhara* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, line 29 of the text), and that in the verse in which the name occurs (where I would alter the corrupt *selulldista-pānind* to *sella-lāḍita-pānind*) the author too apparently has understood *sella* to denote some kind of weapon ('Sellavidyâdhara, whose hand is fondled by the javelin').—Compare also the *biruda* *Sellavidēga* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 219, l. 51.

² The wars with the Gaṅgas are often spoken of in Râshṭrakûṭa records. In Sanskrit inscriptions the name of their country is ordinarily written *Gaṅgapâtā*.

³ Regarding Amôghavarsha's wars with rebellious members of his own family, see *eg.* *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 53. I am not aware that elsewhere his own son is spoken of in this connection.

⁴ See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 299.

⁵ There is a 'Bennoor,' 2 miles north-west of Konnûr, and another village of the same name will be mentioned below.

⁶ Most of these have been identified for me by Dr. Fleet.

The names of the other nineteen villages are **Mudugunḍi**, **Kittaivoḷe**, **Mus[a]**, **Da[dh]ere**,¹ **Saṁgama**, **Pirisiṅgi**, **Behuru**,² **Ālūgu**, **[Pārva]nagere**, **Hosaṇ[ja]ḷa[lu]**, **I[n]dugalu**, **Haganūru**, **Unalāru**, **Indagere**, **Munivaḷli**, **Koṭṭa[s]e**, **Oddiṭṭage**, **Si[kimabri?]**, and **Giri[pi]ḍalu**.

Stating distinctly what I have indicated above, I consider it possible that lines 1-59 of this inscription really were based on a copper-plate charter; at the same time, I feel certain that, if such was the case, the transcribers have taken so great liberties with the original as to deprive this 'copy' of the value of an authentic document.

TEXT.³

- 1 ⁴Śriyaḥ=priyas=saṁgata-viśvarūpas=sudarśana-chchhinna-parāvalēpaḥ [1*] diśyād=anantaḥ=pranāṭa-āmarēmdraḥ śriyam mam=ādyaḥ=paramām Jinēmdraḥ || [1*]
⁵Ananta-bhō-
- 2 ga-sṭhitir=atra pātu vaḥ pratāpaśīla-prabhav-ōdayāchaḷaḥ [1*] su-Rā[sh]ṭrakūṭ-ōrjjita-vamśa-pūrvvajas=sa **Vira-Nārāyaṇa** ēva yō vibhuḥ || [2*] Tadiya-bhūp-āya-
- 3 ta-Yādav-ānvayē kramēṇa vārdhāv=iva ratna-saṁchayaḥ [1*] babhūva **Gōvīmḍa**-mahīpatir=bhbhu(bbhu)-vaḥ prasādanō⁶ **Prihchhakarāja-nandanaḥ** || [3*] Imdr-āvanipāḷa-sutēna dhāriṇi prasāritā
- 4 yēna Prithu-prabhāvinā [1*] mah-aujasā vairi-tamō nirākṛitaṁ pratāpa-śīlēna [sa] **Karkkara-prabhuḥ** || [4*] Tatō=bhavad=damti-ghaṭ-ābhimarḍdanō **Himāchaḷād=ōrjjita-sē-**
- 5 tu-sīmna(ma)taḥ? [1*] khalīkṛit-ōdvṛitta-mahīpa-mamḍalaḥ kuḷ-āgraniḥ⁸ yō bhūvi **Dantidurgga-rāt** || [5*] Svayamba(va)ribhūta-rapāṁgaṇē tatas=sa nirvyapēkshaṁ **Śubhatuṁga-vallabhaḥ** [1*] chaka-
- 6 rsha **Chāḷukya**-kuḷa-śriyam baḷād=vilōḷa-pāḷidhvaja-māla-bhāriṇim || [6*] Jay-ōchhasimhāsana-chāmar-ōrjjitas=sit-ātapatrō⁹ pratipaksha-rājya(ja)¹⁰-hā [1*] **Akālavarsh-ōrjjita-bhū-**
- 7 pa-nāmakō babhūva rājarshir=asēsha-punyaṭaḥ || [7*] ¹¹Tataḥ=**Prabhūtavarshō**-bhūd=¹²**Dhārśvarsha**-sutaś=śarair=ddhārāvarshāyitaṁ yēna saṁgrāma-bhūvi bhūbhujā || [8*] Tasya sutaḥ ||
- 8 Yaj-janma-kālē dēvēmdrair=ādishtaṁ vṛishabhō bhuvah [1*] bhōkt=ēti Himavat-sētu-paryyant-āmbudhimēkhaḷ[ā*]m || [9*] Tataḥ=**Prabhūtavarshas**-san svayam-pūrnna-manōrathaḥ [1*] **Jagattuṁgas**-Sumē-
- 9 rur=vvā bhūbbṛitām=upari sthitaḥ || [10*] Bandhūnām¹³ bandhurāpām=uchita-nija-kulē pūrvvajānām prajānām jātānām **Vallabhānām** bhuvana-bharita¹⁴-satkṛitti-mūrtti-sthitānām [1*] trātum kīrttim sa-lō-

¹ Perhaps the modern 'Dāderkop,' 24 miles south-west from Konnūr.

² Perhaps the 'Beecor' of the map, 15½ miles west from Konnūr.

³ From Dr. Fleet's impression.

⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

⁵ Metre of verses 2-7: Vamśastha.

⁶ Read 'dhanah'; this correction may have been made already in the original.

⁷ Before both ablatives the preposition *d* should have been used; compare *e.g.* above, Vol. III. p. 106, line 14 of the text.

⁸ Read 'nir-'.
⁹ Read 'patraḥ'.

¹⁰ This correction may have been made already in the original.

¹¹ Metre of verses 8-10: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹² Originally *bhūddhā* was engraved.

¹³ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹⁴ The word *bharita*, properly 'filled with,' is used wrongly here in the sense of 'filling'; compare *Inscriptions at Sravaya-Belgoḷa*, p. 108, l. 1.

- 10 kām kali-kalusham=athō ¹hantam=antō ripūṇām śrīmān=simhāsana-sthō
²bhavanavanim=atō=mōghavarshaḥ prasāsti || [11*] ³Yasy=ājñām para-
chakriṇaḥ srajam=iv=ājasraṁ śirōbhir=vvahaṁ-
- 11 ty=ā digdaṁti-ghaṭ-āvali-mukha-paṭ[ē]h⁴ kirtti-pratānas=sataḥ [1*] yatra-sthaḥ
sva-kara-pratāpa-mahimā kasy=āpy=adūra-sthitaḥ⁵ tējaḥ-krānta-samasta-bhūbhṛid=
ina ēv=āsau na kasy=ōpari || [12*]
- 12 ⁶Chatus-samudra-paryyānta[m?] svamudraṁ yat-prasādhitaṁ [1*] bhagnā samasta-
bhūpāla-mudrā Gārūḍa-mudrayā || [13*] ⁷Rājēन्द्रās=tē vāmdaniyās=tu pūrvvē
yēshām dharmma-
- 13 h=pālānīyō=smaḍ-ādyaiḥ [1*] dhvastā dushṭā varttamānās=sadharmmaḥ prārthya
yē tē bhāvinaḥ=pārthivēन्द्रāḥ || [14*] Bhuktaṁ kaischid=vikramēṇ=āparēbhyō
dattaṁ ch=ānyais=tyaktam=ēv=āparair=yyat [1*]
- 14 k=āsth=ānityē tatra rājyē mahadbhiḥ kirttyā(rttyai?) dharmmaḥ=kēvalaṁ pālānīyaḥ
|| [15*] ⁸Tēn=ēdam=aniḥa-vidyuch-chamchalam=avalōkya jīvitam=asāraṁ [1*]
kshitidāna-paramapunyaḥ=pravarttitō
- 15 dēvadāyō=yam || [16*] Sa ēva paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-
Jagattumgādēva-pādānudhyāna(ta)-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj[ā]dhirāja-paramēśvara-
śrī-
- 16 prithivīvallabha-śrīmad-**Amōghavarsha**-śrī-Vallabhanarēन्द्रadēvaḥ sarvvān=ēva
yathāsambaddhyamānakān=rāshṭravishayapati-grāmakūṭ-āyuktaka-niyuktak-ā-
- 17 dhikārika-mahattar-ādīn=samādisaty=astu vas=samviditaṁ yathā || Vikrama-viḷāsa-
niḷayō **Mukula-kulē** pūrvva-bandhubhir=mmānyaiḥ [1*] **Erakōri**-nāmadhēya-
- 18 h=pravikasitō=bhūt=prasūna-samaḥ || [17*] ⁹Āvir-āsīt=prabhus=tasmāt=prasūnāt=phala-
sannibhaḥ [1*] nāmn=Ādhōrah kul-ādhārah **Kolanūr**-ādhipas=svayam || [18*] Su-
- 19 tō=sya **Vijayāmkāyām**-abhūd=bhuvana-mānitaḥ [1*] prachanḍa-maṇḍal-ātāmkō
Bamkēsah **Sella-kētanah** || [19*] Madīyō vitata-jyōtir=nni(nni)śitō=sir=iv=āparah
[1*] u-
- 20 nmūlita-dvishad-vriksha-mūlō mauḷa-bala-prabhuḥ || [20*] Mat-prasādēna samlabdha.¹⁰
Vanavāsi-purassarān=grāmān¹¹=trimsat-sahasrāṇi bhunakty=avirat-ōdayaḥ || [21*]
- 21 Mahā-pratāpād=uchchhēdam¹²=udayachchhan=mad-ichchhayā [1*] mūlād=uchchhēttum=
uttumgām **Gaṁgavāḍi**-vaṭāṭavim || [22*] Tatr=āntarē=smat-sāmantair=mmātsaryy-
āhi-
- 22 ta;mānasair=upēkshitō=pi kōp-ōdyat-sāhas-aika-sakhaḥ svayam || [23*] ¹³Dhvasta-
ripu-nīti-mārggō raṇa-vikramam=ēka-buddhim=abhiniya [1*] sa madīya-hṛidaya-
saṁgatam=avandhya-
- 23 kōpatvam=āvahati || [24*] Yēna || Tat=**Kēḍa**-ābhidhānam durggam vapr-ārggaḥ
ādi-durllamghyam [1*] mauḷa-bal-ādhishtitaṁ=api sadyaḥ prōllamghya hēlay=
āgrāhi || [25*] ¹⁴Janapadam=adāh¹⁵ kritvā ba-

¹ Originally *hṛa*° was engraved; read *hantam*=.

² Read *bhuranam*=*idam*=*atō*, or, perhaps, *bhuvanam*=*anamitō*.

³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛidita.

⁴ I am unable to explain this properly. Perhaps the word *pati* is used here in the sense of *paṭṭa*, 'the frontlet or fillet which is tied to the head of an elephant'; see Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, s.v. *paṭṭa*.
Read *-sthitās*=.

Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh). With the first half of the verse compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249, l. 11 of the text.

⁷ Metre of verses 14 and 15: Śālinī.

⁸ Metre of verses 18-23: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹¹ Read *grāmān*=.

¹⁴ Metre: Hariṇi.

¹² Read *=duśchhēdam*=(?).

¹⁵ Read *=amum*.

⁹ Metre of verses 16 and 17: Āryā.

¹⁰ Read *samlabhya*.

¹³ Metre of verses 24 and 25: Āryā

- 24 stê vidhûya virôdhinam **Talavanapur-adhîsam** kṛitvâ [śruta]m¹ raṇa-vikramam
[i*] mad-ari-vijayî bharttuḥ ślâghyas=samanvita-saṁgarah samara-samayê vidvit
chakrai-
- 25 r=avakṛita-vikramah || [26*] **Kâvêrim**² guru-pûra-durggamatamâm=ullamghya simha-
[kra]mât=pratyagra-sphurita-pratâpa-dahana-prôdyach-chhikhâ-srêṇibhiḥ [i*] ni-
26 rddahy-aikapadêna saptapadakân=vidvid-van-ôchchêdinâ yên=âkampi jagat-
prakampana-patôr=vvairâjyam=apy=ûrjjitam || [27*] ³Tatr=ântarê mad-amtikam=
antarbhbbê rbbhê)dêna jâta-samkshôbbê [i*]
- 27 pratyâgantavyam=iti⁴ tvay=êti mad-vachanamâtrêṇa || [28*] Aprâptê⁵
Vallabhêmdrê(drô) mayi jayati yadâ vidvishaḥ syân=tad=âham samnyast-
âsêsha-saṁgô munir=atha
- 28 vidhinâ vidvishâm syâj=jaya-srîḥ [i*] tatr=âpy=u[ddâ]ma-dhûmadhvaja-vitata-sikhâs=
ûtpâtâmi pratâpâd=ity=ârûdha-pratiññah katipaya-divasaih=prâ-
29 pad=asmat-samîpam || [29*] ⁶Mâsa-trayasya madhyê yadi bhôjayitum na
śakyatê svâmî [i*] kshiram vijitya śatrûn=⁷tath=âpi vahnim visâmy=êva
|| [30*] ⁸Ity=uktv=âkrama-vikram-ô-
- 30 chchhikha-sikhî-jvâl-âvalîda(dha)-bra(vra)jê dhûma-syâma[li]tê tirôhita-tanau
prâyah=para-prêshitê [i*] yâtê mat-tanayê sthit-ânya-nripatîn=nirjjitya yô
jitvarô bandîkṛitya
- 31 ripûn=nihatya cha tadâ tîrṇa-pratiññô=bhavat || [31*] ⁹Âvishkṛita-kôpa-sikhâ-
nirddagdh-ârindhanô vin=âpy=anilât [i*] ajvâlîtê(tô)=pi yasya pratâpa-vahnir=
mmuhur=jvalati || [32*]
- 32 Yasya cha kṛipâna-[vârîṇi] rudhir-â[kulitâ] dvishâm mahâ-lakshmîḥ [i*]
majjaty=unmajjati tu sv-âdhipatêḥ kumkum-âkt=êva || [33*] Hutvâ¹⁰ yêna
ripum virôdhi-rudhira-prâjy-â-
- 33 jya-dhâr-âhuti-brâ(vrâ)ta-prasphuri[ta]-pratâpa-[daha]nê vidvishta-sântêś=śritam [i*]
viprêṇ=êva raṇ-âdhvarê suvihita-srî-mamtra-śakty=ârjjitam kalpântasthira-vîra-
sâsanam=idam
- 34 mad=**Vira-Nârāyanāt** || [34*] Têna=aivambhûtêna **Ba[mkêy-â]**bhidhânêna mad-ishta-
bhṛityêna prârthitas=sa¹¹ tat-prârthanayâ **Mânyakhêṭa-râjadhânyâm**=avasthitêna
mayâ [mâ]-
- 35 tâ-pitrôr=âtmanas=ch=aihih-âmutrika-punya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê **Koḷanûrê** tad-
Ba[mkêya]=nirmâpita-jinâyatana-paripâḷana-niyuktâya
- 36 ¹²Śrî-Mûlasaṁgha-Dêśiyagaṇa-Pustakagachchhataḥ [i*] jâtas=Trikâlayôgîśah kshir-
âbdhêr=iva kaustubhaḥ || [35*] Tach-châritra-vadhû-putrah śrî-Dêvêmdra-
munîsvaraḥ [i*]
- 37 saiddhântik-âgrapîs=tasmai **Ba[mkêyô]** [yâm=adân=mu?]dâ¹³ || [36*] Tad-vasati-
sambandhi-navakarmm-ôttarabhâvikhaṇḍasphuṭita-sammârjjan-ôpalêpana-paripâḷan-âdi-
dharmmôpa-
- 38 yôgi-karmma-karâṇa-nimittam **Majjantiya**-sap[t]atigrâma-bhukty-amtarggataḥ¹⁴
Taleyûra-nâma-grâmaḥ tasya ch-âghâtâḥ tat-Koḷanûrât-pûrvvataḥ **Bemḍanûru**
- 39 dakṣiṇataḥ **Sâsavevâ[du]** tat-pâschimataḥ **Paḍilagerê** uttarataḥ **Kilavâḍah**
êvam=ayam chatur-âghâtan-ôpalakshitah s-ôdraṁgas=sa-pari-

¹ The two *akṣaras* in brackets are almost completely effaced.

² Metre: Śârdûlavikṛîḍita.

³ Metre: Âryâ.

⁴ This *iti* is superfluous.

⁵ Metre: Śṛugdharâ.

⁶ Metre: Âryâ.

⁷ Read *śatrûms*.

⁸ Metre: Śârdûlavikṛîḍita.

⁹ Metre of verses 32 and 33: Âryâ.

¹⁰ Metre: Śârdûlavikṛîḍita.

¹¹ Read *sams*.

¹² Metre of verses 35 and 36: Ślôka (Anushtubh).

¹³ The *akṣaras* in brackets are almost entirely effaced and therefore doubtful.

¹⁴ Here and in some places below the rules of *samâhi* have not been observed.

- 40 karah sa-daṁḍa-daś-āparādhas=sambhṛit-ōpātta-pratyayas¹=s-ōtpadyamāna-viṣṭiti(ka)ḥ
sa-dhānya-hirany-ādēyah dvādaśa-puṇḥpavāṭah² pañchāśaduttara-śata-ha-
- 41 [sta]-vistārah=pañchāśata-hasta-pramāṇ-āyāmah grihāpām=āghāṭas=samuditaḥ
³pravēśyas=sarvva-rājakīy[ā*]nām=aḥastaprakṣhēpañīyah ā-
- 42 [cha]indr-ārkk-ārṇṇava-kṣhiti-sarit-parvata-samakālīnaḥ putra-pautr-ānvaya-kramēna
pratipālyah pūrvapradatta-dēvabrahmadāya-rahitō=hya(bhya)-
- 43 [n]tarasi[d*]dhyā bhūmiechhidra-nyāyēna ||⁴ Śākanṛipa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-
śatēshu saptasu dvā(dvya)śity-adhikēshu tadabhyadhika-samanantara-
pravarttamāna-tra⁵
- 44 yōṣititama-Vikrama-samvatsar-āntarggat-Āśvayuja-paurṇamāsyām sarvvagrāsi-
sōmagrahaṇē mahā-parvvaṇi bali-paksha-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-āti-
- 45 thi-santarppanād⁶=dhār-ōḍak-ātisarggēna pratipāditaḥ || Tath-ātr=aiva tat-
Kolanūr[a]⁷ tad-[bh]ukti-madhya-vartty-Avaravā[d]i- | Bēḍanūru- |
Mudugumḍi- | Kittai-vo-
- 46 le- | Sullā- | Mus[a]- | Pa[dh]ere- | Māvinūru- | Mattikaṭṭe- | Nila[gum]dage- |
Tālikhēḍa- | B[e]lḥeru- | Saṁgamā- | Pīrisimgi- | Muttalagere- | Kākeyanūru.⁸ |
Bēhuru- |
- 47 Ālūgu- | [Pārvva]nagere- | Hosam[ja]la[lu]- | I[m]dugalu- | Neri[la]ge- |
Haganūru- | Uhalāru- | Inḍagere- | Munivalli- | Koṭṭa[s]e- | Oḍḍiṭṭage- |
Si[kimabri ?]- |
- 48 Giri[p]iḍalu- | nāmādhēyēshv=ētēshu Kolanūr-āta⁹ tad-bhukti-varttishu
tṛi(tri)mśatsv=api grāmēshv=ēkaika-grāmē dvādaśa nivarttanāni bhūmēḥ
pratipādītāni ||¹⁰ Atō=sy-ō-
- 49 chitayā¹⁰ dēvadāyadāya-sthityā bhūmijatō bhōjayataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ
pratidiśatō vā na kaiśchid=alp=api paripanthanā kāryyā tath-ā-
- 50 gāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=asmad-vamśyair=anyair=vvā sāmānya[m] bhūmi-dāna-phalam=
avētya vidyul-lōlāny=aiśvāryyāni tṛipāgra-lagna-jalabindu-chamchalam cha ji-
- 51 vitam=ākalayya svadāya-nirvviśēshō=smad-dāyō=numantavyah pratipālayitabya(vya)ś=
cha ||¹¹ Yas=tv=ajñāna-timira-paṭal-āvṛita-matir=¹²āchchhidyamānakam
- 52 ch(v)=ānumōdēta sa pañchabhir=mmahāpātakais=sōpapātakais=cha¹³ samyuktaḥ
syād=ity=¹⁴uktam bhagavatā vēda-byā(vyā)sēna¹⁴ || ¹⁵Shashtir=vvarsha-sahasrāni
svarggē tishṭhati
- 53 bhūmidah ||¹⁶ āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [37*]
Viṁdhy-ātavishv=atōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsishu(nah) ||¹⁷ kṛishṇasarppā hi
jāyamtē bhūmi-

¹ The term intended apparently is *sabhūtōpātpatyāyas*, which occurs in other inscriptions.

² Instead of the sentence commencing here and ending with *samuditaḥ*, a single compound should have been used, qualifying *grāmāḥ*.

³ Here *achātābhāṭa* has been omitted.

⁴ This sign of punctuation should be struck out.

⁵ Read *-tryāṭtitama*.

⁶ The passage commencing with *bali* is quite out of place here, the object of the grant having already been stated correctly in lines 37 and 38. In inscriptions where a similar statement is properly made we find *charu* (instead of *paksha*) and *-santarpanārtham*. For the following *dhār-ōḍa*⁶ of this inscription one would have expected *ady-ōḍa*.

⁷ Read *°nūrē* (?).

⁸ Read *-āghāṭē* (?).

¹¹ Read *-matir=āchchhidyādd=āchchhi*.

¹² Read *iti* || *Uktam cha bhā*.

¹³ Metre of verses 37 and 38 : Ślōka (Anushtubh). Read *Shashtim va*.

⁸ Originally *Kāṁkē*⁸ was engraved.

¹⁰ Read *dēvadāya*.

¹² This *cha* should have been omitted.

¹⁴ After this the word *Vyāsēna* has been omitted.

- 54 dānam haranti yē || [38*] ¹Agnēr=apatya[m] prathamam suvarṇam bhūr=
Vvaishnavi sūrya-sutās=cha gāvaḥ [1*] lōka-trayan=tēna bhavēd=dhi dattam
yaḥ=kāmchanam gām cha mahīm
- 55 cha dadyāt || [39*] ²Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1*] yasya
yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [40*] Sva-dattam para-dattam
vā yatnā-
- 56 d=rakshy[ē]³ narādhipaḥ [1*] mahīm mahimatām⁴ śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=
nupālanaṁ || [41*] Iti⁵ kamaḥ-daḥ-āmbubindu-lōḥam śriyam=anuchimtya
manushya-jīvitam cha [1*] ativima-
- 57 la-manōbbhir=āmakair=⁶nna hi purushaiḥ=para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [42*] Likhitam
ch=aitad=Vālabha-kāyastha-vamśa-jātēna dharmādhikarāṇa-s[th]ēna bhōgika-
Vatsarājēna
- 58 Śrīharsha-sūnūnā grāmapa[tta]lādhiprīta⁷-lēkhakaraṇahasti-Nāgavarmma-Prithvirāma-
bhṛityēna || ⁸Bamkēyarāja⁹-mukhyō Ganā(ṇa)pati-nāmā ma-
- 59 hattaraḥ=prājñāḥ [1*] rājñas=samīpa-varttī tēn=ēdam=anushṭhitam sarvvaṁ || [43*]
✽ ¹⁰Mithyābhāva-bhav-ātīdarppa-para-tad-duśśāsan-ōchchhēdakam prājñ-ājñā-vaśa-
varttamā-
- 60 na-janatā-sat-saukhyā-sampādakam [1*] nānārūpa-visiṣṭa-vastu-parama-syādvāda-
lakshmi-padam jējyāj=Jina-rājasāsanam=idam svāchāra-sāra-pradam || [44*]
- 61 Siddhāntamṛita-vārdhī-tārakapatis=tarkk-āmbuj-āharppatiḥ śabd-ōdyānavan-āmṛit-aika-
saranir=yyōgīndra-chūḍāmaṇiḥ [1*] Traividy-āpara-sārththa-
- 62 nāma-vibhavaḥ=prōddhūta-chētōbhavaḥ¹¹ jīyād=anyamat-āvanibhṛid-aśaniḥ śrī-
Mēghachāmdrō munih || [45*] Ide¹² hamsi-brindam=iṁtal=bagedapudu
- 63 chakōri-chayam chamchuvindam kardukal=sārdḍappud=Īsam jadeyol=irisal=end=
irdḍapam sejjeg=ēgal=padedappam Krishṇan=emb=ant=esedu bisa-lasat-kandaḥi-kam-
- 64 da-kāntam pudidatt=i Mēghachāmdra-bra(vra)titilaka-jagadvartti-kīrti prakāśam
|| [46*] ¹³Vaidagdhya-śrī-vadhūti-patir=akhiḥa-guṇ-ālamkṛitir=Mmēghachām-
- 65 dra-Traividyasy=ātma-jātō Madana-mahibhṛitō bhēdanē vajrapātaḥ [1*] saiddhānta-
byū(vyū)ha-chūḍāmanir=anupala(ma)-chintāmaṇi-
- 66 r=bhbhū(bbhū)-janānām yō=bhūt=sanjanya-rūmdra-śriyam=avati mahau Viranandi
mun-īmdrah || [47*] ¹⁴Yas=śabdajñā-nabhasṭhālī-dinamāṇiḥ kāvyajñā-chūḍāma-
- 67 nir=yyas=tarkkasthiti-kaumudī-himakaras=tūryyatray-ābj-ākaraḥ [1*] yas=siddhānta-
vichāra-sāra-Dhishanō ratna-trayī-bhūṣhaṇaḥ sthē-
- 68 yād=uddhata-vādi-bhūbhṛid-aśaniḥ śrī-Viranandi munih || [48*] Yan-mūrttir=
jjagatām janasya nayanē karppūrapūrayatē yad-vṛittir=vvidushān=ta-
- 69 tēs=śravanayōr=mmāṇikyabhūṣhāyatē [1*] yat-kīrttiḥ=kakubhām śriyaḥ kacha-bharē
maḥilātāntāyatē jējyād=bhuvi Viranandi-munipas=sai-
- 70 ddhānta-chakr-ādhipaḥ ||¹⁵ [49*] ✽ Śrī-Koṇḍakundānvay-āmbara-dyumaṇi vidvajjana-
śirōmaṇi samast-ānavadya-vidyā-vilāsini-vilāsa-mūrtti śrī-Viranandi-sai[ddhā]-

¹ Metre: Indravajrā.² Read =raksha narādhipa.³ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.⁴ The second t of the akshara in brackets may have been struck out in the original; read °paṭaḥ.⁵ Metre: Āryā.⁶ Metre of verses 44 and 45: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁷ Metre: Mahāragdharā. The same verse, with some slight various readings, is found in *Inscr. at Sravṇa-**Belgoia*, pp. 25 and 31.⁸ Metre: Sragdharā. The same verse, with two various readings, occurs *ibid.* p. 32.⁹ Metre of verses 48 and 49: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹⁰ This verse, incomplete and with a various reading, occurs *ibid.* p. 32.¹¹ Metre of verses 40 and 41: Ślōka (Anusṭubh).¹² Read mahibhṛitām.¹³ Read ātmanair=.¹⁴ Originally °rājya- was engraved.¹⁵ Read °bhavō.

- 71 ntika-chakravarttigala śrīman-mahāsthānam Koḷanūra mahāprabhu Huliya-
arasanum mūru-pura-paṁcha-maṭha-sthānamgaḷum tāmbra-śāsana[mam]
72 nōdi bareyisim=enalk=ā śāsanadoḷ=ent=irdud=ant=ī śilā-śāsanamam bareyi[s]idaru [||*]
Maṅgala mahā-śrī śrī śrī namō .¹ [||*]

TRANSLATION.²

(Verse 1.) May the beloved of Fortune, with whom all forms are conjoined,³ who with his discus destroys the conceit of adversaries, the infinite being before whom bow down the lords of the immortals, the primeval lord **Jina**, grant to me supreme bliss!⁴

(V. 2.) May the lord **Vira-Nārāyaṇa**⁵ protect you here, he who rests on the body of (the serpent) **Ananta**, (*and*) is the mountain from which (like luminaries) rise men of valorous conduct, the progenitor of the mighty race of the excellent **Rāshṭrakūṭas**!

(V. 3.) In the long **Yādava** lineage of the princes of that (*race*) there was in the course of time, like a collection of jewels in the ocean, king **Gōvinda**, who subdued the earth, the son of **Prichchhakarāja**.

(V. 4.) The lord **Karkara**, the son of king **Indra**, it was by whom, mighty like **Prithu**, the earth was brought under subjection, (*and*) by whom, of great strength and full of valour, the enemies were scattered like darkness.

(V. 5.) From him sprang king **Dantidurga**, who defeated arrays of elephants from the **Himālaya** to the confines of (**Rāma**'s) mighty bridge, (*and*) who, a leader of his family, crushed the circle of arrogant princes on the earth.

(V. 6.) After him **Śubhatuṅga-vallabha**, on the battle-field which became a *svayamvara*, fearlessly carried off by force the **Chālukya** family's Fortune, adorned with a garland of waving *pālidhvaja* flags.⁶

(V. 7.) Grand with his victory, high throne and chowries, possessed of a white umbrella, a destroyer of opponent kings, called the mighty king **Akālavarsha**, he was a royal saint through his infinite religious merit.

(V. 8.) Then came **Prabhūtavarsha**, the son of **Dhāravarsha**, a king who on the field of battle acted with his arrows like a torrent of rain (*dhārā-varsha*).⁷

His⁸ son —

(Vs. 9 and 10.) At the time of whose birth the lords of the gods ordained that, as her master, he should rule the ocean-girded earth as far as the **Himālaya** and (**Rāma**'s) bridge, afterwards, being (*called*) **Prabhūtavarsha** because he fulfilled desires of his own accord, as **Jagattuṅga** stood over (*all*) kings as the **Sumēru** does over the mountains.

¹ From here and up to the end of the line some *aksharas* (at the utmost six) are effaced.

² Of lines 34-57 of the text which, in the usual style and for the most part in well-known terms, record a grant, I consider it sufficient to give only an abstract of the contents.

³ *I.e.* who assumes all forms, or exists in all forms.

⁴ As translated here, the verse refers to the god **Vishṇu** (*Jina*), of whom *Vīśvarūpa* (by itself) and *Ananta* also are epithets or names. But it also is intended to invoke the blessing of the first **Jaina** prophet, *Jinendra*, and on this alternative the word *sudarśana*, above rendered by 'discus,' would mean 'excellent doctrine.'

⁵ *I.e.* the god **Vishṇu**. But *Vira-Nārāyaṇa* also is an epithet of the king **Amoghavarsha** (see below, verse 34) and, with reference to him, the verse also is intended to convey the meaning: 'May the king **Vira-Nārāyaṇa** protect you here, he the continuance of whose rule is without end, who is the mountain from which rises the conduct of valour, (*and*) who has excellent ancestors of the mighty race of the **Rāshṭrakūṭas**!'

⁶ See above, Vol. III. p. 107, lines 22 and 34 of the text.

⁷ This play on the word *dhāravarsha* shews that the subject of the verse should be **Dhāravarsha**, not **Prabhūtavarsha**, 'the son of **Dhāravarsha**.'

⁸ According to the context, **Prabhūtavarsha**'s; really, **Dhāravarsha**'s.

(V. 11.) After him, to guard both the world and the fame of his charming relatives—of the ancestors in his righteous family who have become favourites¹ inasmuch as they are good fame, filling the earth, incarnate—and to destroy the wickedness of the Kali age, the glorious **Amôghavarsha**, the annihilator of his enemies, is ruling this earth, seated on the throne.

(V. 12.) The command of this excellent (*king*) other sovereigns perpetually carry on their heads like a garland. The creeping plant of his fame grows up to the fillets on the foreheads of the array of the elephants of the quarters. The mighty valour that dwells in his hand is far away from no one. He being the very sun which with its heat scorches all mountains,² who is the king above whom he does not rise?

(V. 13.) He with his own seal has stamped all (*land*) as far as the four oceans; the seals of all kings he has broken with his Garuḍa seal.

(V. 14.) Honour surely we must the great kings of the past whose acts of religion we are to preserve; destroyed are the wicked kings of the present; solicit³ we must those future rulers who share our sense of religion.

(V. 15.) What imports that fleeting royalty which some have enjoyed by their bravery, some bestowed on others, and others again resigned even? Great men, to secure fame, must cherish religion only.

(V. 16.) Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he has devised this gift to the gods, most meritorious on account of a donation of land.

(Line 15.) He, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the favourite of fortune and the earth, the glorious **Amôghavarsha**, the glorious *Vallabhanarēndradēva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious **Jagattuṅgadēva**, commands all *Rāshṭrapatis*, *Vishayapatis*, *Grāmakūṭas*, *Āyuktakas*, *Niyuktakas*, *Ādhikārikas*, *Mahattaras* and others, as they may be concerned: Be it known to you:—

(V. 17.) In the **Mukula**⁴ family there blossomed like a flower, with ancestors worthy of honour, **Eṛakōri**, a home of the play of bravery.

(V. 18.) From that flower grew, as it were its fruit, a masterful man named **Adhōra**,⁵ the stay of his family, who himself was lord of **Kolanūra**.

(V. 19.) His son from **Vijayāṅkā** was **Baṅkēśa** (*alias*) **Sella-kēṭana**,⁶ honoured in the world, a fierce fever to districts.

(V. 20.) Like another flashing sharp sword of mine, as commander of the hereditary forces he has uprooted, like trees, my adversaries.

(V. 21.) By my favour he has received and rules the thirty-thousand villages of which **Vanavāsi** is the foremost, never ceasing to prosper.

(V. 22.) At my desire, in his great valour he has striven to extirpate that lofty forest of fig-trees—**Gaṅgavāḍi**, difficult to be cut down.

(Vs. 23 and 24.) On that occasion, though abandoned by my jealously minded feudatories, by himself, solely aided by the daring which sprang from his anger, setting at nought the enemy's policy, displaying a bravery in war which had one aim only, he made the anger of my heart not barren.

He, by whom—

(V. 25.) That fort named **Kēḍaḷa**, difficult to be scaled on account of its ramparts, bars *etc.*, though held by hereditary forces, was at once ascended and easily taken.

¹ The word *vallabha* is purposely chosen in the original, because it is a common surname of *Rāshṭrakūṭa* kings; compare below, verse 29.

² In the original the word for 'mountains' also means 'kings.'

³ *Vis.* to preserve our acts of piety.

⁵ Or *Ādhōra*.

⁴ *Mukula* ordinarily is 'a bud.'

⁶ See above, p. 27 f.

(V. 26.) Having occupied that country, having driven away the hostile lord of **Talavanapura**, having shewn famous valour in war, defeating my enemies, for his master an object of praise, true to his promise, he at the time of battle did not let his bravery be baffled by the hosts of the enemy.

(V. 27.) With a lion's spring having crossed the **Kāvêri**, most difficult to be passed on account of its heavy floods, by the lines of the ever freshly flashing flames of fire of his valour having at once consumed the allied,¹ extirpating the forest of adversaries, he shook the mighty dominion of him even who was able to shake the world.

(Vs. 28 and 29.) On that occasion, when through internal dissension a disturbance had arisen near me, then, at the mere word of me that he should return—having made a vow that if, before his arrival, I, the **Vallabha** lord, should defeat the enemies, he would as an ascetic completely resign the world, or if by chance the fortune of victory should fall to the enemies, he would enter into the flames of a roaring fire—he arrived near me after a few days.

(Vs. 30 and 31.) Having said that also he certainly would enter into fire if, within three months, by defeating the enemies he could not make his master drink milk²—after my son, whose hosts were consumed by the flames of the blazing fire of his impetuous bravery, blackened by the smoke and thus hidden himself had escaped, perchance sent away by the rest—he completely defeated the princes who remained, and, victorious, made captive and slew the adversaries, and thus fulfilled his promise.

(V. 32.) The fire of his prowess, with the flames of wrath which it emits, consumes the enemies on which it feeds, even without wind; though unlit, it blazes forth again and again.

(V. 33.) Soiled with blood, the Fortune of the enemies dives into the water of his sword; but that of his master emerges from it, anointed as it were with saffron.³

(V. 34.) Like a **Brâhmap**, having sacrificed the enemy at the sacrifice of battle, where the fire of his valour shone the brighter for the many oblations of streams of melted butter—the blood of his opponents, he has secured from me, **Vira-Nârâyana**,⁴ this edict which to the world's end proclaims him a hero, resulting from his expiatory rite—the destruction of my foes, and acquired by the efficiency of his spell—the restoration of my fortune.

(Line 34.)⁵ At the request of this my dear servant **Baṅkêya**, I, residing at the capital of **Mānyakhêṭa**,—seven hundred and eighty-two years having passed since the time of the **Śaka** king, on the auspicious occasion of a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of **Āsvayuja** in the year **Vikrama**, the eighty-third current year—have given the village of **Taleyûra**, in the *bhukti* of the seventy villages of **Majjantiya**, to him who has been appointed to take care of the Jina sanctuary founded by **Baṅkêya** at **Koḷanûra**—viz. (vv. 35 and 36) to **Dêvêndra**, the chief of ascetics (*munîśvara*) to whom **Baṅkêya** has given the temple, the disciple of **Trikâlayôgîśa**, born from the *Pustaka gachchha* of the *Dêśiya gana* of the *Mûla samgha*—for any new work connected with the sanctuary, for future repairs, for the cleansing, plastering, maintaining of it, and for other acts of piety. The boundaries of the village are, on the east of the said **Koḷanûra**,⁶ **Bendânûru**, on the south, **Sâsavevâ[du]**, on the west of it, **Paḍilagerê**, and on the north, **Kilavâda**.⁷

¹ In the original the word is *saptapadaka*, which I cannot find elsewhere. Compare *saptapadina*.

² Viz. to allay his anger or mental distress. According to the writers on medicine, milk is a remedy not only for bodily disease, but also for mental disorder.

³ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, l. 30 of the text.

⁴ Compare above, verse 2.

⁵ From here to line 57 only an abstract of the contents is given.

⁶ Why the words *tat-Koḷanûrat*, 'of the said Koḷanûra,' have been added, it is difficult to explain. If correct, the words would indicate that the village granted was quite close to Koḷanûra.

⁷ Among the usual phrases specifying the conditions of the grant, we have, in lines 40 and 41, the statement that the village contained twelve flower-gardens, and that the total extent of the houses was 150 *hastas* in breadth and 500 *hastas* in length.

(L. 45.) I also have given twelve *nivartanas* of land at **Kolanūra** itself, and at each of the following thirty villages within its *bhukti*,¹ viz. **Avaravā[d]i**, **Benḍanūru**, **Mudugunḍi**, **Kittaivoḷe**, **Suḷḷa**, **Mus[a]**, **Ḍa[dh]ere**, **Māvinūru**, **Mattikaṭṭe**, **Nila[gun]dage**, **Tālikhēda**, **B[e]lḷeru**, **Samgama**, **Pirisingi**, **Muttalagere**, **Kākeyanūru**, **Behuru**, **Ālūgu**, **[Pārva]nagere**, **Hosaṇ[ja]ḷa[lu]**, **I[n]dugalu**, **Neri[la]ge**, **Haganūru**, **Unalāru**, **Indagere**, **Munivaḷḷi**, **Koṭṭa[s]e**, **Oḍḍiṭṭage**, **Si[kimabri?]**, and **Giri[pi]ḍalu**.

Lines 48-57 contain the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee and to preserve the grant, and quote six benedictive and imprecatory verses (37-42), ascribed to Vyāsa.

(L. 57.) This has been written by the *bhōgika* **Vatsarāja**, an official in the court of justice, born in the clan of the **Vālabha Kāyasthas**, the son of **Śrīharsha**² and servant of **Nāgavarman Prithvirāma**, keeper of village records and war-elephant of writers.

(V. 43.) The chief (adviser) of **Baṅkēyarāja**, the wise *Mahattara* **Gaṇapati**, who is near the *Rājā's* person, has executed all this.

(V. 44.) Ever victorious, like a royal edict,³ be this doctrine of the Jinas, which destroys the false doctrines of people who are filled with an excessive pride arising from ignorance; which brings about the true happiness of all who act in obedience to the commands of the wise; which is the place of glory of the excellent *syādvāda* by which things appear under manifold forms, and grants the quintessence of good conduct!

(V. 45.) Victorious be the holy sage **Mēghachandra**, who is the moon to the ocean of the nectar of established truths,⁴ the sun to the lotus—reasoning, the one continuous stream of nectar to the garden—speech, the crest-jewel of the lords among contemplative saints; whose lofty second name of **Traividya** is truly appropriate; who has shaken off the god of love, and is a thunderbolt to the mountains—other creeds!

(V. 46.) Manifestly, the fame, pervading the world, of this **Mēghachandra**, the foremost of devotees, has shone forth and entered (*here*), glittering like the fibres of the waterlily (*and*) lovely like the bulbous root of the plantain tree, saying (*to itself*), “Lo! the flock of female *hamsas* begin to think of drinking; the collection of female *chakōra* birds approach to peck with their beaks; **Īśa** gives orders for the decoration of his matted hair; (*and*) **Kṛishṇa** is eager to choose (*an occupant*) for his couch.”⁵

(V. 47.) **Viranandin**, the chief of sages, owns on earth the glory (*of being*) rich in benevolence, he who is the husband of the young woman—renown of cleverness, the ornament of every kind of excellence, the offspring of **Mēghachandra-Traividya**, a stroke of lightning to split the mountain **Madana**,⁶ the crest-jewel of the crowd of those who know

¹ Or, perhaps, ‘within that *bhukti*’ (of the *Majjantiya* seventy villages, mentioned before).

² Or ‘of the illustrious *Harsha*.’

³ The word for ‘doctrine’ in the original is *śāsana* which also means ‘an edict,’ and the author calls the doctrine of the Jinas a *rāja-śāsana*, or ‘royal edict.’

⁴ Compare *Inscr. at Sravana-Belgola*, p. 8, l. 15, *Jinēśvara-mata-kṣhtrābḍhi-tārāpati*; p. 48, l. 4 from bottom, *siddhāntamṛita-vārddhi-varddhana-vidhu*; p. 49, last line, *Jināgama-sudhārṇava-pūrṇachandra*; and other similar passages.

⁵ For the exact meaning of the several words of this charming verse, which in the original is in Kanarese, I have consulted Dr. Fleet and the Rev. Mr. Kittel. Ordinarily, fame for its brightness is compared, among other objects, with milk, lotus fibres, the moon, and **Śrī** (the wife of **Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa**; compare e.g. *Inscr. at Sravana-Belgola*, Roman text, p. 15, l. 4 ff.). Here, the fame of **Mēghachandra** is actually identified with all four, and is made to appear in the world, of its own accord, to fulfil the demand for them on the part of respectively the *hamsa* and *chakōra* birds, and the gods **Śiva** and **Kṛishṇa**. The words translated by ‘for the decoration of’ literally mean ‘to place in.’ Concerning the *hamsas*, I may remind the reader of the well-known line *hamsair-yaṭhā kṣhtram-iv-ambumadhyat*.

⁶ I.e. the god of love.

the established truths, and an unrivalled jewel to yield the desires of the creatures of this world.

(V. 48.) May he abide (*here*), the holy sage **Viranandin**, who is the sun of the firmament—those who know the science of words, the crest-jewel of those conversant with poetry, the moon to the moon-light—the science of reasoning, a pool of the lotuses—the triad of music, song and dance;¹ who is a **Bṛhaspati** for the quintessence of the investigation of established truths; who adorns the three jewels,² and is a thunderbolt to the mountains—conceited disputants!

(V. 49.) Ever victorious be in the world the chief of sages **Viranandin**, the lord of the circle of those who know the established truths; he whose form is like a stream of camphor for the eyes of the creatures of the worlds, whose conduct like a jewel-ornament for the ears of the assemblage of the learned, and whose fame like the shoot of a jasmine creeper for the hair-tresses of the Fortune of the regions!

(Line 70.) ³The universal sovereign of those who know the established truths, the holy **Viranandin**, the sun in the sky of the glorious **Koṇḍakunda**-line, the crest-jewel of the learned, the embodiment of the sport of the courtesans—the several branches of faultless learning,—when **Huliyamarasa**, the *Mahāprabhu* of the sacred great place of **Koḷanūra**, and (*the authorities of*) the three towns and the five *maṭhas*,⁴ having seen a copper charter, bade him cause it⁵ to be written,—caused this stone charter to be written in accordance with what was in that (*copper*) charter.

Bliss! Great fortune, fortune, fortune! Adoration to⁶ . . . !

No. 5.—CHEBROLU INSCRIPTION OF JAYA ;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1157.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is engraved on the four faces of the left one⁷ of two pillars which are in front of the *gōpura* of the **Nāgêśvara** temple at **Chêbrōlu**, in the **Bāpatla** tāluka of the Kistna district. My account of it is based on an excellent inked estampage, prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., and forwarded to me by Dr. Hultzsck.

The inscription contains 168 lines of carefully engraved writing, which, with the exception of a few letters, damaged or broken away at the commencement of lines 3-5 and 131-137, and at the end of lines 85-91, is in an excellent state of preservation. The characters are Telugu;⁸ and the size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{8}$ " and $\frac{2}{4}$ ". Excepting the greater part of line 158

¹ Compare *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, p. 49, l. 4, *gītē vādyē cha nṛityē*; p. 52, l. 18, *gītā-vādyā-nṛitya-sātradhāreyam*.

² See above, Vol. III. p. 184, note 2, and p. 207, note 3.

³ For the interpretation of the following, which in the original is in Kanarese, I am indebted to Dr. Fleet.

⁴ The exact meaning of this is not apparent. Compare *e.g. Mysore Inscr.* p. 158, l. 11; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 203, note.

⁵ *Viz.* the stone charter, mentioned immediately afterwards.

⁶ What may have followed is effaced in the original.

⁷ The inscription which is on the pillar on the right has been edited by Dr. Hultzsck, above, Vol. V. p. 142 ff.

⁸ With regard to the alphabet here used, I would only draw attention to the fact that *ḍā* (which occurs in the word *māḍha* in line 136) is distinguished from *ḍ* by a semi-circle, open to the proper right, which is placed below, and attached to, the proper left curve of the sign for *ḍ*. In the **Gaṇapēśvaram** inscription (above, Vol. III. p. 88, Plate, line 110) a similar separate sign for *ḍā* is used, but there the distinguishing semi-circular line is not attached to, but intersects, the left curve of the sign for *ḍ*. An examination of the published photo-litho-graph leads me to suspect that a sign for *ḍā*, similar to the one in the **Gaṇapēśvaram** inscription, is used already

and the whole of line 159, which are in Telugu, the language is Sanskrit; and the text is all in verse, excepting the words *svasti śriḥ* with which the inscription begins, and the Telugu passage already referred to.

This is another inscription of Jāya or Jāyana, the now well-known general of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. Verses 1-43 (lines 1-141), which give the genealogies of Gaṇapati and Jāya, need not be published, because, except for some slight various readings, they are identical with the same verses (lines 1-114) of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription edited and translated by Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. III. p. 82 ff. All that it is necessary to state about them specifically, is, that the names *Maṁttena-Guṇḍa*, *Kroyyūru*, and *Baṁḍuladēvi*, which occur in lines 15, 45 and 64 of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription, in the present inscription (ll. 18, 54 and 78) are spelt *Maṁthēna-Guṇḍa*, *Krōyūru*, and *Bhaṁḍuladēvi*.¹

The short remaining part of the inscription, the text of which is given below, in verses 44-47 records that, in the year of the Śāka king (or kings) numbered by the mountains (7), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1), i.e. in Śāka-Saṁvat 1157, on the tithi of Giriajā (Pārvati)² in the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha), on a Saturday, the general Jāya set up at Tāmrapura an image, in the shape of a *līṅga* made of black stone, of the god Chôḍēśvara, so called after Jāya's father (Pinna-Chôḍi); that he built for this god a temple which the people called 'the ornament of Ayya's³ family,' after Jāya himself; that in front of the temple he erected two rows of double-storied houses for sixteen female attendants;⁴ and that for the requirements (*aṅga-raṅga-bhōga*) of the god he gave the village Mrontukūru in Velanāṇḍu, one of the villages that had been given to him by the king (Gaṇapati). A statement in Telugu (in lines 158 and 159) adds that the land within the four boundaries of the village amounted to 45 *kha* 6 *na*;⁵ and that the land to the west of the Irēru (river) amounted to 5 *kha* 18 *na*. After this, the inscription has four benedictive and imprecatory verses, nearly identical with the verses at the end of the other Chêbrôlu inscription of Jāya, above, Vol. V. p. 148.

The date of this inscription regularly corresponds, for Śāka-Saṁvat 1157 expired, to Saturday, the 21st April A.D. 1235, when the third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha (as a *kshaya-tithi*) commenced 0 h. 51 m., and ended 22 h. 7 m., after mean sunrise. Of the localities mentioned, Tāmrapura (as has been stated already by Dr. Hultzsch) is Chêbrôlu itself; and Mrontukūru I take to be the 'Modukur' of the map, about six miles south-east of Chêbrôlu.

END OF THE TEXT.⁶

141 ⁷Sô=yam Jāya-
142 chamûpatir=ggiri-śara-kshmâ-chandra-samkhyem⁸ Śa-

in the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of Rudradêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 12, Plate), in the word *paripridha* in line 17, although in the photo-lithograph the sign for *ḍha*, at first sight, does not seem here to differ at all from the sign for *ḍa*. Neither of the signs for *ḍh* here described is given in the palæographic Tables hitherto published.

¹ As regards other various readings, I may add that in this new inscription the Dravidian *ḷ* is employed more frequently than in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription; and that instead of *khaḍga-mu[kha]ya* in line 106 of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription we here (in line 131) have *khaḍga-mukhēna*, and instead of *pratipakṣham-ḍti* (in line 108) the better reading *bahulé [pra]ḷḍti* (in line 133).— With reference to Dr. Hultzsch's translation and notes I would state, at his request, that *nīlôpalāḍh* in verse 3 means 'sapphires,' and that the word *ḍjākrīta* in verse 13 is accounted for by Pāṇini, V. 4, 58.

² I.e. the third tithi; ('trityā Giriputryās=ta chaturthi Vighnahdrināḥ'). The third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha is the well-known *Akshaya-trityā*.

³ See above, Vol. III. p. 83.

⁴ Literally, 'superior courtesans.'

⁵ *Kha* is an abbreviation of *khaṇḍi* (see Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. V. p. 149, note 6); *na* may be an abbreviation of *naḷamu*, 'a furlong.'

⁶ From an inked estampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch. Line 141 is the fourth line on the south face of the pillar.

⁷ Metre of verses 44 and 45 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸ Read -samkhyē.

143	kēmdr-ābdē	Mādhava-māsa-sūdtha(āddha)-Girijā-ti-
144	thyām	Śanēr-vvāsarē | śrīmat-Tāmrapurē ¹ mu-
145	dā janaya(yi)tur=nnā(nnā)mn=ātra	Chōḍēśvarām pratyā-
146	shthā(shthā)payad=achchha-nīladṛishadā	² nishpamna-līng-ā-
147	kṛitīm ³ || [44*]	Dēvasy=āsyā sa-śātakumbha-kalāśām
148	Kailāśāsail-ōpamām	⁴ vistīrṇ-ōjvala-mamṭapām
149	suruchiraprākāravād-gōpurām |	prāsā-
150	dam	nīramāpayad=gūṇa-nidhiḥ śrī-Jāya-
151	sēnādhipas=tan-nāmn=aiva	yam=Ayyavamsa-tilā-
152	kām brūtē samastō janaḥ || [45*]	⁵ Puratō=sya shōḍa-
153	śānām	vara-gaṇikānām dvibhūmika-grihā-
154	ṇi | āli-dvayēna	ramyāṇy=achhikaraj=Jāya-sai-
155	nyēśaḥ || [46*]	⁶ Nṛipa-dattēshu svēshu grāmēshv=asy=āṅgara-
156	ṅgabhogārttham=ayām |	Jāya-chamūpaḥ prā-
157	dād=Velanāṁḍau	Mromtukūru-nāma-grā-
158	mām || [47*]	Īy=ūra chatuḥ-sīmamula naḍimi polamu
159	kha 45 na 6 | Irēti paḍumaṭi	polamu kha 5 na 18 ||
160	⁷ Gām=ēkām	ratnikām=ēkām bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=aṅgula-
161	m | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad-ā-bhūta-samplavam || [48*]	Sva-
162	dattām para-dattām vā yatnād=raksha	Yudhishtthi(shthi)ra | ma-
163	hīm=mahibhṛitām śrēsthā(shthā) dānāch=chrēyō=nupālanaṁ || [49*]	
164	⁸ Sva-sukṛita-paripālānāt=prabhūnām	para-kṛita-pālana-
165	m=ēva lālanīyam | Harir=api	Kamalāsanasya sṛishtīm sa-
166	tatam=avan ⁹ jagatām=abhūd=upāsyah || [50*]	Idam ¹⁰ rakshi-
167	shyatām rājūām yaśāś-chamḍrikayā	saha | chiram Jāya-
168	chamūpasya dharmma-chamḍraḥ	pravardhtha(rddha)tē [51*]

No. 6.—THREE WESTERN GANGA RECORDS IN THE MYSORE GOVERNMENT MUSEUM AT BANGALORE.

By J. F. FLEET, PH.D., C.I.E.

In Vol. V. of this Journal, pp. 151 to 180, I have contributed an article on the Śravana-Belgoḷa epitaph of Nōlambāntaka-Mārasimha II., with a first serious attempt to settle the real history and chronology of the family of the great Gaṅga princes of Mysore, to which he belonged. That article is correct in all its essential features. But, while it was still in proof, it came to my knowledge, from information that became available too late, that certain additions and modifications might be made, and certain corrections ought to be made, in it. The additions did not much matter; they could be attended to on any future occasion. The modifications and corrections were a more important matter; and it was mortifying not to be able to make them. The proofs, however, were in pages, with other articles already in page-proof after them. And it was, therefore, impossible to make the necessary alterations. In these circumstances, I had to leave my article just as it stood. And I now take the first convenient opportunity that I have had, of reverting to the subject of it.

¹ Read *Tāmra*.

² Read *nishpamna*.

³ Read *kṛitīm*.

⁴ Read *vistīrṇ-ōjvala*.

⁵ Metre: Āryā.

⁶ Metre: Āryāgīti.

⁷ Metre of verses 48 and 49: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁸ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

⁹ B ⁹d = *avan*.

¹⁰ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

Before entering, however, on any general remarks. I now put forward revised versions of three Western Ganga records, final renderings of which have not as yet been arrived at.

A.—Doddahundi Inscription of Nitimārga and Satyavākya.

This inscription was brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1894, when he edited it, with a lithograph, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 91. I give my rendering of it from an ink-impression, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Doddahundi is a village somewhere in the Mûgûr hōbli of the Tirumakūḍlu-Narasipur tāluka of the Mysore district. It should be shewn in sheet No. 60 or 61 of the Indian Atlas; but it is not to be found there.¹ The name means “large hamlet;” and it is probably an appellation of somewhat modern introduction, as the record does not appear to include any name answering to it, and gives the name of the village itself, or else of another village which gave the name to the circle to which this village then belonged, as Gulḍapāḍi. The inscription is on a stone, apparently about six feet high, which was found lying in a pond at Doddahundi and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

The upper part of the front of the stone is occupied by sculptures illustrating the scene that is referred to in the record, namely, the death of a prince who had the appellation of Nitimārga. He is shewn lying on a couch, from the back of which there stand up two royal umbrellas. Near his head there stands his eldest son, Satyavākya, with one similar umbrella behind him. And on the couch there is seated a follower of the prince, named Agarayya, who is represented as supporting across his knees the legs of the dying prince, and as holding with his right hand a dagger which he seems to be drawing out from the left side of the prince.—The writing commences below the sculptures. Lines 1 to 6, on the front of the stone, cover an area about 3' 6" broad by 1' 9" high. Below them there is a blank space, about one foot high, which was evidently left void in order to allow of the stone being set upright in the ground without hiding any part of the record. Lines 7 to 24 are short lines down the side of the stone, covering an area about 9' broad by 3' 5" high, with a similar blank space below them. And a line runs across the stone between lines 15 and 16, to mark a division of the text there. The writing on the front of the stone is in a state of fairly good preservation. The writing down the side of the stone has suffered more damage; and for this reason, and also because it was not very convenient to introduce it in the Plate, this part of the record has not been reproduced.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them—(by which I mean, here and always, the height of such letters as *ga*, *cha*, *da*, *pa*, etc., which are properly formed entirely between the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below)—ranges from about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *ga* of *Agarayyaṃ*, line 4, to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in the *ṇ* of *Koṃḡṇīvarman*, line 1; the penultimate syllable *lyu* of line 6 is about $4\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The characters include final forms of *r* in line 3 and *ṇ* in line 4, and also a final form of *l* or else *ān l* with a *virāma* attached to it, in line 3. And they shew the lingual *ḍ*, distinguished from the dental *d* by a marked turning up and over of the right-hand end of the lower part of the letter; it can be recognised very clearly in *ḍṛidode*, line 4. Two of the characters which furnish the best test for undated records of the period to which this record belongs, do not occur here; namely, the *b* and the guttural *ṇ*. In *vakhya*, by mistake for *vākya*, line 6, we have a *kh* of the old square type,² which cannot be placed much after A.D. 860. On the other hand, the *l*, which we have in *Kovalāla*, line 2, and also in *kalnāḍu*, line 8, is of the later cursive type, which cannot be placed much before A.D. 800: we have it throughout the grant of Gōvinda III., of

¹ Mûgûr is in sheet No. 61 (1894), in lat. $12^{\circ} 7'$, long. 77° .

² I use the word “type” intentionally. Plenty of instances will be forthcoming, in which the old square “type” of the *kh* and other characters is followed, though the actual “forms” present hardly a straight line at all.

A.D. 804¹ (except in *modalol*, line 9, and *līkhītaḥ*, line 19), and perhaps in *vallabha*, line 1 (but not in *ballaha*, line 2, and *lōka*, line 3) of the Paṭṭadakal inscription of his father Dhruva;² but the Talakāḍ inscription of Śrīpuruṣa-Muttaraśa³ shews only the old square type of the *l*. The *j*, which occurs twice, in line 2, is of the old square type, which remained in use during the whole of the ninth century A.D., but, towards the end of it, in conjunction with also the later cursive type. In the *ja* of *rāja*,—the fourth syllable in line 2,—we have an ordinary old square *j*, but of the open form; that is to say, with spaces at the place at which the top part of the letter and the lower part usually join to form an upright, and at which the centre stroke to the right starts from that upright. In the *jā* at the beginning of line 2, we have a peculiar form of the old square type of the *j*, which I would propose to call the “back-to-back” *j*, because one more stroke in the centre of the left-hand (proper right) part of the character would have given us a double *j* back-to-back: here, the exact form of it is closed; in B., the Bēgūr inscription, we shall meet with it in its open form. In other genuine records, we have this back-to-back *j*, in the closed form, in the words *śrīrājya* and *yuvarāja*, line 3, and several other words, in the Kyātanahallī inscription of Būtuga I. of the period A.D. 870-71 to about 908,⁴ and in the word *Bijēsvarada* in a short inscription at Paṭṭadakal, in the Belgaum district,⁵ which may be referred to the same period or may be placed somewhat later. And we may note that in spurious records we find it all through the Merkara grant, of the Western Gaṅga series,⁶ the lithographs of which shew it in both the open and the closed forms, and which includes also the corresponding form of the guttural *ñ* which we shall meet with in B., the Bēgūr inscription; and we find it, again, in the same class of records, in the Chicacole grant of Dēvēndravarmaṇ, of the Eastern Gaṅga series,⁷ in the closed form in *vijayavata*, line 1, *Vājasanēya*, line 13, *Nāgarāja*, line 23, and other words, and in the open form in *nīja*, line 7. The forms of the *j* in this Doddahundi record do not guide us much. But the *kh* and the *l* indicate that we may place it in the period A.D. 800 to 860, even if they do not actually compel us to do so. There are, indeed, in the forms of *j* and *ñ* which occur in B., the Bēgūr inscription, plain indications that the development of the alphabet of Western India was slower in Mysore than in the more northern parts. But it does not seem likely that the old square type of *kh* can have lingered on long enough, even there, to justify us in referring this record to A.D. 938 or thereabouts, as we should have to do if, instead of accepting my proposed identification of the princes who are mentioned in it, we identify the Nitimārga, whose death is recorded, with the next admissible prince who had that appellation.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record includes two words, *mane-maḡattin* in line 4 and *kiḷ-guṇṭhe* in line 5, for which only conjectural meanings can be proposed.⁸ And, as indicated to me by the Revd. Mr. Kittel,⁹ in *śrīmar*, for *śrīmat*, line 3, the composer seems to have formed a plural which is not justifiable.—As regards orthography, the only actual peculiarity is the use of *s* for *ś* in *ēsvara*, line 2. But we may note also that we have the short *i* for the long *ī* twice, in lines 1 and 5, and the long *ī* for the short *i* once, in line 1; this latter feature, however, may be treated as a mistake in writing, quite as much as a mistake or peculiarity in spelling.¹⁰

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, and Plate.

² *Ibid.* p. 124, and Plate. A more faithful reproduction of this record will be issued before long.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 1, and Plate.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. S. 147, and Plate.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 170, and Plate at p. 167.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 363, and Plate, and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 1, and Plate.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273, and Plate. On its occurrence in this record, see some remarks by Prof. Kielhorn, above, Vol. V. p. 122, note 4.

⁸ See page 44 below, notes 4 and 6.

⁹ I consulted Mr. Kittel about the meaning of *mane-maḡattin* and *kiḷ-guṇṭhe* in this record, and about some expressions in the Bēgūr and Ātakūr inscriptions, sending him, of course, my full readings of the texts, and translations. And I am much indebted to him for various suggestions, which I mention in the footnotes.

¹⁰ It is rather a curious thing that, whereas in the oldest records the difference between *i* and *ī*, as attached to consonants, is nearly always marked, less and less attention was paid to this detail, in the

The inscription records, in the first place, the death of a Western Gaṅga prince, who is mentioned in it by the appellation of **Nitimārga**, without his proper name being disclosed. We are told, however, that he left a son who had the appellation of **Satyavākya**. We know that **Satyavākya** was the appellation of a prince **Rājamalla**, for whom we have the date of A.D. 870-71. We know also that **Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa**, who is to be placed about A.D. 765 to 805, had a son named **Ranavikrama**, and that the latter had a son named **Rājamalla**. And consequently, since the characters place the record justifiably, if not of absolute necessity, in the period A.D. 800 to 860, we naturally identify this **Satyavākya** with the **Rājamalla** of A.D. 870-71, and this **Nitimārga** with **Ranavikrama**; and, till we learn anything more definite as to the actual year of **Ranavikrama**'s death, we place the record roughly about A.D. 840. In the second place, the inscription registers the fact that **Satyavākya**-(**Rājamalla**) granted to a follower of his father, named **Agarayya**, a *kalnāḍu* or allotment of uncultivated land¹ known by the name of **Guḷdapāḍi**, the components of which were evidently specified in lines 16 to 22.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti Ni(ni)timārgga-Koṃguṇi(ni)varmma-dharmmamahārā-
 2 jādhirāja Kovalāla-purapar-ēsvara⁴ Nanda-
 3 giri-nātha śrīmar(t) Permmaṇaḍigaḷ svarggam⁵-ēṇida[m]⁶ [I*]
 4 Ēridode Pemmānaḍigaḷ mane-magattin Aga-
 5 rayyam Ni(ni)timārgga-Permmaṇaḍige kil-guṇthey=āda[m] [I*]
 Permma-
 6 naḍigaḷ=agga-putram⁷ Satyavakhya⁸-Pem[m]ānaḍigaḷ-Guḷda-

Down the side of the stone.

7 [pā]ḍiya[m]

8 kalnāḍu

Kanarese characters, as time went on, until at length the distinction practically disappeared altogether, and it remained for modern invention,—on the part, I believe, of the early Jesuit missionaries,—to devise the mark by which the long *ī* is now distinguished from the short *i*, and also the long *ē* and *ō* from the short *e* and *o*. The ancient alphabet does not seem to have ever marked the difference between the long and the short forms of *e* and *o*; we read the signs as *e* or *ē* and *o* or *ō*, just as is required. As regards the *i* and *ī*, it is a question, in publishing critical texts, how far it is necessary to complicate the texts by, for instance, shewing the short *i* when it actually occurs in an original by mistake for a long *ī*, and then making a correction in brackets or in a footnote. But probably, while attending to the detail in the case of the earlier records, we may ignore the point in records dating from about A.D. 1000 onwards, and may give the short *i* or the long *ī* as is actually required, irrespective of the exact form in the original.—Dr. Hurvell has traced back the present Kanarese method of marking the long *ī*, *ē*, and *ō*, as attached to consonants, to the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. (*South-Ind. Palaeo.* p. 30).

¹ The word *kal-nāḍu* may be translated literally by “stone tract.” Mr. Rice has pointed out,—quite correctly, I think,—that, as used in inscriptions, “it seems to designate what is now known as Government waste, that is, land that has not been taken up for cultivation or that having been cultivated has been abandoned” (*Ep. Carr.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8).

² From the ink-impression.

³ Represented by a plain symbol. So, also, in line 15, where, however, the symbol is turned the other way.

⁴ Read *puravar-ēsvara*.

⁵ We have here a rather pointed instance, to which my attention was specially drawn by Mr. Kittel, of the use of the nominative instead of the accusative, which is mentioned by Kēśirāja in his *Śabdamañi-darpana*, sūtra 136. In other records, we often find in this expression the dative, *svarggake*, instead of the accusative; this usage is mentioned in sūtra 135.

⁶ Read *ēridar*, more correctly, in agreement with the honorific plural *Permmaṇaḍigaḷ*.

⁷ Mr. Rice's text gives *Pemmanāḍigaḷa su-putra*. The real reading is quite certain, though the *gga* is somewhat damaged.

⁸ Read *Satyavākya*.

- 9 [ko]ttadu¹ ga(?)
 10 chcha[m] mâḍi
 11 parih[â]ra[m] [||*]
 12 Idan=aḷi-
 13 do[m] Vâraṇ[â]-
 14 siyan=aḷi-
 15 do[m] || Ôm ||
 16 Idakke Kamma-
 17 . . . gaya-
 18 lli(?)kummaḷna(?)
 19 ga(?)tagesiko(?)
 20 tṭastaḷu(?)ṛuḡa-
 21 ḷavedi(?)ma(?)
 22 ṇḍu(?)ṇṭu)[||*] Idan=a-
 23 ḷido[m] mâ-pâ-
 24 tagan=a[kkum ||]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! The Dharmamahârâjâdhirâja² Nitimârḡa-Koṅḡuṇivarman, the lord of Kovaḷâla the best of towns,³ the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Permanaḍi, ascended to heaven (i.e. died). When he was ascending,—by right of being a son of the house (?)⁴ of Pemmanâḍi,⁵ Agarayya became, to Nitimârḡa-Permanaḍi, the attendant who drew out (the weapon that caused his death) (?)⁶ (In recognition of that), Satyavâkya-

¹ Read *koṭṭadu*, for which *koṭṭadu* is a vulgarism, as remarked by Mr. Kittel.

² See above, Vol. V. p. 163, note 2.

³ Kovaḷâla is the modern Kôlâr, the chief town of the Kôlâr district, Mysore. In Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, the modern name is given with the Dravidian *r*,—Kôlâra. It is, however, doubtful whether there is any authority for this.

⁴ *Mane-magattin*. Mr. Rice would translate this by “major-domo” (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4).—taking, I understand, *magattin* as a Tamil form of *mahattin*, which would, however, make it the instrumental singular of *mahattu*, a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *mahat*, ‘great, large, etc.’ To this there are the objections that, being an instrumental case, it cannot be in apposition with the nominative *Agarayya*, and that, as the Chôla occupation of Mysore did not commence till about A.D. 1000, there is no apparent reason why the Kanarese language should be in any way influenced by Tamil at the period of the present record; moreover, such a hybrid compound as *mane-mahattu* could hardly be admitted under any circumstances. Mr. Kittel is of opinion that, if we might correct the text into *maggattina*, we might explain it by *magga* as the genitive of *maggu*, ‘subjection, submission,’ and *attina* as another form of *attana*, ‘of that side,’ and might translate “Agarayya of the side of house-subjection, i.e. Agarayya who was in subjection to, or held the position of a dependent in, the house of Pemmanâḍi.” *Magattu* may perhaps be connected in some way with *ogatana*, ‘the management of household affairs.’ But I think, on the whole, that we must find in it some derivative from *maga*, ‘a son.’ And the idea that the expression conveys to me, is, that Agarayya was the son of a concubine of one of the princes of the Western Gaṅga family.—The records appear to give another similar word, which, also, Mr. Rice would translate by “major-domo” (*loc. cit.* p. 7) or “retainer” (p. 34), in the forms of *mane-vagati*, My. 41, 44, and Nj. 158, *mane-yagati*, My. 42, and *mane-magati*, My. 43. In Nj. 158, *mane-vagati* may qualify the woman Nilabbe, quite as readily as her son Râchamma, and therefore may quite possibly mean ‘concubine’ there. In the other cases, however, there does not seem to be any female name that the word could qualify.

⁵ Or “of the Pemmanâḍis.” We have to note the use of the form Pemmanâḍi here, and in line 6, whereas in lines 3 and 5 we have the more customary Permanâḍi.

⁶ *Kil-guṇṭhe*. Mr. Rice's translation proposes “became lame under Nitimârḡa-Permanâḍi,”—which, however, does not seem very appropriate. *Guṇṭhe*, in which the aspirated *ṭh* is rather peculiar, being so unusual in Kanarese, must, I think, be connected with the Telugu *gundā*, ‘a servant, a warrior, a soldier, an armed attendant,’ which appears in Malayâlam as *kunde*, ‘a slave;’ and Mr. Kittel is inclined to agree with me he considers, indeed, the termination *e* to be rather puzzling; but he instances the same termination in *tande*, ‘a father,’ which is said to be a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *tâta*. As regards the first part of the

Pemmānaḍi, the eldest son of (**Nitimārḡa**)-**Permanaḍi**, gave (to *Agarayya*) **Guḷḍapāḍi**,¹ (as an allotment of) uncultivated waste land,—having laved (*his sword*)(?),²—(with) relinquishment (of all taxes) He who destroys this, is (*like*) one who destroys *Vāraṇāsi*! *Om*!

[(L. 16 ff.)—This part of the record evidently gives the names of the villages which made up the allotment. But the reading is very uncertain in some places. And no names can be found in the maps, helping to elucidate the reading and to divide the words. The record ends]:—He who destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the great sins!³

B.—Bêgûr Inscription of Ereyappa.

This inscription was originally brought to notice by Colonel Henry Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment, Madras Infantry, in his photographic collection, published in 1865, of inscriptions on stone and copper from various places in the Mysore territory; and a print from his negative has been given in my *Palli. Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 247,⁴ issued in 1878. In 1879, Mr. Rice gave a reading of the text, and a translation, in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 209, with a lithograph of the entire stone (*id.* Frontispiece). And a rendering of the record by myself, partly from Col. Dixon's photograph and partly from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch, was published in 1892, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 346. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr. Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Bêgûr is a village in the Bangalore taluka of the Bangalore district, Mysore. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, S.E. (1894), in lat. 12° 52', long. 77° 41', about seven miles S.S.E. from Bangalore. It is evidently the ancient **Bempûr** (**Bempûr**) or **Bempûru** of the record; though, why the *m̐p* or *mp* should have changed into *g*, is not apparent.⁵ And the record shews that it was the chief village of a circle known as the **Bempûr twelve**. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, measuring about 6' 6" broad by 6' 8" high, which was found at this village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

compound, we have the word *kil*, *kīl*, *kīlu*, 'the state of being low, below, beneath, under, down, base, degraded or mean,' which occurs in such expressions as *kil-kabbiga*, 'an inferior, base poet,' *kīl-dī*, 'a low man,' and *kīlu-manneya*, 'a petty chieftain;' and in epigraphic records we meet with *kil-kere* or *kīl-kere*, evidently meaning 'a lower tank' (*Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 24), and *kīl-kalṇādu*, meaning apparently 'a lower or smaller portion of uncultivated waste' (an inscription at Hiri-Bidanûr, for the text of which I am indebted to Mr. Rice). And Mr. Kittel, taking the whole word in connection with his proposal of *mane-maggattina*, would interpret the text as meaning that "Agarayya, who held a (*mere*) servile position in the house of Pemmānaḍi, became a (*real, though*) subordinate servant, or armed attendant, to Nitimārḡa-Permanaḍi." But we have also the verb *kil*, *kīl*, *kīlu*, 'to draw or pull out, etc.' And I think that the indication afforded by the sculptures on the stone, suggests for *kīl-guṇṭhe* the meaning that I propose in my translation.

¹ Mr. Rice's translation gives "Permanaḍi's good son Satya-vākya survived to Permanaḍi." This requires us to analyse, at the end of line 6, *Pemmānaḍigaḷge ulḍam*. And I adopted that analysis, in taking the record to mean that "Agarayya survived to (*render service to*) Satya-vākya" (above, Vol. V. p. 163). But I consider now that such an analysis is wrong. The past tense of *ulī*, 'to remain alive, to remain behind,' would be *ulḍam*, not *ulḍam*; the line across the stone between lines 15 and 16 of the text, marks that place as the first division in the text; and the *Satyavākhyā-Pemmānaḍigaḷ* in line 6 must be taken as the agent of the verbal form *koṭṭadu* (for *koṭṭudu*) in line 9.

² In line 9-10, where Mr. Rice's text gives *Kappahalli*, we have in all probability *gachcham mādi*. And *gachcham* must stand for *kachcham*, the accusative of *kachchu*, 'washing.' The expression *kāḷam kachchu*, *karchu*, *kalchu*, 'to wash, or lave the feet,' is a very well known one, in the case of grants given or entrusted to priests. And we have also the nouns *kāl-gachchu*, 'feet-washing,' and *bāl-gachchu*, 'sword-washing' (see page 52 below, note 4). A prince would lave an attendant's sword,—not his feet.

³ The *pañchamahāpātaka* or five great sins are, killing a Brāhman, drinking intoxicating liquors, theft, committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher, and associating with any one guilty of those offences.

⁴ The correct name of the village was not then known, and is there given as 'Keygoor,' mistakenly.

⁵ The first component of the name, however, may possibly be another variant of *bêhu*, *bêgu*, 'spying;' in which case, the name would mean "spying-town" or "watch-town."

The chief part of the writing is in six lines, covering an area about 6' 6" broad by 1' 5" high, which run right across the upper part of the stone; and, in a somewhat exceptional manner, each of these six lines is separated from the next by a line cut in the stone from end to end. There are also six short lines running on in continuation down the proper right side, the same number on the proper left side, and the name of a village (treated as line 13) near the centre below line 6. Except in some places along the top of line 1, the inscription is mostly very well preserved; and it is legible throughout, in the ink-impression, without any doubt, except in respect of the village-name in line 13.—The rest of the stone is occupied by sculptures. The principal division of them represents a battle-scene. The troops on the proper right side must be those of the Vīramahēndra of the record. They are led by a man on horseback, waving a sword: that he is a person of very high rank, is indicated by umbrellas, one of which is apparently a triple one; and he seems, therefore, to be Vīramahēndra himself. Behind him there are two followers on horseback. In front of him, there is a man on foot, blowing a horn of the long straight kind. And, above the latter, there is another horseman. The troops on the proper left side are the Nāgattara army of the record. They are led by a man on an elephant, wielding a spear, who is evidently the hero whose death is recorded in the inscription; and the fierceness of the attack upon him is indicated by the arrows sticking in the forehead of the elephant. He is attended by an archer in the *hauda*, and by a follower on horseback shewn below the elephant. The centre and the foreground shew the fight between the two parties. Above all this, there is another scene, the central figure of which is a man, seated on a low stool, with his feet resting either on a man kneeling on all fours or on a footstool devised in that form. He may possibly be Ereyappa. But the absence of umbrellas is rather against that view; and it seems more likely that we have here another representation of the leader of the Nāgattara army who was killed in the battle. He is attended by two female *chauri*-bearers. Behind the *chauri*-bearer at his back, there stands another woman, who seems to be trying to entice into a cage a bird which is perched on his uplifted left hand. And behind her, again, there is another woman, standing under a flag-staff. Beyond the *chauri*-bearer in front of the central seated figure, there stands another woman. And beyond her there is a man, standing, and holding across his right knee what seems to be either a quiver or the scabbard of a sword: that he, also, is of some rank, is shewn by the head-dress, which figures similarly on the heads of the other three principal figures, and seems to include a kind of plume standing up from the *paṭṭa* or frontlet or fillet of dignity and authority; and he is probably the Iruga of the record, who was appointed to the command of the Nāgattaras in consequence of their original leader being killed in the battle.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about $\frac{1}{3}$ " in the *l* of *vēlloḍe*, line 4, to about $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *va* of *Toraḡūrū*, line 6: the *śrī* of *śrīmad*, line 2, is $3\frac{1}{3}$ " high; and the *śrī* at the end of line 19 is $3\frac{3}{4}$ " high. The characters include a final form of *r* at the end of line 2, and either a final *l*, or else an *l* with a form of the *virāma* attached to it, in *Kūḍal*, line 15. They include the distinct form of the lingual *ḍ*, which can be seen very clearly in *māḍi* and *Gaṅgarāḍi*, line 3, and in *kalnāḍ*, line 6: but the distinction was not made throughout; for instance, it was not observed in *enḍoḍe*, line 6. We have, in this record, all the leading test-letters. The *kh*, *b*, and *l* present only the later cursive forms: the *kh* occurs once, in *mēkhaḷā*, line 1; the *b* may be seen very clearly in *badhdham* and *Beṁpūru*, line 6; and the *l*, in *lakshmi*, line 2, and *pola*, line 15. In *Gaḷaṁjarāḡilū*, line 11-12, we have the later cursive *j*: but the old square type is presented in *jaḷadhi-jaḷa*, line 1: here, in both cases, we have the back-to-back *j*, in its open form, that is to say, with a small space at the top and also at the bottom of the central upright stroke; it is particularly clear in the second instance. The guttural *ṇ* follows the types and forms of the *j*, as, for some reason or other not yet explained, it nearly always does: in *Irugaṅge*, line 5, *maṅgala*, line 6, *Komaraṅgundu*, line 7-8, *Nāgaraṅge*,



line 18-19, and *maṅgaḷa*, line 19, it is the later cursive *ṁ*, differing from the corresponding *j* in only the absence of the right-hand stroke which, in the *j*, starts and turns up from the centre of the letter; on the other hand, in *Gaṅga*, line 1, *Gaṅgavāḍi*, line 3, and *dēvaṅga*, line 4, we have an *ṁ* of the old square type, answering to the back-to-back *j*, from which it differs, as may be seen best in line 3, essentially in the absence of the centre stroke to the right, and, as found in this particular record, by the projections to the left being turned in to meet the central upright stroke. — The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 18, we have a curious word, *ṣavuchara*, which seems to stand for *sahachara*, 'a companion, a follower.' — In respect of orthography we may notice (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *āḷamkrity*, line 1-2, though the *ri* is given correctly in *ṣvayamvṛita*, line 2; (2) the use of *dh* for *ddh* in *badhdham*, line 6; (3) the use of *b* for *v* in *Bira*, line 3; (4) the use of *ṣ* for *s* in *ṣvayamvṛita*, line 2; and (5) the use of the Drāviḍian *ḷ* in all the Sanskrit words, except, of course, as an initial in *lakṣmi*, line 2, and except in *maṅgaḷa*, line 6. The last-mentioned word occurs spelt both ways. In line 19, where it is the ordinary Sanskrit word, used in its customary sense, it is written with the Drāviḍian *ḷ*. In line 6, it is part of a village-name;¹ and there it is written with the ordinary *l*, as seems to be always the case, even in Tamil records, when it is used in that way.

The inscription, which is partly a *virḡal* or monumental record of a hero who was killed in battle and partly an ordinary *śāsana* or charter, refers itself to the period of the rule of the Western Gaṅga prince Ereyappa, i.e. to between about A.D. 908 and 938. It tells us that Ereyappa lent to Ayyapadēva, for the purpose of fighting against Viramahēndra, a force which was collected and commanded by the leader of the Nāgattaras. The commander of the force was killed in a battle that was fought at Tumbepāḍi. And Ereyappa appointed Iruga to succeed to the leadership of the Nāgattaras, and also, in recognition of the bravery that had been displayed by his predecessor, granted to Iruga the circle of villages that was known as the Bempūr twelve.

As has been pointed out by Mr. Rice² since the time when the contents of this record were first discussed, Ayyapadēva was doubtless a Nolamba, and is to be identified with the Nolambādhirāja-Ayyapadēva, "of the Pallava lineage," one of the Nolambas of the Nolambavāḍi province on the north of the Gaṅgavāḍi province, who is mentioned in an inscription at Hirī-Bidanūr.³ The identity of Viramahēndra is not so certain. But there is, at any rate, no good reason now for proposing to identify him with the Nolamba Mahēndrādhirāja who is mentioned, in inscriptions at Baragūr and Hēmāvatī,⁴ as a son of a Nolambādhirāja who was a brother-in-law of Nitimārga son of the Gaṅga prince Rājamalla. And it seems probable that he was an Eastern Chalukya king. In that dynasty, we meet, not only with Rājamahēndra as a *biruda* both of Amma I. (A.D. 918 to 925) and of Amma II. (A.D. 945 to 970),⁵ but also with Gaṇḍamahēndra as a *biruda* of Chālukya-Bhima II. (A.D. 934 to 945).⁶ The name Viramahēndra, "a very Mahēndra (Indra) among brave men," is exactly synonymous with Gaṇḍamahēndra, "a very Mahēndra among heroes." The Eastern Chalukyas were constantly at war with the Rāshtrakūṭa kings and the Western Gaṅga princes. The name of "the very terrible Ayyapa" is actually mentioned among the names of certain enemies of Chālukya-Bhima II.,⁷ whom he is said to have slain. The dates fit in satisfactorily. Thus, in all probability the Viramahēndra of this record is Chālukya-Bhima II., who, we must then understand, had invaded Mysore and was met by a combined force of Gaṅgas and Nolambas. And the event has

¹ [At the end of village-names, *maṅgaḷa* seems to be an abbreviation of the frequent, but inconveniently long term *chaturvḍḍi-maṅgaḷa*, 'a Brāhmaṇ settlement.'—E.H.]

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, note 3.

³ For this record, see, provisionally, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, note 2.

⁴ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 266, 270.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 269.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 270.

to be placed towards the end of the rule of Ereyappa, between about A.D. 934 and 938. Against this, it might be urged, in the first place, that the statement in this record, that Ereyappa was governing the Gaṅgavāḍi province as an united whole after having deprived all his enemies of their power, is suggestive of an early period in his rule, and, in the second place, that an early period is suggested by also the fact that the record includes an *ñ* and a *j* of the old type, which seems to have entirely disappeared in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory by about A.D. 900. But the Âtakûr inscription, C. below, of A.D. 949-50, similarly describes Bûtuga II. as then governing the province after having fought and killed Râchamalla I.,—regardless of the fact that that event occurred about ten years before that date. While, as regards the palæographic point, the record can at any rate not be placed before A.D. 906-907, which date we have for Ereyappa's predecessor Bûtuga I. There seems, therefore, no objection, from this point of view, to placing it even some thirty years later. And we thus gather from this record, in respect of palæography, that the development of the alphabet in Mysore was perceptibly slower than in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory more to the north.

Of the places mentioned in the record in addition to Bempûr-Bêgûr, we may doubtless safely identify Tumbepâḍi, where the battle was fought, with the modern 'Tumbadi' of the Madras Postal Directory and of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, N.E. (1895), in the Maddagiri tâluka of the Tumkûr district: the place is in lat. 13° 34', long. 77° 17', about fifty-four miles N.N.W.½W. from Bêgûr; and this identification locates the scene of the battle near enough to the Nolambavâḍi province—(if not actually in it)—to account for Ayyapadêva being concerned in the matter. Iggalûr still exists under the same name, eight miles to the south-east from Bêgûr. Tovagûru is probably the 'D. Togur' of the map, two-and-a-half miles on the south-east of Bêgûr. Pûvina-Pullimaṅgala is doubtless the modern 'Hulimangala,' three-and-a-half miles on the south of Bêgûr.¹ And Kûḍal may be 'Kudlu,' three miles N.E. by E. from Bêgûr.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ôm³ Svasti Samasta-bhuvana-vinûta-Gaṅga-kuḷa-gagana-ni[r⁴]mmaḷa-târâpati-
jaladhi-jala-vipuḷa-valaya-mêkhal[â]-ka[â]p-âlam-
- 2 kri(kṛi)ty-aîlâdhipatya-lakshmi-śvayamvrita-patitâdvâdy⁵-aganita-guṇa-gaṇa-vibhû s ha ṇ a-
vibhûshita-vibhûti śrîmad-Ereyapp-arasar
- 3 pagevar=ellaman=ni[h⁶]kshatram-mâḍi Gaṅgavâḍi-tombhattaru-sâsiramuman⁶=êka-
chhatra⁶-chchhâyeyol=âḷuttam-iḷdu Bi(vi)rama-
- 4 hêndranoḷ=kâdal=endu Ayyapadêvaṅge sâmantasahitam Nâgattaranam danḍu
vêlḍode Tumbepâḍiyol=kâdi kâlegam=imb=a-
- 5 iḍode âneyol=ânt=iṛidu sattod=adam kêḷd=Ereyapaṁ⁷ mechchi Irugaṅge Nâgat-
tara-vaṭṭam-gaṭṭi Bempû-ppanniraḍu-

¹ The old map, sheet 60, of 1828, which I was using in 1892, does not shew 'Hulimangala.' The new map, sheet No. 60, N.E., of 1895, does not shew the 'Woolmungle,' about twenty miles towards the E.N.E. from Bêgûr, which I selected in 1892 from the old map; nor can I find in it the 'Nelloorputnam' and 'Chicka-Nalloor' which, on the authority of the old map, I then put forward as possible representatives of Kûtanidu-Nallûru and Nallûru-Komaraṅgundu, but which now seem, under any circumstances, too distant to belong to the Bempûr twelve.

² From the ink-impression.

³ Represented by a plain symbol.

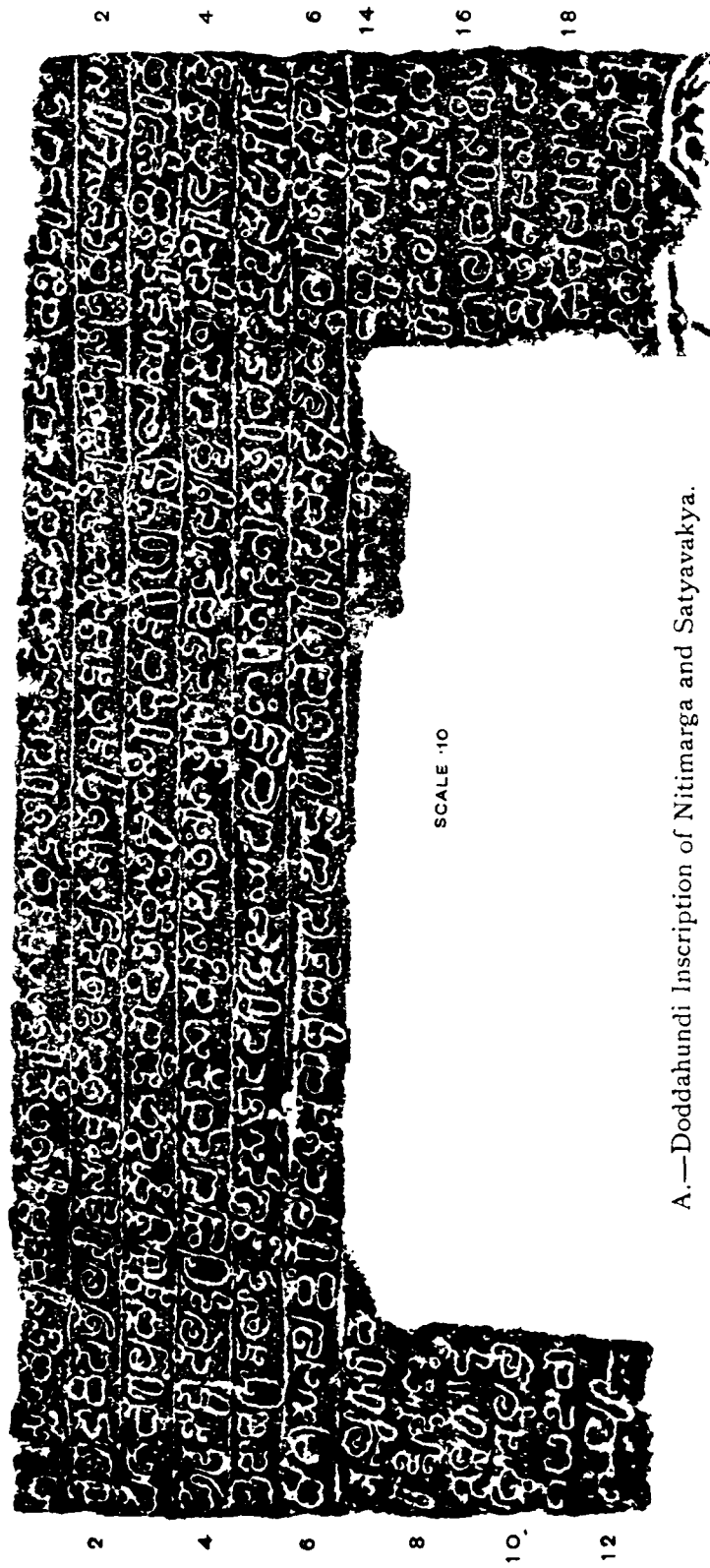
⁴ Read *lakshmi-śvayamvrita-patitv-âdy*. The *toa* of *patitva* is also understood after *târâpati* in line 1.

⁵ Read *sâsiranaman*. The copulative ending is not wanted, as only one province is mentioned.

⁶ Read *chchhattra*.

⁷ This name would have been written more correctly with the double *pp* in the fourth syllable, as in line 2. It occurs again with the single *p* in line 17 below, and in line 20 of C., the Âtakûr inscription.

B.—Begur Inscription of Ereyappa.



SCALE ·10

A.—Doddahundi Inscription of Nitimarga and Satyavakya.



SCALE ·10

J. F. FLEET.

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY DR HULTZSCH

6 mam ¹ śāsana-badhha(ḍḍha)m	kālnāḍ=ittan=Av=āvvuv=endode ||	Bempūru ||²
Tovagūrū Pūvina-Pullimaṅgala Kūtanidu-Nallūru ||		
7 Nallūru-Koma-	13 Śāra[m]vu(?) ||	14 Eḷkuppe Paravūru
8 raṅgundu || I-		15 Kūḍal | inituma[m]
9 ggalūru || Du-		16 pola-mére sahita-
10 gmonelmalli		17 m=ittan=Ereyapa[m]
11 Gaḷamjavā-		18 śāvucharan=Nāgara-
12 gilū ||		19 űge ³ [||*] Maṅgaḷa-
		mahā-śrī ||

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! When the illustrious Ereyapparasa,— whose dignity was adorned with the decoration of an uncounted number of good qualities, such as being a spotless moon in the sky which is the family of the Gaṅgas praised throughout the whole world, and such as being the lord, chosen by herself, of the goddess of sovereignty over the earth, who has for an ornament round her waist a zone which is the great circle of the waters of the oceans.— having deprived all his enemies of their power, was governing the Gaṅgavāḍi ninety-six-thousand as an united whole,⁴ he ordered⁵ the Nāgattara, together with (his) tributary chiefs, (to supply) an army to Ayyapadēva for the purpose of fighting against Viramahēndra; and thereupon he (the Nāgattara) fought at Tumbepāḍi, and, when the press of battle became great,⁶ leaned upon the elephant, and was pierced and died.

(L. 5)— Thereupon, having heard that, Ereyapa was pleased, and appointed Iruga to the leadership of the Nāgattaras,⁷ and gave him, secured by a charter, the Bempūr twelve, (as an allotment of) uncultivated waste land.

¹ Read *Bempūr-ppannaradumam*.

² The punctuation in this part of the record seems, at first sight, rather capricious. But it probably marks some subordinate groupings of the villages. And the copulative long *ū* in *Tovagūrū* and *Gaḷamjavāgilū* points in the same direction, though, in that case, there ought to have been a more systematic use of copulative endings all through lines 6 to 15.

³ Read *sahacharan=Nāgattaraṅge*.— As regards the latter word, see the next note but one.— As regards the former word, the *śāvucharan* of the original might stand for *śaucharan*, *saucharan*, or even (see Kittel's Dictionary, under *au*) *samcharan*, or *saṁcharan*. But none of these words gives a suitable meaning, unless we can accept *saucharan*, and, taking it as equivalent to *sucharitan*, render it by 'well-conducted, well-behaved.'

⁴ *Ēka-chchhattira-chchāyeyol*; *lit.* "in the shade of one umbrella." See the explanation given above, Vol. V. p. 164, note 6.

⁵ *Vēḷdode* might stand for *bēḷdode*, from *bēlu*, = *bēḷu*, 'to wish, solicit, ask.' But, as indicated to me by Mr. Kittel, it is, no doubt, better taken here as standing for *pēḷdode*, from *pēlu*, 'to utter, say, narrate, tell, command, order.'— With the infinitive in *kūḍal=endu*, compare *geyyal=endu* and *sādhisal=endu* (above, Vol. V. p. 223, note 6, and p. 225, note 2).— As regards "the Nāgattara," from a comparison of the text in lines 4, 5, and 18-19, it seems that we have in line 4 the accusative singular, and in line 18-19 the dative singular (with a careless omission of the third syllable, *ṭta*), of a base *Nāgattara*, as the proper name of a family or clan rather than of an individual.

⁶ *Kāḷegam-imb=alidode*; *lit.* "when the battle space-failed."— I was inclined to take *kāḷegam* as the dative singular of a proper name, *Kāle*, and to translate "when space failed to even *Kāle*, i.e. when the press of battle became too great even for him,"—thus finding here the actual name, which otherwise is not mentioned (see the preceding note), of the hero who was killed on this occasion. Mr. Kittel, however, considers that *kāle* is not very probable as the name of a man, and that it is better to take *kāḷegam* in the way in which it most naturally presents itself, namely, as the nominative singular of *kāḷega*, *kāḷaga*, 'fight, battle, war.'

⁷ *Lit.* "having tied to (the forehead of) Iruga the fillet of authority of the Nāgattaras." *Vatṭam* is for *paṭṭam*; and *gaṭṭi* for *kaṭṭi*. *Paṭṭam kaṭṭu* or *gaṭṭu*, 'to tie the frontlet or fillet of dignity or authority,' is an expression of constant occurrence in respect of the crowning of kings and princes. In respect of its use in the case of lower appointments, we have instances, analogous to the present one, in the Permaḍi *paṭṭa* which, the Kōṭūr inscription tells us, the Satyavākya of that record conferred on the son of a *Gāmunda* or village-headman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 103, No. III., and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 6), and in the Mādivarma-*paṭṭa* which belonged to a certain Māchiga, a follower of Nōḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II. (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 110). The last mentioned record

(L. 6)—Those (villages) are as follows:—Bempûru; Tovagûru, Pûvina-Pullimaṅgala, and Kûtanidu-Nallûru; Nallûru-Komaraṅgundu; Iggaḷûru; Dugmonelmalli and Gaḷaṅjavāgilu; Sāramvu (?); Elkuppe, Paravûru, and Kûḍal. This much, with (*a specification of*) the boundaries of the fields, gave Ereyapa to his follower, the Nāgattara. May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

C.—Ātakûr inscription of Kṛishṇa III. and Bûtuga II.—A.D. 949-50.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śraraṇa-Belgoḷa*, Introd. p. 19, note 10, and p. 21. A rendering of it by myself, from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch, was issued in 1892, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 167. And a rendering of it by Mr. Rice, with a lithograph, was published in 1894, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Md. 41. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr. Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself; owing to the bad light in which the stone stands, it fails to shew much of the writing, though it presents the sculptures clearly enough.

Ātakûr,—or, perhaps, according to a more recent custom, Ātagûr,—is a village about fifteen miles to the N. E. by E. from Maṇḍya, the head-quarters of the Maṇḍya tāḷuka of the Mysore district. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, S.E. (1894), as 'Atgur,' in lat. 12° 39', long. 77° 7'; and it is shewn as 'Atagur' in the map that accompanies the revised edition of Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. II.: in the old sheet No. 60 (1828), however, it is shewn as 'Atcoor,' which answers to the spelling given in Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., and to what is probably still the more usual form of the name. With the slight difference of *u* for *a* in the second syllable, the record mentions it as Ātukûr. And the record shews also that it was the chief village of a circle known as the Ātukûr twelve. The inscription is on a stone tablet, measuring about 5' 1" broad towards the bottom by about 6' 8" high, which was found set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challêśalinga,—the Challêśvara of the record itself,—about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

The chief part of the writing consists of nineteen lines, covering an area about 5' 1" broad (in line 19) by 4' 0" high, which run right across the lower part of the stone. But there is a subsidiary record, lines 20 to 24, on the upper part of the stone, in the margins that were left above and on each side of the sculptures belonging to the principal part of the record: lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin, along the top, and down the proper left margin; line 22 is a short line on the proper right margin, below the beginning of line 21; and lines 23 and 24 are short lines on the proper left margin, commencing below, respectively, the *nna* of *Kannara* and the *ṅge* of *Bûtugaṅge* of line 21. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation throughout; and the whole of the record can be read with certainty, with the exception of the *akshara* before *Tri[nē]tran*, line 3, and perhaps of the word *āpa[ghā]ta* in line 7.—The sculptures on the stone cover an area about 3' 2" broad by 1' 6" high. They represent a hound and a boar fighting; and they refer to an incident mentioned in lines 10 and 11 of the record.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about 1" in the *la* of *Chôlane*, line 16, to about 1½" in the *ma* of *ā maṇṇan*, line 13: the *mba* of *emba*, line 19, is 2¼" high; and the *ka* of *Sûdrakaṁ*, in the same line, is 2½" high vertically and 3" on the slant. The

illustrates also its higher application, in giving the date as the seventh year of the tying of the fillet of Satyavākya- (Mārasimha II.). And in this application it was synonymous with *rājyābhishêkam-geyu*, 'to anoint to the sovereignty or rule,' which is the expression used in giving the regnal date of the Eḷiûr inscription of Satyavākya- (Bûtuga I.) of A.D. 888 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. II., and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 5).—Judging from the head-dresses of the four principal figures in the sculptures on the stone, the *paṭṭa* seems to have included a kind of plume standing straight up above the head, in addition to a fillet passing round the head.

characters include final forms, or forms with the *virāma* attached, of *t* in lines 3, 6, and 9, of *l* in line 13, and of *ḷ* in lines 6, 9, 11, and 12. The lingual *ḍ* can be recognised in *nāḍa*, line 10, *viṭṭode* and *ode*, line 11, and *edeg*, line 15. The palaeography does not present anything calling for special comment, as the *kh* does not occur, and the other test-letters, *ñ*, *j*, *b*, and *l*, present, naturally enough, only the later cursive forms.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type; and there are verses in lines 15 to 19. In line 11 we have *moṛaḍi* as a variant of *moraḍi*, 'a hill, a hillock;' and in line 12 we have *aṅgaḷol*, the locative singular of *aṅgaḷ* or *aṅgaḷu* as a variant of *aṅgaḷa*, = *aṅgaṇa*, in the sense of 'an open space, an area.' And we may note the use of *v*, instead of the more customary *m*, in *expatturaṃ*, line 21.—In respect of orthography we may note (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *nriṇa*, line 1, *prithui*, line 2, and *Kriṣṇa*, line 3; (2) the use of *b* for *v* in *bijayaṃ*, line 4, and *bira*, lines 16 and 18; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, for instance, in *Saka*, line 1, and *Sūdrakaṃ*, lines 9 and 19; and (4) the use of *ś* for *s*, once, in *Sōmyaṃ*, for *Saumyaṃ*, line 1.

The principal part of the inscription is dated, without full details, in the Saumya *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-Saṃvat 872 (current),¹ = A.D. 949-50. And it refers itself to the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kannaradēva-Kriṣṇa III.,² and of the Western Gaṅga prince Satyavākya-Būtuga II.³ It tells us, in the first place, that Kriṣṇa III. had fought and killed the Chōḷa king Rājāditya, otherwise called Mūvaḍi-Chōḷa,⁴ at a place named Takkōla, and was going in triumph, or, in other words, was making a state progress through his dominions.⁵

¹ The *saṃvatsara* agrees with the given Śaka year only according to the southern luni-solar system of the cycle,—which, however, is the proper one for the period and the part of the country with which we are concerned,—and only by applying the Śaka year as a current year; see Prof. Kielhorn's references to this date, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 187, No. 79, and Vol. XXV. p. 267, note 5.

² The following *birudas* of Kriṣṇa III. are mentioned in this record,—*Aṅkatrinētra*, *Ānevedēga*, *Vaṇṇaḥamalla*, and *Kachchega*; see page 53 below, note 7, the Postscript on page 83, and page 55, notes 7, 8, 9.

³ His proper name occurs in line 9, in the *biruda* "the champion of Būtuga," which is applied to Maṇalera.—The following *birudas* of Būtuga II. himself are mentioned in this record,—*Nanniyagaṅga*, *Jayaduttaraṅga*, *Gaṅgaḡaṅgēya*, and *Gaṅganārāyaṇa*.

⁴ The word *mūvaḍi* means 'three folds, three times,' from *mū*, = *mūru*, 'three,' and *maḍi*, 'bending, folding, doubling; fold, times.' Another form of it is *mummaḍi*. In the Tamil records, the *biruda* appears sometimes as *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*, and sometimes as *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*: and Dr. Hultzsch has rendered it by "the Chōḷa king (who wears) three crowns, viz. those of the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra kingdoms" (e.g., *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III. p. 29), finding an indication that that is its purport in a verse at the end of the Rāṅganātha inscription which describes Sundara-Pāṇḍyaḍēva as building "three golden domes, by which (the temple of) Śrīranga glitters as he (the king) by the (three) crowns worn at (his) coronation" (above, Vol. III. p. 17); and so also Mr. V. Venkayya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 65, and see p. 60, note 14), where he quotes facts which would indicate, or at least justify, the existence of a similar *biruda* among the Pāṇḍyas, on the same view. There is a Tamil word *mudi*, meaning 'a crown.' Nevertheless, my opinion is that *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa* is simply a variant of *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*, and that in either form the *biruda* means literally "a three-times Chōḷa." And I think, now, that the expressions *Immaḍi-Nōḷambādhirāja*, *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*, and *Nūmmaḍi-Taila* mean, not "the second Nōḷambādhirāja, the third Chōḷa, the hundredth Taila," but "the Nōḷambādhirāja who was twice as great and powerful, or twice as famous, as any Nōḷambādhirāja who ever preceded him," and so on. An inscription of A.D. 1168 at Paḷagāmi (*P. S. O.-C. Insers.* No. 185, and see *Mysore Insers.* p. 111) describes the temple of Dūkṣiṇa-Kēḍāreśvara as (line 30 f.)—*Vārāṇḍisigamv-irmmaḍi Kēḍārakkam nūmmaḍi Śrīparvatakkam sāsirmmaḍi*,—"twice (as sacred) as even Vārāṇḍi, a hundred times (more sacred) than even Kēḍāra, a thousand times (more sacred) than even Śrīparvata." So, also, *Rēvaṇanimmaḍi* (see page 71 below, note 5) probably stands for *Immaḍi-Rēvaka* and means "a Rēvaka twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Rēvaka."

⁵ *Bijayaṃ-geyyutt-īḍa*. From Kittel's Dictionary, it would appear that the word *bijaya*, as used in this combination, is treated by the Native grammarians as another form of *bija*, *biya*, and as coming from the Sanskrit *vi*, *vyay*, 'to go, to move, to go apart or in different directions,' and that *bijayaṃ-gey* and *biyaṃ-gey* are explained by them as meaning simply 'to walk, to go, to come.' But, as used in the inscriptions, the expression has plainly a more extended meaning than that; namely, it implies the idea of 'going in state, going in triumph.' It is evidently a shorter form of *dig-vijayaṃ-gey*, for an instance of which see above, Vol. V. p. 223, note 6. And, in view of that longer form, I think that the word *bijaya* is to be more correctly treated as simply a *tadbhava*



It then mentions **Bûtuga II.** as governing,—the Gaṅgavâdî ninety-six-thousand province being understood. It then introduces a follower of Bûtuga II. named **Maṇalera**,¹ who belonged to the Sagaravamsa or race of the Sagaras and had the hereditary title of “lord of Valabhi the best of towns,” and whose prowess in battle is described in the verses in lines 15 to 19. Bûtuga II., it tells us, being pleased with the prowess displayed by Maṇalera, gave him his favourite hound Kâli. The hound was pitted against a great boar at the village of Belatûr, in the Keḷale district.² And the hound and the boar killed each other. And, in commemoration of that, the stone was set up in front of the temple of the god Challêśvara at Âtukûr, and a grant of land was made to the temple.

The subsidiary record round the top of the stone belongs also to the time of Bûtuga II., who, it says, was governing the ninety-six thousand province after killing Râchamalla, the son of Ereyappa. It discloses the fact that it was Bûtuga II. himself who actually killed the Chôla king Rajâditya, whom, it says, without mincing matters, he slew treacherously. And in return for this service, it tells us, Krishna III. gave to Bûtuga II. the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province, and the districts known as the Belvola three-hundred, the Purigeṇe three-hundred, the Kiskâd seventy, and the Bâgenâd seventy.³ It further tells us that, in recognition of the valour displayed in battle by Maṇalera, Bûtuga II. gave to Maṇalera the circle of villages known as the Atakûr twelve and also a village named Kâdiyûr or Kâdiyûr in the Belvola district. This last grant is called in the record a *bûlgachchu* or “sword-washing” grant, meaning, no doubt, that it was accompanied by the ceremony of laving Maṇalera’s sword.⁴

of the Sanskrit *vijaya*, ‘victory,’ and that *biya* and *dyia* are to be treated as corruptions of it. I would render the full expression *diṭṭa-vijayam gata*, not by “to conquer the regions, to make the subjugation of various countries in all directions, to make universal conquest” but by “to go in triumph, to make a state progress, through the dominions.”—[In modern Tamil, *vijayañāy*, if applied to princes and high officials, means “to visit” a locality.—E. H.]

¹ The same Maṇalera is probably mentioned again in the Kûlagere inscription of Nitimârṅga-(Ereyappa) of A.D. 1029 (Ep. Carr. Vol. III, Ml. 30; the text in Roman characters gives Maṇaleyâra, and the text in Kanarese characters gives Maṇalayâra). An earlier person of the same name seems to be mentioned in the Jagallûre inscription of Śilurusta-(Muttarasa) (id. Vol. IV, Gu. 87; the texts here both give Maṇaleyâra). And an Irûṇal-Vîra-Maṇalera appears to be mentioned in an inscription of uncertain date at Hebbâl (id. Vol. III, Ml. 45, here, the Roman text gives Maṇalera, and the Kanarese text gives Maṇilera).—The Sagaravamsa is mentioned again in the Jinshûlî inscription of the time of Nalambîntaka-Mârasimba II. (id. Vol. IV, Hg. 110).—The title *Valabhiavaradêvara*, “lord of Valabhi the best of towns,” occurs again in a fragmentary inscription of uncertain date at Muttatti (id. Vol. III, N. 102).

² In a similar manner to the present record, an inscription of the sixteenth century A.D. at Têkal or Tyâkal in Mysore (P. S. O. C. Inscri. No. 228, and see Mysore Inscri. p. 208) mentions a fight between a hound and a tiger, and the fight is represented on the stone. The name of the hound in that case is perhaps given as *Sarpaga*; but the word may possibly mean only a *clampaka* tree.

³ The necessity for granting the Belvola, Purigere, Kiskâd, and Bâgenâd districts to Bûtuga II. on this occasion, is not altogether apparent; because we know from the Hebbâl inscription that they had already been given to him by Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, the father of Krishna III., as the dowry of Rêvakanimmaḍi (see above, Vol. IV, p. 354). But it would seem that Bûtuga II. must have been deprived of them,—together, probably with the rightful succession to the leadership of the Western Gangas,—by Ereyappa and Râchamalla.

⁴ *Biya-chchu* is from *bdi*, *bdiu*, ‘a knife, a sword,’ and *ka-chchu*, *kar-chu*, *kal-chu*, ‘washing; to wash.’—The expression, in line 22-23, is *bûlgachchu-gittam*, “he gave (as) a *bûlgachchu*.” Originally,—the word *bûlgachchu* not being then known,—I read *bûlga[m]* [*me*] *chchu-gittam*, which, as Reeve and Sanderson’s Canarese Dictionary does not show the difference between *bdi*, ‘sword,’ and *bdi*, ‘living, life, subsisting, livelihood etc.’ I rendered by “gave, in token of approbation, for subsistence.” But, in giving that reading and rendering, I had to remark that I could not find the syllable *me* in the original, and that it seemed to have been omitted altogether. By a curious coincidence, Mr. Rice’s text gives the reading as *bûlge mechchu gitta*; and his translation renders this by “gave for his sword.” And not only so, but his lithograph actually introduces the required syllable *me*, as if it really stood in the original,—making room for it chiefly by cramping the *ge* of the *Bûtugange* of line 21. The syllable *me*, however, does not stand, and never did stand, in the original at all. And it is not wanted, from any point of view. The true reading, *bûlgachchu-gittam*, is quite unmistakable, and is, now, quite intelligible. The

As regards the places, in addition to **Ātukūr-Ātakūr**, mentioned in this record,—**Takkōla**, where the battle was fought between Kṛishṇa III. and Rājāditya, still exists, under the same name, in the Wālājāpēt tāluka of the North Arcot district, Madras; the Indian Atlas sheet No. 78, N.E. (1893), shews it as '**Takkolam**,' six miles S.E. from Arkōṇam junction. in lat. 13° 1', long. 79° 48', on the Corteliaur river.¹ **Beḷatūr**, where the hound was matched against the boar, still exists under the same name, five miles W. S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. from **Ātakūr**. **Kādiyūr** or **Kādiyūr**, of the Belvola district, ought to be somewhere near Hūli in Belgaum, or Anṇigere in Dhārwar, or Kukkanūr in the Nizam's Dominions; but the maps do not seem to include any name answering to it. The **Banavase** province, and the **Belvola**, **Purigere**, and **Kisukāḍ** districts, are already very well known. The **Bāgenāḍ** seventy was.—as I shewed when I originally edited this record,—the country round **Bāgalkōṭ**, the ancient **Bāgaḍage** and **Bāgaḍige**, the head-quarters of the **Bāgalkōṭ** tāluka of the **Bijāpur** district.

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti³ Sa(śa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kāl-ātita-sa[m]vatsara-sa(śa)taṅgaḷ-eṇṭu-nūr-
[e]lpatt-[e]raḍaneyya Śō(sau)myam-embā
- 2 sa[m]vatsaram pravarttiśe⁴ [i*] Svasti Amōghavarisha⁵dēva-śriprithuvi⁶
vallabba-paramēśvara-parama-
- 3 bhaṭṭ[ā]raka-pādapunkaja-bhramaran-a[ūka]ṭ-⁷Tri[nē]tran=āne-veḍeṅgam vana-gaja-
mallam kachchegam Kri(kṛi)shṇarājām śrīmat

expression *kālam kachchu, karchu, or kaḷchu*, 'to lave the feet (at the time of making a donation),' is well known from many records. And for the noun *kāl-gachchu*, 'sword-washing,' we have the analogy of the noun *kāl-garchu*, 'foot-washing,' in lines 40 and 47 of an inscription of A.D. 1112 at Baḷagāmi (*P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 172, and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 85).

¹ The word *takkōla* means 'the tree *Pimenta acris*,' and 'a particular fragrant drug.' The Madras Postal Directory gives also a '*Takkol*' about a hundred miles more to the north, in the Siddharattam tāluka of the Cuddapah district. But we need not hesitate about accenting *Takkōlam* in the North Arcot district, as decided by Dr. Hultzsch (see above, Vol. V. p. 167, note 1). It is the more important place of the two; it contains, among other records, an inscription of Kṛishṇa III.; and it is only about thirteen miles distant, to the north, from Conjeevaram, which city, together with Tanjore, was reduced by Kṛishṇa III.—doubtless during the same campaign in which the Chōḷa king was killed at *Takkōla*.

² From the ink-impression.

³ This record does not seem to begin with the customary *Om* before the *Svasti*. We have the *Om* at the end of lines 14 and 19, represented by symbols respectively plain and slightly ornate. And we perhaps have it at certain other places; see the next note.

⁴ After this word, and after *Kannaradēva*[m], line 4, and after *iḍu*, line 4, and after *śrī*, line 24, and before the *svasti* at the beginning of lines 5, 7, and 20, there are certain marks which are perhaps intended for symbols representing the word *Om*, which would be appropriate enough at each place, except after *Kannaradēva*[m] in line 4. But it cannot be said for certain that they actually are such symbols.

⁵ Read *varisha*. *Varisha* is a well established *tadbhava* of *varsha*. But it is hardly admissible in such a combination as the one that we have here.

⁶ Read *prithivi*. Here, again, in *prithuvī* we have a well established *tadbhava*, which, however, is hardly admissible in such a combination.

⁷ My original reading, — *a[ri]ṣa-Tri[nē]tran*, "a very *Triṇētra* among kings,"—cannot be upheld. The *Tri[nē]tran* is practically certain. But I cannot satisfy myself as to what the word before it is. We should expect either *Raṭṭa*,—giving the meaning of "a very *Triṇētra* among the *Raṭṭas*,"—on the analogy of *Sagaranṛinētra* in lines 8 and 17 below and of *Chōḷaṭrinētra* (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 139), or some word meaning 'king,' on the analogy of *Nripaṭrinētra* as a *biruda* of Gōvinda IV. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 251, text line 39), *Rājāṭrinētra* as a *biruda* of Kakka II. (*ibid.* p. 266, text line 41), and *Mandalik-ṭrinētra* as a *biruda* of Nalambāntaka-Mārasimha II. (above, Vol. V. p. 177, text line 91); and we might, of course, read *dharmara*[m], and take the *a* as the initial of some such word. I cannot, however, think of any such word, which the doubtful *ak-cha* will suit. The spurious Gañjām grant (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV, Sr. 180) gives *Lōkaṭrinētra*, "a very *Triṇētra* among mankind," as an alleged *biruda* of Mārasinga-Kreyappa, the alleged son of Śivamāra II.; but *lōka*, again, is not admissible here. Provisionally, I accept the reading which is given in Mr. Rice's text, and is of course shewn in his lithograph, namely, *anka-Triṇētra*, "a very *Triṇētra* in fight or war;" because I find that a Baḷagāmi inscription of A.D. 1181 (*P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 192, and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 117)

- 4 Kannaradēva[m] Mūvadi¹-Chōla-Rājādityana mēle [ba]ndu Takkōladol-kādi
kendu bijayam-geyyutt-il²du³ [!]*
- 5 Svasti³ Satyavākya-Koṅṇivarmma-dharm[m]amahārājādhirāja[m] Kōlāla-
puravar-ēśvaram Nandagiri-nātham
- 6 śrīmat Permmānadigaḷ nanniya-Gaṅga[m] jaya[d=u]ttaraṅgam Gaṅga-
G[āṅgō]ya[m] Gaṅga-Nāāyana=atan=ālu[tt-i]l[d]u⁴
- 7 Svasti⁵ sakala-loka-paritāp-apa[ghā]ta-[pra]bhāv-āvatāri[ta]-Gaṅg[ā*]-pravāh-ōdāra-
Sagara-vamśa[m*] Va-
- 8 labhi(bhi)-puravar-ēśvaran=udāra-Bhagīrathan=iṇiva-bedeṅgam Sag[ara]-Triṇētram
seṇase-mūg-arivom
- 9 kadan-aika-Su(sū)drakam Būtugan=aṅkakāram śrīmat Maṇal[e]raṅg[e]⁶
anuvaredol mechchi bēdi-kol=endo-
- 10 de dayeya mere-vol=emba Kāliyam daye-geyy=endu koṇḍan=Ā nāya[m]
Keḷale-nāda Beḷatūra paḍu-
- 11 vana deseya moṇḍiyol piri[duṁ] pa]ndige viṭṭode pandiyum nāyum=
oḍa-sattuv=adarkke-
- 12 y=Ātukūrol Challēśvarada munde kallan=naḍisi piriya keṇeya keḷage maḷti-
kāl=angulol=ir-kkaṇḍuga-
- 13 maṇṇa[m] koṭṭar=Ā maṇṇan=okkal nāḍan=ālvom⁷=ūran=ālvor=i maṇṇan=
alidon=ā nāya geyda pāpamam koṇḍo-
- 14 n=ā sthānaman=ālva goravan=ā kallam pūjisad=unṭar=appode n[ā]ya geyda
pāpamam koṇḍa[m] [!]* Ōm⁸ [!]*
- 15 Uṇḍ⁹=idir-ānta Chōla-chaturanga-kalaṅgalan=aṭṭi mutṭi taḷt=iṇiv=eḍeg=orvvar=
appoḍam=idi[r]chchuva
- 16 gāḍaran=āmpēv=endu poṭṭaliṣuva¹⁰ bīram nēreṇye kāṇeme Chōlāne¹¹
sakkīy=āge taḷt=iṇidudan=āme ka-
- 17 ṇḍev=ene mechchador=ār=Ssagara-Triṇētranam || Narapati bennoḷ=ilidon=idir-
āntadu vairi-samūham=illi
- 18 machchariṣuvar=ellarum seraguv=āldapor=inn=iren=endu siṅgad=ant-ire Hari
bīra-Lakshmi nerav=āg-ine Chō-
- 19 la[na]-kōṭey=emba sindhurada śir-āgramam biriye p[ō]yidam¹² kadan-
aika-Su(sū)drakam [!]* Ōm [!]*

describes the *Dandanāyaka* Kēsimayya, in line 28, as *kadana-Triṇētra*, "a very Triṇētra in destruction, killing, slaughter, or war." But the *akshara* before the *tri* does not seem identical with the *nka* of *pankaja* in the same line and elsewhere, but appears rather to include an *m*; and also the compound itself, *anka-Triṇētra*, seems somehow, not a satisfactory one.—Regarding this *druda*, now see the Postscript on page 83 below.

¹ Mr. Rice's text gives *alkōrade*, which is rendered in the translation by "without fear,"—being imagined, I suppose, to be a compound of *alku* (which, however, should be *alku*), 'fear,' and *ōrade*, the negative participle of *ōru*, 'to take care of, to guard, protect, cherish.'—The real reading, *Mūvadi*, is quite certain. For some marks which stand before this word, and after *Kannaradēvam*, see note 4 on page 53 above.

² Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

³ Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

⁴ The *l* and the *u* are quite recognisable in the ink-impression, though not in the collotype.

⁵ Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

⁶ Originally, I read *Manalarata[nq=ō]nunaradol*. Mr. Rice's text gives *Manālarāṅge anuvaredol*. The real name, *Maṇalera*, is quite distinct, in the present ink-impression, in line 21 below.

⁷ Read *ālvon*.

⁸ Represented by a plain symbol.

⁹ Metre, Champakamālā; and in the following verse.

¹⁰ Read *poṭṭchariṣuva*, as suggested to me by Mr. Kittel. The *poṭṭaliṣuva* of the original not only violates the *prāsa* or alliteration of the second syllable of the *pāda*, by giving *l* instead of *r*, but also presents a word for which no authority can be found.

¹¹ The *ne* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

¹² The metre is faulty here; we have — — —, instead of — — — —.

The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

- 20 Svasti Śrī-Eṣyapana magam Rāchamallanam Būtugam kādi kondu
tombhattaru-sāsiramumam¹ ālutt-ire [I*] Kannaradēvam Chōlanam
kāduv-andu Būtugam Rājādityanam bisu-geye kaḷḷan=āgi surig=iṇḍu
21 kādi kondu Banavase-pannirchchāsiramum Beḷvola-mūnūrum Purigere
mūnūrum² Kisukād-erpa(lpa)ttum Bāgenād-erpa(lpa)ttuvam Būtugaṅge
Kannaradēvam mechchu-goṭṭam [II*] Būtuganum³ Maṇaleram ta-
22 nna munde nind=iṇḍudarkke mechchi Ātuk[ū]r-ppa-
23 nneraḍum Beḷvolada Kādiyūrumam⁴ bāl-ga-
24 chehu-goṭṭam [II*] Maṅgaḷa-mahā-śrī⁵ [II*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the saṁvatsara named Saumya, the eight hundred and seventy-second (in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, was current:—

(Line 2)—Hail! When Kṛishṇarāja (III.), the glorious Kannaradēva,—a very bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhadrāśrīka*, Amōghavarshadēva-(Vaddiga); a very Trīnētra (Śiva) in battle;⁶ a marvel with elephants;⁷ a wrestler against forest-elephants;⁸ he who wears the girdle (of prowess).⁹—having attacked the Mūvadi-Chōla¹⁰ Rājāditya, and having fought and killed him at Takḱōla, was going in triumph:¹¹—

(L. 5)—Hail! The *Dharmamahārājūllīrāja* Satyavākya-Koṅguṇivarman, the lord of Kōlāla the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the glorious Permānadi, the

¹ Read *sāsiramam*, or *sāsiranam*; compare page 48 above, note 5.

² Read *mūnūrum*.

³ Read *Būtugam*; the copulative ending is not required.

⁴ I read originally *Kōṭeyūrumam*. The present ink-impression, however, shews clearly *Kādiyūrumam*, as given in Mr. Rice's text,—or, of course, optionally *Kādiyūrumam*.

⁵ Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

⁶ See note 7 on page 53 above, and the Postscript on page 83 below.

⁷ Ānevedēṅga. This *biruda* occurs in also line 1 of the Soratūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III. of A.D. 851 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257).—I have previously translated it by "a very marvel of refuge," and "a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance)," taking *āne* as the infinitive, in *e*, of *ānu*, to which Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary gives the active meanings of 'to stay, prop, support; to oppose, resist.' I now, however, follow Mr. Rice's translation; partly because Mr. Kittel considers that more suitable, since in his opinion *ānalke* would have been used if the meaning had been such as I then thought, and partly because I have elsewhere met with the *biruda* Turagavedēṅga, which can only be rendered by "a marvel with horses."

⁸ Vanagajamalla. This *biruda* of Kṛishṇa III. is used in line 8 of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Nolaṁbāntaka-Mārasimha II. (above, Vol. V. p. 176). In a slightly different form,—Madagajamalla, "a wrestler against rutting elephants,"—it occurs in also line 2 of the Soratūr inscription (see the preceding note).—For the recognition of Gaṇḍamārtandā as a formal *biruda*, and as denoting Kṛishṇa III., in line 9 of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph, I was indebted to Mr. V. Venkayya, who detected it from the passage in line 56 ff. of the Karbād grant of A.D. 958 (above, Vol. IV. p. 295), which describes Kṛishṇa III. as founding temples of Kālapuyēśvara, Gaṇḍamārtandēśvara, and Kṛishṇēśvara. I was not able to introduce an acknowledgment of this into the proofs of my paper on the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph.

⁹ Kachhega. Finding *kachche* given in Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary in the sense of 'quarrel. dispute, fighting,' I have previously rendered this *biruda* by "a (real) fighter (or disputant)," and a somewhat similar *biruda*, Kachcheyā-Gaṅga, by "the quarrelsome or fighting Gaṅga" (above, Vol. III. p. 183, note 4). Mr. Rice's translation renders it by "warlike." I owe the present rendering of it to Mr. Kittel, who, in support of it, has referred me to *bira-gachche*, 'a *kachche* fit for warriors or brave men.' *Kachche* is a *tadbhava* of *kaksha*, 'a girdle, a string or zone for fastening a cloth round the waist.' Kachcheyā-Gaṅga may be rendered by "the girdled Gaṅga."

¹⁰ See page 51 above, note 4.

¹¹ See page 51 above, note 5.

truthful Gaṅga, the lintel of victory, the Gāṅgēya among the Gaṅgas, the Nārāyaṇa among the Gangas,— he, when governing,—

(L. 7)— Hail !,— being pleased in battle with the illustrious Maṇalera,— who is of the noble race of the Sagaras, which by its power brought down the stream of the river Gaṅgā in order to ward off the affliction of all mankind; (*who has the hereditary title of*) lord of Vaḷabhi the best of towns; who is a very Bhagiratha among noble men; who is a marvel among those who pierce; who is a very Tripētra among the Sagaras; who cuts off noses when he is angry; who is the sole Śūdraka in war; who is the champion¹ of Būtuga (II.),— said “Make thy request!” Thereupon, he said— “Be gracious enough to give me thy favourite² (hound) Kāli, which is called the one that bays loudly;”³ and he obtained it.

(L. 10)— On their loosing that hound at a mighty boar on the hill in the western quarter of the village of Beḷatūr of the Keḷale district, the boar and the hound killed each other.⁴ And, to (*commemorate*) that, they set up (*this*) stone in front of the temple of the god Challēśvara⁵ at Ātukūr; and they gave land (*yielding*) two kaṇḍugas (*of grain*) in the open space of the channel, called the channel of the maṭṭi-trees, below the large tank.

(L. 13)— Any cultivator who destroys that land, and any governor of the district or any governors of the village who destroy this land, shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by that hound!⁶ If the Gorava who manages the estate⁷ should fail to do worship to that stone, he shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by the hound! Ōm!

(L. 15)— At the place where,— having followed and come up with the four-fold forces⁸ of the Chōḷa, which stood to confront us without wavering,— we were to come to close quarters and pierce them, we certainly saw not any (*others among our*) valiant men who strode forward⁹ saying “We will meet the heroes that oppose us;” but we did see how,— the Chōḷa himself being the witness,— he (Maṇalera) came to close quarters and pierced: who, then, could fail to be pleased with him, the Tripētra among the Sagaras? The king was at his back; a multitude of enemies faced him in front; and all those here (*on our side*), who jealously sought to excel him, met with disaster!¹⁰ then, saying “I can stand back no longer,” he, the sole Śūdraka in war, with the help of the god Hari (Vishnu) and the brave Lakshmi struck, like a lion, the forehead of the elephant that was called the fortress of the Chōḷa, so that it burst open. Ōm!

¹ In *ankakāra*, we take *anka* in the sense of ‘fight, war.’ *Kāra* is said to be a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *kāra*, ‘making, doing, causing; a maker, a doer.’— Kittel’s Dictionary gives to *ankakāra* the meanings of ‘an influential or a chief servant; a leading hero.’ But, in such combinations as the present one, the rendering ‘champion,’ which I fixed some time ago, seems more appropriate; especially as I find the following in the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, Vol. III. p. 34, under the word *ankam*:— “Challenge. In Malabar, a duel, “formerly frequent among the Nayar race. These combats arose from private feuds. A preparation and “training for twelve years preceded the actual fight in order to qualify the combatants in the use of their weapons. “They were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel, generally their champions. These undertook to defend the “cause they had taken up till they were killed. Source of revenue to the local rajah, each combatant paying for “the privilege of fighting [*maryauday*].”— The last sentence, however, seems rather dubious; so, also, the twelve years’ training.

² *Dayeya*; *lit.* “of (*thy*) favour or affection.”

³ *Mere-voḷḷu*; *lit.* “the ostentatious barker,” from *mere*, ‘shine, lustre; ostentation,’ and *boḷḷu*, — *bogaḷu*, *bagaḷu*, *boguḷu*, ‘barking; crying out.’

⁴ *Oḍa-sattuvu*; *lit.* “died together.”

⁵ The genitive is used of *Challēśvara* as a neuter, to indicate the temple. There are many other instances of this in the ancient records.

⁶ This seems rather a severe reflection upon the hound, after it had behaved so courageously. It must be justified on the understanding that all killing is sinful, no matter what the circumstances may be.

⁷ *Stāḍana*; the temple and the property, including the present grant, belonging to it.

⁸ *Chaturanga-bala* is “an entire or complete army, comprising elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry.”

⁹ *Pochcharisuvā*; *lit.* “who were (breaking forth), starting into view, becoming evident or manifest, appearing; shining.”

¹⁰ *Seragur=āldapo-*; *lit.* “sank into calamity, evil, mischief.”

The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

(L. 20)—Hail! While Bûtuga (II.), having fought and killed Râchamalla, the son of the illustrious Ereyapa, was governing the ninety-six thousand :—

(L. 20)—At the time when Kannaradêva was fighting against the Chôla, Bûtuga (II.), while embracing¹ Râjâditya, treacherously² stabbed him with a dagger, and thus fought and killed him; and Kannaradêva gave to Bûtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase twelve-thousand, the Belvola three-hundred, the Purigere three-hundred, the Kisukâd seventy, and the Bâgenâd seventy.

(L. 21)—Being pleased with the manner in which Maṇalera stood out in front of him and pierced (*his foes*), Bûtuga gave (*to him*), as a *biḷgachchu*-grant,³ the Âtukûr twelve and the village of Kâdiyûr⁴ of (the) Belvola (district). May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

* * * * *

Further Remarks on the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâd.

I have spoken, on page 40 above, of certain additions, modifications, and corrections, which I should have liked to be able to make in my article in Vol. V. above, pp. 151 to 180, before it was published, but which, for the reason given, it was impracticable to introduce into it. I enter on that subject now. And, to accompany my remarks, I give, on page 59 below, a revised table of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâd,⁵ including the necessary alterations up to date.

In the way of additions, it is only necessary, at present, to state that an inscription at Kûragallu⁶ gives us the name of Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as the wife of Bûtuga I., and that an inscription at Elkûru⁷ gives us a Gaṅga prince subsequent to Râchamalla II.: the record does not disclose his proper name; but he was a Nitimârğa, with the *birudas* of Jayadankakâra, "the champion of victory,"⁸ and probably Komaravedeṅga, "a marvel among princes;"⁹ and the record furnishes for him the date of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 921 (expired), = A.D. 999-1000, without any specification of the month.¹⁰

¹ *Bisu-geye*. We have to find here the opportunity for stabbing Râjâditya treacherously. Mr. Rice's translation gives "making Râjâditya angry;" but there is no point in such a rendering. I originally translated "while they were taking the air together," on the authority of Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary giving *bisuge* in the sense of 'going abroad, taking an airing;' but it seems that *bisuge* does not really occur in that meaning. Mr. Kittel says that he has no hesitation in translating "when he made close connection (*with him*), i.e., probably, when he embraced him,"—connecting the first part of the compound with, I suppose, *bisu*, 3, 'to unite firmly, to solder; to join, to be united,' and this at once suggests a suitable meaning, namely, that pretended overtures of peace were made, and that Râjâditya was stabbed at a meeting that took place between him and Bûtuga.

² *Kaḷḷan=âgi*; lit. "having become a thief; as a thief."

³ See page 52 above, and note 4.

⁴ The numbers before some of the names indicate the members of the family who actually ruled, or probably ruled, over the Gangavâdi province, and the order in which the succession went. When the exact relationship between two consecutive individuals is not established, dots are used instead of lines.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92; and see page 69 below, note 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Ch. 10.

⁸ This *biruda* is rather exceptional and peculiar; because *ankakâra* is usually, and most naturally, preceded by a proper name, and *jayada*, or any word of that sort, is usually followed by *uttaramga*. But we have an analogy for it, in the case of Tapadankakâra, "the champion of penance or asceticism," which occurs as a *biruda* or epithet of a Saiva priest named Varêśvara in line 38 of a Halagâmi inscription of A.D. 1096 (my *P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 166; and see Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscr.* p. 172, where, however, it is rendered, together with the following word *amalaṁ*, by "with a body purified by penance"). See also the Postscript on page 83 below.

⁹ This *biruda* is given as Komaravedeṅga in the text in Roman characters, but as Kôviravedeṅga in the text in Kanarese characters. Kôviravedeṅga is unintelligible. Komaravedeṅga is likely to be correct; in the spurious Sûdi grant, it is attributed to the alleged Eregaṅga, who is placed next after Bûtuga I. (above, Vol. V. p. 183).

¹⁰ An inscription at Bêlûru, in the Maṇḍya taluka, Mysore district (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 78), purports to give us a still later Gaṅga prince,—a Gaṅga-Permaṇaḍi, who, it says, was governing the Kaṇṇâta in

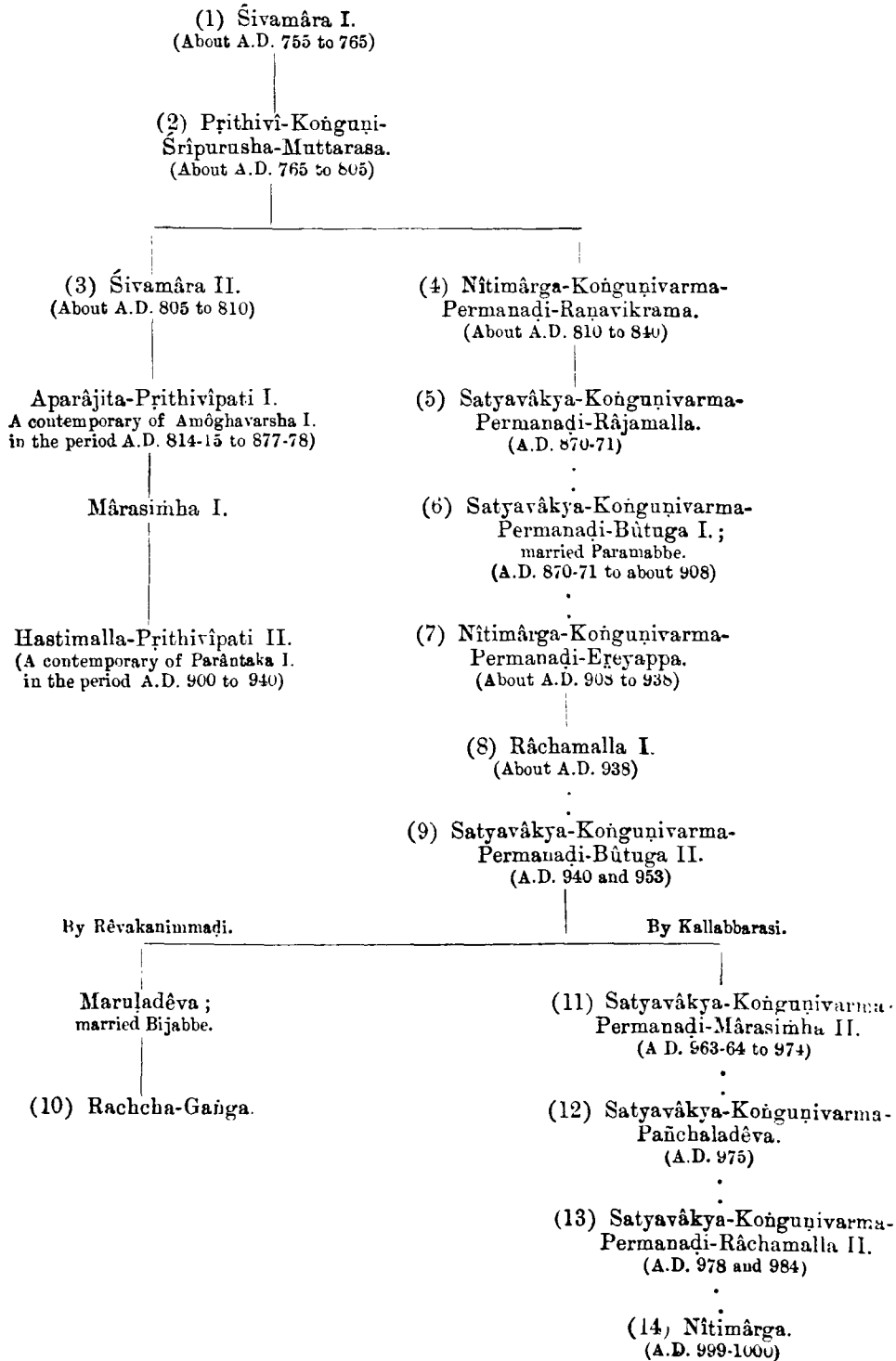
In respect of modifications and corrections, I have first to say that everything in my article that was based, directly or indirectly, on the spurious Suradhênupura grant, must be expunged. This document appears to have been first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1894, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 3. where it was put forward as furnishing a date in the Sarvajit *saṃvatsara*, corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 729 (expired), = A.D. 807-808, falling in the third year of Śivamāra II., and as fixing the commencement of his rule in A.D. 804. It is, however, **not even an ancient forgery**. In February, 1899, I received from Mr. Rice, with a copy of the text, a statement of facts which shew that it has been fabricated within the last thirty years or so, and with just the same object as that with which the ancient spurious grants were fabricated, namely, to establish an actual right or an asserted claim to property. And, with Mr. Rice's permission, I quote, in full explanation of the matter, what he wrote to me about this document, in his letter dated the 19th January, 1899, as follows:—“The ‘Suradhênupura plates are of no use. The story of them is this. They are in the usual form ‘of the Vijayanagara grants, engraved in the same Nāgarī characters generally employed in such ‘grants, signed as usual in big Kannada characters *śrī-Virūpākṣa*, and the seal on the ring ‘is a boar. But on reading I found that, though the first words were *śrī-Gaṇēśūya namaḥ*, it ‘went on to nearly the end of the second side with the epithets and genealogy of the Gaṅgas. ‘as contained in the various plates that have been discovered. This was certainly puzzling, as ‘at the time the grant was entered in my list no one except myself and the old Munshi who ‘helped me with the Mercara and Nāgamangala plates was acquainted with this string of epithets ‘and names. On inquiry, however, I found that this Munshi (then dead) was one of the ‘principal shareholders in the village, which was shortly expecting the Inām inquiry. This ‘explained everything, as he was a man with a screw loose, though a good scholar, and would ‘often have misled me if I had not found out that he was not to be trusted. It seems evident ‘that the village had a Vijayanagara grant and that he must have got two plates engraved with ‘the knowledge he had acquired, and substituted them, having the whole put on a ring ‘together. Still, I thought that he had really perhaps had access to a Gaṅga grant, from which ‘he had taken the particulars and date. But I am now convinced that the whole thing was a ‘hoax. The date is an impossible one, and the changes in the names of kings (Bhūri Vikrama, ‘Nava Chokka, Purushōttama) are concoctions of his own, as well as the final Narasimha- ‘dharma-varma (note the order) which he gives as another name of Śivamāra.” In the face of this explanation, it is not necessary to pay any further attention to this document, or to make any further comments on it, beyond remarking that what this Munshi did is precisely what was done right and left in Mysore about seven centuries ago, and somewhat later in a neighbouring part of the country, where, Mr. G. R. Subramiah Pantulu has told us,¹ forged grants of the Vijayanagara series are probably nearly as plentiful as the genuine grants, which are themselves extremely numerous; and the liberties that he took with some of the names that were available to him, illustrate exactly the liberties that the persons who fabricated ancient forgeries would take, sometimes in misrepresenting real names and sometimes in inventing imaginary names, in putting together pedigrees to serve their purposes.²

the month Phālguna, falling in A.D. 1023 (if we accept the Śaka date), Śaka-Saṃvat 944 (expired). But, with this Śaka year it wrongly couples the Durmukhin *saṃvatsara*, which would be either A.D. 996-97 or A.D. 1056-57. And, with so great a discrepancy,—to say nothing of the fact that the details of the date are not correct, either for the given Śaka year (current or expired), or for A.D. 996-97 or 1056-57,—it is impossible to attach any value to the date or to the record itself. Moreover, the expression “governing the Kārṇāṭa” is foreign to the phraseology of the Gaṅga records, and suggests a much later period.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVII. p. 277.

² It may be added, incidentally, that Mr. Rice speaks of the matter rather kindly, in calling the document simply a hoax. If any attempt was actually made to produce it before the Inām Commission, a criminal offence was committed, for which, on exposition of the real nature of the document, a substantial sentence of rigorous imprisonment would have been passed.

The Western Gaṅgas of Talakād.



The other corrections affect that part of the succession that lies between Satyavākya-Rājamalla, the grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and Satyavākya-Būtuga II., the father of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II.; that is to say, the period between A.D. 870-71 and A.D. 940, which latter is the earliest fixed date for Būtuga II.

To understand the matter fully and settle this period finally, we must first consider exactly the way in which Mr. Rice has dealt with this period, and the steps by which he has led up to it. We will start with Śivamāra I., the founder of that branch of the Western Gaṅga stock with which we are dealing; for, we must at any rate go back to Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and so, while we are about it, we may as well run through the whole list of authentic names. It is not necessary to waste any time on the alleged names before Śivamāra I.; because they are all fictitious.

Mr. Rice has taken the spurious grants, and the dates put forward by them, as his guide, and has adapted the genuine records to them. And, from the two sources taken together in this way, he has arrived at the following succession and dates,¹ starting with Śivamāra I., to whom he has assigned the period "A.D. 679 to 713 +." ² Here, the initial date is based on the spurious Hallegere grant,³ which purports to give a date in the month Jyēṣṭha, Śaka-Samvat 635 expired, falling in A.D. 713, as being in the thirty-fourth year of Śivamāra I.

Differing from the Sūḍi grant, the spurious records from Mysore itself describe Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa as the grandson of Śivamāra I., and omit to mention his father's name. With this unnamed son of Śivamāra I., Mr. Rice apparently proposed to identify a certain Mārasimha, who was at that time supposed to be indicated as a son of Śivamāra I. by the Udayēndiram grant of Hastimalla-Prithivipati II.; at any rate, he has proposed to place the Mārasimha of the Udayēndiram grant, whom he has specified as "the predecessor of Śrīpurusha,"⁴ next after Śivamāra I., and he has assigned to him the period from some date after A.D. 713 "to A.D. 726,"⁵—the final date being fixed by the initial date which he has accepted for the next in succession. But the existence of this Mārasimha is based on nothing but the imperfect original rendering of the Udayēndiram grant.⁶ The revised rendering of that record⁷ has shewn us that the Mārasimha there mentioned must be placed at least a century after A.D. 726. And the Vallimalai inscription⁸ has shewn us that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa was in reality the son of Śivamāra I.

Next after this Mārasimha, Mr. Rice has placed Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa. To him, he originally assigned the period "A.D. 727 to 777,"⁹—the initial date being taken from the assertion in the spurious Dēvarhalli grant¹⁰—(formerly known as the Nāgamaṅgala grant)—that the fiftieth year of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa was Śaka-Samvat 698 expired, = A.D. 776-77. The final date was afterwards extended to "A.D. 804,"¹¹ which was supposed to be the initial date

¹ See, chiefly, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. pp. 2 to 6, the Table on pp. 7, 8, and the Classified List of the Inscriptions after p. 36, and Vol. IV. Introd. pp. 5, 8 to 12, and the Classified List after p. 38; also, for a few points, *Coorg Inscr.* Introd. pp. 3 to 5.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 113, with a lithograph.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 3.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

⁶ By Mr. Foulkes, in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. p. 369.

⁷ By Dr. Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 375.

⁸ Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

⁹ *Coorg Inscr.* Introd. p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ng. 85, with a lithograph.—For a facsimile of two sides of this grant, see above, Vol. IV. p. 164, in my article on the spurious Sūḍi grant.

¹¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.—The natural inference is that the spurious Sūḍhēnupura document was brought to Mr. Rice's notice after 1886 (the date of the publication of his *Coorg Inscr.*) and before 1894 (the date of the publication of his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III.). In order to deal with the spurious grants in the final manner in which they should some day be disposed of, we ought to know the exact order, and the years, in which each of them came to notice. Our information on this point is at present very scanty.

established for the next in succession by the spurious Suradhēnupura document. And it must be taken to be now cut down to A.D. 797, or earlier, by the subsequent assignment of this date to the next in succession.

Next after Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, Mr. Rice has placed his son, or alleged son, **Śivamāra II.** He originally put him at some indefinite time between A.D. 813 and 869,¹ placing him after the **Chākīrāja** for whom the Kaḍaba grant² purports to put forward a date in A.D. 813. He then allotted to him the date of "A.D. 804," as his initial date,—leaving the final date uncertain,—from the spurious Suradhēnupura document.³ And he has now apparently carried him back to A.D. 797, if not earlier,⁴ from the spurious Maṇṇe grant, which mentions Lōkatrinētra-Mārasimha as a son of Śivamāra II., describes him as administering the whole of the Gaṅga province as **Yuvarāja**, and gives a date in the month Āshāḍha, Śaka-Saṃvat 719 (expired), falling in A.D. 797. Mr. Rice's suggestion⁵ is that Śivamāra II. was perhaps then a prisoner in the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and that that is why this Mārasimha is described as **Yuvarāja** in command of the whole Gaṅga country. With the additional name of **Eṇṇayappa**,—Lōkatrinētra-Mārasimha-Eṇṇayappa,—this person is mentioned, again as **Yuvarāja**, in also another spurious grant, from Gañjām in the Seringapatam tāluka;⁶ this record does not put forward any date.

Next after Śivamāra II., Mr. Rice has placed his alleged younger brother **Vijayāditya**, with any date up "to A.D. 869,"⁷—this final date being necessitated by the initial date which he has proposed for the next ruler.

Next after Vijayāditya, he has placed Vijayāditya's alleged son **Satyavākya-Rājamalla**, with the proposed period "A.D. 869 to ? 893."⁸ Here, the initial date is based⁹ on the Biliūr inscription,¹⁰ which specifies the month Phālguna, Śaka-Saṃvat 809 (expired), falling in A.D. 888, as being in the eighteenth year of a Satyavākya, whose proper name, however, it does not disclose; and the final date is the initial date proposed for the next in succession. And to this Satyavākya-Rājamalla he has referred, in addition to the Biliūr record of A.D. 888, the inscription at Husukūru,¹¹ which mentions the ruling prince both as Satyavākya and as Rājamalla, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71, without any details of the month, etc. This Husukūru inscription mentions also Būtarasa-(Būṭuga I.), who, it tells us, was then governing the Koṅgaḷnāḍ and Pūnāḍ provinces as **Yuvarāja**. And Būtarasa is mentioned again in a fragmentary inscription at Chik-Kāṭi,¹² which also refers itself to the rule of a Satyavākya, naturally identified by Mr. Rice with Rājamalla.

Next after Satyavākya-Rājamalla, Mr. Rice in 1894 placed a Nītimārga, whose proper name he did not then indicate, with the proposed period "A.D. ? 893 to ? 915."¹³ to whom we shall revert directly. Since then, however, he has introduced the name of **Raṇavikramayya**,—an alleged son of Rājamalla the alleged son of Vijayāditya,—with the proposed date of "about A.D. 890," and with the suggestion that this Raṇavikramayya may be the Būtarasa-(Būṭuga I.) of the Husukūru and Chik-Kāṭi inscriptions, or may be someone else.¹⁴ The name of this

¹ *Coorg Inscr.* Introd. p. 4.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 332.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. pp. 3, 7.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 9.—This Maṇṇe grant has not been published yet. But I am able to quote it from photographs which Mr. Rice was kind enough to send me.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* in note 4.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Sr. 160.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

⁹ See *Coorg Inscr.* Introd. p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. 2 (Mr. Kittel's rendering), with a lithograph, and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 5 (Mr. Rice's rendering)

¹¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75.—I am dealing now, as on the previous occasion, with only the really important and useful records,—mostly those which include personal names or dates, or which can by any other means be applied in a specific manner.

¹² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 94.

¹³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

¹⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11, and the Classified List after p. 35

Ranavikramayya is taken from the Galigêkere grant.¹ This is another obviously spurious record. It does not include any date, Śaka or regnal; and, so, the proposed date of "about A.D. 890" is purely conjectural.

We revert to Mr. Rice's **Nitimarga**, with the proposed period "A.D. ? 893 to ? 915." Here, the initial date is based on an inscription at Honnâyakanhalli, which was understood to give "reason to suppose his reign began in Śaka 815 (A.D. 893);"² and the final date is based on an inscription at Iggali,³ which, however, is dated in the twenty-second year, not of a Nitimarga, but of a Satyavākya, and therefore does not apply to the case at all. The suggestion has been thrown out, that this Nitimarga may be either Ranavikramayya or Bûtaraśa-(Bûtuga I.), or both of them.⁴ And to this Nitimarga Mr. Rice has referred, in addition to the Iggali inscription (in reality, a record of a Satyavākya), an inscription at Gattavâdi⁵ (again, in reality, a record of a Satyavākya, and not of a Nitimarga), dated in the fifth regnal year, erroneously supposed, in consequence of confusing the appellations, to be A.D. 898,— another inscription at the same place,⁶ a record of really a Nitimarga, and dated in his fifth year, and therefore referred to A.D. 898,— and an inscription at Kûlagere,⁷ also a record of really a Nitimarga, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, etc., and without any mention of the regnal year.

Next after this Nitimarga Mr. Rice has placed a **Satyavākya**, whom he has identified with **Ereyappa**,⁸ and to him he has assigned an inscription at Malligere,⁹ which refers itself to the rule of a Satyavākya, without disclosing his proper name, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 828 (expired), = A.D. 906-907, without any details of the month, etc., or of the regnal year. For this Satyavākya-Ereyappa, he has proposed various other dates ranging from "about A.D. 900" to "about A.D. 925."¹⁰ These are based on records which do not include any Śaka dates, and, mostly, not even regnal dates; so that the proposed dates A.D. are purely conjectural. And we need notice only one of those records here. It is an inscription at Jinnahalli,¹¹ which refers itself to the seventh year of a Satyavākya, whose proper name it does not disclose: Mr. Rice has identified this Satyavākya with Ereyappa, and has consequently placed this record "A.D. ? 900:" but the record mentions this Satyavākya by also the *biruda* of Guttiyagaṅga; Guttiyagaṅga was Satyavākya-Noḷambântaka-Mârasimha II.;¹² and the true date of this record is, therefore, A.D. 969-70.

Next after Ereyappa, we have the name of his son **Râchamalla I.**, who was killed by Bûtuga II. in or before A.D. 940. In respect of Râchamalla, Mr. Rice has said¹³ that "we must apparently understand that on the death of Ereyappa, Râchamalla and Bûtuga were rival claimants to the throne, and that the former did not actually reign, or if he did, only for a short time." The only record, as yet brought to notice, referable actually to the life-time of this Râchamalla, is an inscription at Hiranandi.¹⁴ It does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But Mr. Rice has proposed to place it "about A.D. 930." And he has suggested¹⁵ that, by this record, "we seem to be let into the plot by which Bûtuga endeavoured to get Râchamalla into his power. He sent an officer to invite him to come to Manne, the royal residence, that they might make a division of the country and the treasury. But Bûtuga, as we know, was not to be trusted. His envoy was therefore met by five feudal chiefs and the headmen with the

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yd. 60, with a lithograph.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 139; for the attribution of this record to Nitimarga, see Introd. p. 4, as well as the Classified List after p. 36.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 97.

⁶ *Ibid.* Nj. 98.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* the Classified List.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Hg. 110.

¹² See above, Vol. V. pp. 168, 180.

¹³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 5.

¹⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 116.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Introd. p. 12; see also the translation of the record.

"blunt answer — We do not wish any other than Râchamalla to rule over the kingdom of "Bayal-nâd." This, however, hardly does justice to the original, which is in much more plain and forcible terms; and I will give my own rendering of it further on.

And finally, next after Râchamalla I. Mr. Rice has placed **Satyavākya-Bûtuga II.**, with, apparently, the period from about A.D. 930 to A.D. 963. The initial date follows from his opinion that the Hiranandi inscription, which he has placed "about A.D. 930," "brings us "to the death of Eṛeyappa and the beginning of Bûtuga's reign;"¹ and the final date is the initial date of Nôlambântaka-Mârasimha II., whom he has placed immediately after Bûtuga II.²

In these arrangements, Mr. Rice has found himself more than once confronted with a difficulty in the shape of **overlapping dates**; and, in particular, he has found³ that the period A.D. 893 to 915, which he has "provisionally" assigned to Nîtimârğa, "seems to trench upon "the date Śaka 828 (A.D. 906) given in Kp. 38." — (the Malligere inscription) — "for his son, "whose distinctive name was Eṛeyappa." He has proposed to remove any difficulty of this kind by the suggestion⁴ that "from instances like this" — (namely, an inscription at Kyâtanahalli, which has been supposed to mention Eṛeyappa as *Yuvarôja*, and has been placed "about A.D. 916"), — "and similar ones among the Hoysala and other dynasties, it is evident that the heir-apparent to the throne, when of age, was often associated with the king in the government, "and represented as himself performing all the functions of royalty. It is necessary to bear this "in mind in order to account for the frequent overlapping of dates in the reckoning of the "end of the father's reign and the beginning of his son's." We need not, however, consider what may or may not have been the custom among any other families. The overlapping of dates results only from pushing on Satyavākya-Râjamalla to too late a period, and from wrongly identifying Eṛeyappa as a Satyavākya instead of a Nîtimârğa. If the Gaṅga records are handled properly, there is no instance, as yet, of any overlapping dates at all; and we have no reason to expect to meet with any such dates.

I take the matter differently, and follow the genuine records. I have, indeed, allowed myself, in my previous article, to enter into certain speculations based on the possibility that, as the spurious grants unquestionably include most of the real historic names mixed up with the fictitious names of their own invention, they may also have preserved a few other germs of historical and chronological truth, more or less correct, or more or less distorted and in anachronistic sequence. But it seems very questionable, whether it is safe to allow them even so much credit as that. It appears more likely that we ought to set them aside as simply epigraphic curiosities, in respect of which we may consider hereafter, if it is thought worth while, how much or how little of the true history was known to the persons who fabricated them, but which we must not use in attempting to construct any of the true history. And on the present occasion, at any rate, I shall not make any use of them, except in connection with the name of Śivamâra II.

The first four generations of the family are enumerated in the Vallimalai inscription,⁶ which tells us that the son of Śivamâra (I.) was Śrîpurusha-(Muttarasa). Śrîpurusha's son was Raṇavikrama, and Raṇavikrama's son was Râjamalla. This record is not dated; and it, therefore, does not help in that way. Its great value consists in its disposing finally of the imaginary generation which the spurious grants from Mysore would set up between Śivamâra I. and Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, and in its giving us the true name of the person, Raṇavikrama, whom the spurious grants call Vijayâditya, or in whose place, ignoring him altogether, they substitute a Vijayâditya.

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 12

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III., Sr. 147; and see page 68 below, note 6.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

Of Śivamāra I. we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. But historical considerations require us to place him about A.D. 760. And the palæographic indications of certain genuine records which are fairly attributable to him, are fully in accordance with that view. I have proposed for him the period about A.D. 755 to 765. I may hereafter place him a very few years earlier or later. But, for the present, the period that I have proposed is a sufficiently close approximation to the truth.

Of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, again, we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. On palæographic and historical grounds, I have allotted to him the period about A.D. 765 to 805. It may be necessary hereafter to place him ten years or so earlier, or even later; and also to allow him a somewhat longer period, because there seems to be a record at Mēlāgāni or at Bissēnhaḷi,¹ overlooked by me, which quotes his forty-second year. But here again, for the present, the proposed period is close enough to the truth.

Next after Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, I have placed Śivamāra II., with the period about A.D. 805 to 810. How far this entry can be upheld, must be a matter for future consideration, for the following reasons. In the first place, we have no genuine records fairly referable to him as a ruling prince. In the second place, we have no absolute statement anywhere, save in the spurious grants, that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa had a son named Śivamāra. In the third place, in selecting A.D. 805 as his initial date, I allowed myself to be guided by the Suradhēnupura forgery.—(not having any reason to suspect that it was so very modern and feeble a fraud),—on the chance that that document, though spurious, preserved a genuine date which, not only was not an impossible one,² but was a very possible one, and one that would fit in exactly with the fact that the paramount sovereign, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., was actually in the Kanarese country, on the Tungabhadra, and apparently in Mysore itself, in A.D. 804,³ which

¹ See *Coorg Inscr.* Introd. p. 4.

² It became "impossible" only on the discovery of the spurious Manne grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 797, which would establish in connection with Śivamāra II. a date, when he either was ruling or else had ruled and passed away, eight years before the commencement of his rule according to the Suradhēnupura forgery.

³ See the record of that year, mentioned in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), p. 379. Mr. Rice (*Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 325) has identified the Rāmēśvara *(Iṛtha)*,—where, the record says, Gōvinda III. was then encamped,—with an island in the Tungabhadra, five miles south of Honnāli in the Shimoga district, Mysore.—I take this opportunity of referring to passages in my *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 396, 403, where I have suggested that a certain place,—in respect of which the "lord of Vengi," i.e. the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya II., is said to have assisted Gōvinda III. in fortifying it, by constructing an outer wall round it,—was Mānyakhēta, the modern Mālkhed in the Nizām's Dominions, and that, subsequently, Amōghavarsha I. completed the fortification of the city and made it the capital of his dynasty. The place is referred to in verse 19 of the Rādhanpur grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 71). The preceding verse tells us that Gōvinda III. had, in the course of previous events, marched with his army to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and there "had drawn to himself the wealth of the Pallavas," or, in other words, had levied tribute or fines from them; and, with the help of the record from the Kanarese country (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125), we may place that about the beginning of A.D. 804. And the use of the word *yatra*, "where," in verse 19, locates the place, round which the *rāhy-āli-vṛiti* or "external circumvallation" was built for him by "the lord of Vengi," on, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of, the Tungabhadra. The reference may be only to a fortification of some large encampment actually on the Tungabhadra; and, in that case, we may locate that encampment, because of the mention of the Pallavas and the lord of Vengi, as far to the east as possible,—somewhere in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna. But Malkhed is only some eighty-five or ninety miles away, on the north, from the Tungabhadra. It probably already existed, as a place of some importance. The usefulness of it, if fortified, with a view to resisting attacks from the east, would be evident. And it is very likely that Gōvinda III. then decided on making it the capital, and caused the external fortifications of it to be built for him by the king of Vengi. In that case, the passage in verse 12 of the Deōligant of A.D. 940 (above, Vol. V. p. 193, text lines 18, 19),—which Dr. Bhandarkar has interpreted as shewing that Malkhed was founded by Amōghavarsha I.,—may be translated so as to mean that Amōghavarsha I. merely further embellished a city which had been selected as the capital, and had been fortified, by Gōvinda III.; just as, among the Western Chalukyas, Fulakēśin I. acquired Bādāmi (page 8 above, verse 7), but his son and successor Kirtivarman I., in whose time, we know, the large Vaishṇava cave at least was made there, is called "the first maker or creator" of it, i.e. the person who began to adorn the city with temples and other buildings (above, Vol. III. p. 52. and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 345).

would give him the convenient opportunity of doing what the spurious Manne grant asserts that he did, namely, of joining in the coronation of Śivamāra II. And in the fourth place, it is not unlikely that we shall find, hereafter, that the Gaṅga prince who was imprisoned by Dhruva, was released from long captivity and sent back to his own country by Gōvinda III., and then after no long time was imprisoned again by the latter king, was, not Śivamāra II., but Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa,—the fresh act of pride and opposition, which led to the second captivity, being the assumption by him of the paramount titles some time after his twenty-ninth year; and, if so, Śivamāra II. would have to be placed somewhat later than the period that I have proposed for him. On the other hand, some evidence in support of the existence of a Śivamāra who may be taken as a son of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, is furnished by an inscription at Sivarpaṭṇa,¹ which mentions a Śivamāra who was governing the village of Kadabûr, Kaḍabûr, or possibly Kadambûr or Kaḍambûr, under Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa and in perhaps his twenty-ninth year,—(this record, however, does not assert any relationship),—and by a spurious inscription, or a record into which a spurious date has been introduced in putting it on the stone, at Kalbhâvi in the Belgaum District,² which mentions a Gaṅga prince named Saigotṭa-Śivamāra, and preserves also the name of Kambharasa, as another variant of the name of the Raṇavalōka-Kambayya of one of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa records³ and other documents, who was contemporaneous with Gōvinda III. And also, though for the line of descent from Śivamāra II. we are as yet dependent on only the Udayēndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa prince Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II., of A.D. 915 or thereabouts,⁴—a record the value of which has still to be examined critically,—still, items of information, tending to corroborate that line of descent, are beginning to come to light: a Tamiḷ inscription at Tiruvallam mentions a Śivamahārāja-Perumāṇaḍigaḷ and his son Pratīpati-Araiyaṛ,⁵ whom Dr. Hultzsch has very reasonably proposed to identify with the Śivamāra and his son Prithivīpati I. who are mentioned in the grant of A.D. 915; and the Hirī-Bidanûr inscription⁶ mentions, as a contemporary of Vīra-Nolamba son of Ayyapaḍēva, — (who would come about A.D. 940 to 950), — a certain Nanniya-Gaṅga son of a Gaṅga prince Piḷḍuvīpati (which name also is evidently a form of Prithivīpati, as pointed out by Mr. Rice), and the synchronisms justify us in finding in this Piḷḍuvīpati the Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II. of A.D. 909 and 915. Accordingly, this entry also,—Śivamāra II., about A.D. 805 to 810,—may be allowed to stand for the present as it is.

The son, or another son, of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa was Raṇavikrama; and Raṇavikrama's son was Râjamalla. We learn this from the Vaḷḷimalai inscription,⁷ which may have omitted to mention Śivamāra II., either because there was really no such person, or because he did not rule, or because it sought to give only the actual lineal descent from father to son. Râjamalla may be safely identified with the ruling prince who is mentioned in the Husukûru inscription⁸ by the proper name of Râjamalla, as well as the appellation of Satyavākya, and with the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71, without any details of the month, *etc.* He can be carried on, without objection, to that date. But he cannot be placed any later, if only for the reason that the Biliûr inscription shews that a rule— of a Satyavākya (proper name

¹ See above, Vol. V. p. 161, and p. 155, note 7.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 309. It is obvious, now, that in line 26 we should read *Kambharasar*, instead of the *Kamcharasar* then given by me. The passage is somewhat damaged; and, when that is the case, it is always easy to introduce confusion between the Kanarese *ch* and *bh* of the period of that record.

³ Mr. Rice's *Inscrs. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 24; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 397, note 1.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 375. I find reason to think that in this grant, as it stands, we have, not a record that was actually written in that year, but a reproduction of some such record, made at an appreciably later time, into which some additions were introduced. This would account for the appearance in this record,—in rather a fragmentary shape,—of the fictitious Western Gaṅga pedigree, of which there is no hint at all in the other record of Prithivīpati II., the Sholingur inscription of A.D. 909 (above, Vol. IV. p. 221).

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 98.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, and note 2.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75.

not disclosed in it)—began in that same year, and, if we were to identify Satyavākya-Rājamalla, as Mr. Rice has done, with that Satyavākya, thus making the year A.D. 870-71 his initial date, then we should have to allow a rule of sixty years by his father Raṇavikrama,¹ which is not admissible after so long a rule as that of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa immediately before or almost so. And there is also another reason. Mr. Rice has brought to notice² inscriptions at Baragūr and Hēmāvatī which mention an intermarriage of the Gaṅgas and the Nōlambas during this period. The Baragūr inscriptions tell us that Satyavākya-Rājamalla had a son Nītimārga, whose younger sister Jāyabbe³ was married to Nōlambādhirāja son of Pallavādhirāja, and that Nōlambādhirāja and Jāyabbe had a son Mahēndrādhirāja, who was ruling (the Nōlambavāḍi province) at the time when these records were written. One of these Baragūr inscriptions is dated Ś.-S. 800 (expired), = A.D. 878-79. This date is obviously the date of Mahēndrādhirāja. And it follows that Satyavākya-Rājamalla must have come very appreciably before A.D. 878-79, for him to have a grandson who was then ruling (the Nōlambavāḍi province), even if he was only an infant ruling it nominally. The date of A.D. 370-71, which is coupled with the name of Satyavākya-Rājamalla in the Husukūru inscription, can, therefore, be only taken as his final date. And, pending the discovery of dated records which may fix anything more definite, we may divide the preceding interval into the periods of A.D. 810 to 840 for Raṇavikrama and A.D. 840 to 870-71 for Satyavākya-Rājamalla. I identify Satyavākya-Rājamalla with the Satyavākya— (proper name not disclosed)— of the Doḍḍahunḍi inscription,⁴ and, consequently, his father Raṇavikrama with the Nītimārga— (proper name not disclosed)— who is named in that same record as the father of that Satyavākya. No chronological question is involved in this; because that record does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But the record can only be placed in the period A.D. 800 (or thereabouts) to 860; and it falls quite naturally into its proper place anywhere about A.D. 840. In connection with the records of Satyavākya-Rājamalla, we need only note further the fact that the Husukūru inscription mentions, as his *Yuvarāja* or chosen successor, Būtarasa, who, it tells us, was then governing the Koṅgaḷnāḍ and Pūnāḍ provinces. The Koṅgaḷnāḍ was an *enḥāsira* or eight-thousand province,— see, for instance, an inscription at Kūragallu,⁵ which mentions it as such,— i.e. a province that included, according to fact or tradition or conventional acceptance, eight thousand cities, towns, and villages.⁶ And the Pūnāḍ or Punnāḍ was an *aṇṇāsira* or six-thousand province; see, for instance, an inscription at Dēbūr.⁷ The two provinces were

¹ Unless, of course, we place Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa appreciably later than even the period that I have proposed for him. In favour of doing that, it might be urged that there is the Saragūru grant (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 4, with a lithograph), purporting to be of his time, the characters of which prove one or other of two things,— either that the grant is spurious, or that it must be placed much nearer A.D. 870 than 805. But I do not think that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa can be carried on any later than A.D. 814-15 at the utmost.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11. I am quoting the Baragūr inscriptions from readings for which I am indebted to Mr. Rice.

³ Or perhaps Jālabbe, or something else; the final reading of the name seems to have not been fixed yet.

⁴ See page 43 above.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92.

⁶ On the question of these numerical components of the names of territorial divisions, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 298, and note 2, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIX p. 277, note 18.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 28.— The Pūnāḍ province figures, unfortunately, as a ten-thousand province throughout Mr. Rice's writings and maps (see, notably, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 4, and the maps in *Mysore*, Vol. I. pp. 300, 314). But it is correctly mentioned as a six thousand in even line 1st of the spurious Merkāra grant, on which is based the erroneous assertion that it was a ten-thousand. The mistake is traceable back to Dr. Burnell, who wrote when the science of epigraphy was in its infancy, and who arrived at the conclusion that the *akshara* before the word *sahasra*, 'thousand,' in the passage in question, is a slight variation of the cave numerical symbol for 'ten' (*South Ind. Palæo.* p. 67). I pointed out, some years ago (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 363), that, according to the lithograph in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 362 (see also *Coorg Inscr.* p. 4),— which undoubtedly represents the original much more correctly than does the representation of the *akshara* given in Dr. Burnell's book,— the *akshara* is distinctly the syllable *chāḍ*. I did not venture then to decide what it might mean. But, with the Dēbūr inscription as our guide, we know now that it is a Prākṛit word meaning 'six,' and that the passage speaks of "the village

evidently contiguous. The Pūnāḍ province has been identified by Mr. Rice with the southern part of the Mysore district, below the Lakshmantīrtha and the Kāvēri.¹ The Kūragallu inscription seems to tacitly place in the Kōṅgaṇāḍ province Kūragallu itself, which is in the Huṇṣūr tāluka of the Mysore district ; and, if it does so, then that province was immediately on the north-west of Pūnāḍ.

We come now to the period between A.D. 870-71 and 940, which is the leading subject of the present inquiry. We have to deal with a Satyavākya and a Nitimārga, whose proper names are, perhaps, not so obviously fixed, as they might have been, by any records as yet brought to notice, and with an Eṛeyappa, for whom, under that name, the records do not as yet furnish any specific date. And here I have, as a preliminary, to draw attention to two important corrections.

In the first place, for the initial date of Nitimarga-Eṛeyappa, I adopted A.D. 893-94, which Mr. Rice deduced,² from the Honnāyakanhalli inscription, as the initial date of the Nitimārga of this period. But he has now withdrawn that date. He has told us³ that he thought there was a clue in the Honnāyakanhalli inscription to Śaka-Saṃvat 815 (expired), = A.D. 893-94, but that this does not now seem to be the case. And we are thus free from any necessity of placing the commencement of a rule in A.D. 893-94.

In the second place, the date of an inscription at Rāmpura⁴ has been misread. This record is rightly referred by Mr. Rice to the period with which we are dealing. And it really is a record of a Satyavākya, whose proper name is not disclosed in it. Whereas, however, the published version represents it as dated in his fourth year, I find, from an ink-impression that has reached me, that it is really dated in his thirty-fourth year.⁵ And there is nothing in this to surprise us ; for, not only have we an inscription at Iggali dated in his twenty-second year,⁶ but also Mr. Rice has told us⁷ that there is an inscription at Sātanūr dated in his twenty-ninth year, and the Malligere inscription, noticed just below, gives a Śaka date for him three years later still.

Next after Satyavākya-Rājamalla, then, we have to locate a Satyavākya and a Nitimārga. And the order in which they came, namely the Satyavākya first and then the

named Baḍaṇeguppe in the Eḍenāḍu seventy of the Pūnāḍu *chhāsahasra* or six-thousand." The passage is mostly in very bad Sanskrit ; but it contains also the Prakṛit form *saptari*, for *saptati*, 'seventy.' The *chhā* that is used in it for 'six,' figures also in Marāṭhi, in *chhattis*, 'thirty-six,' and *chhappann*, 'fifty-six,' in both of which words the following consonant is doubled, instead of lengthening the *a* of *chha*. We have *chha* for 'six' in Pāli also, with the short *a* sometimes lengthened in composition, for instance *chhā-rattam*, 'a period of six nights' (see Childers' Pāli Dictionary). And the spurious Bangalore grant which purports to be dated A.D. 445, gives us the long *ā* even with a doubling of the following consonant, in the word *chhānnarati*, 'ninety-six' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 95, text line 2-3 from the top, and Plate).

¹ See the maps in his *Mysore*, Vol. I. pp. 300, 314, and, more clearly on this point, in his *Mysore Inscr.* Introd. p. 84.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11, note 4.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Sr. 148, with a lithograph.—The published text gives *Satyavākya-Permanadi-ṛṣṭi dūtta nālkaneya varshada*, rendered in the translation by "the fourth year of the reign of Satyavākya-Permanadi." And the lithograph shews what is virtually the same thing, namely *Satyavākya-Permmānādigaḷa dūtta nālkaneya varshada*. This, however, in the lithograph, is only the result of manipulation, either of an impression or in the course of lithography. The ink-impression shews distinctly that the real reading of the original is *Satyavākya-Permmānādigaḷa mū[va]tta-nālkaneya varshada*, "of the thirty-fourth year of Satyavākya-Permanadi." The *akshara va* is damaged and illegible, at the end of line 2. In the preceding *akshara*, the stroke on the right (proper left) side of the *m* is also damaged, and perhaps the stroke that makes the difference between a subscript *u* and *ū* ; or, quite possibly, *u* was written by mistake for *ū* ; or, even the form *muovatta* may have been used, instead of *mūvatta*, which, however, is not so likely. But it is absolutely certain that this record is dated in the thirty-fourth year of a Satyavākya.

⁵ See, fully, in the preceding note.

⁶ See page 69 below.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11. I assume that this is really a record of a Satyavākya, as implied.

Nitimarga, is proved by the Śaka dates given in the Bīlīūr, Malligere, and Kūlagere inscriptions. The Bīlīūr inscription¹ gives us the **Satyavākya**— (proper name not disclosed),— with a date in the month Phālguna, Śaka-Saṃvat 809 (expired), falling in A.D. 888, in his eighteenth year. The Malligere inscription² gives us, again, the **Satyavākya**— (proper name not disclosed),— with the date of Ś.-S. 828 (expired),=A.D. 906-907, without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year. And the Kūlagere inscription³ gives us the **Nitimarga**—(proper name not disclosed),— with the date of Ś.-S. 831 (expired),= A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year.

We may safely identify the **Satyavākya** with the **Būtarasa** who is mentioned in the Husukūru inscription, of A.D. 870-71, as then governing the Koṅgaḷnād and Pūnād provinces as **Yuvarāja** under Rājamalla. There is every reason to believe that, being the **Yuvarāja** or chosen successor of Rājamalla, Būtarasa was also his actual successor; and there is, at any rate, no hint anywhere, as yet, that he died without succeeding. And we shall probably find hereafter that he was the eldest son of Rājamalla. Making this identification,— then, for the period of Būtarasa's own rule, we have, in the first place the Bīlīūr inscription,⁴ which mentions him simply as **Satyavākya**, and which gives a Śaka date with details falling in February or March, A.D. 888, in his eighteenth year, and thus fixes the commencement of his rule in A.D. 870 or 871. We may place next the Iggali inscription,⁵ dated, without any details of the month, *etc.*, in his twenty-second year, = A.D. 891-92: this record mentions a certain **Rācheya-Gaṅga**, who, it tells us, then died fighting against the **Noḷamma** or **Noḷamba**; and it introduces the first certain mention of **Eṛeyappa**, whom it describes as convened with **Satyavākya**-(Būtarasa) when the grant registered in it was settled. To somewhere about the same time, because it mentions **Eṛeyappa** in exactly the same way, we may refer the Kyātanahalli inscription:⁶ this record is not dated in any way; and it is noteworthy chiefly because it shews that certain epithets applied to **Eṛeyappa** in the Bêgūr inscription and supposed⁷ to belong exclusively to him, had been already used by his predecessor: it specifically applies those epithets to the **Satyavākya-Permānadi** whom it mentions, not as **Eṛeyappa**, but along with **Eṛeyappa**, from whom it most distinctly separates him. The Rāmpura inscription,⁸ dated in the month Mārgasīra of his thirty-fourth year, belongs to A.D. 903 or 904 according to the actual commencement of his rule. And the Malligere inscription,⁹ dated Śaka-Saṃvat 828 (expired), without any details of the regnal year, month, *etc.*, carries him on to A.D. 906-907. There are also two other records of his time, requiring to be noticed here.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102. No. 2, with a lithograph (Mr. Kittel's rendering), and *Coorg. Inscr.* p. 5 (Mr. Rice's rendering).

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

⁴ See note 1 above.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 139.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sr. 147.— It seems to be the treatment of this record that led Mr. Rice into wrongly stamping **Eṛeyappa** as a **Satyavākya**, through the translation of it giving "**Satyavākya** . . . **Permānadi**, **Eṛeyapparasa**," instead of "**Satyavākya** . . . **Permānadi** and **Eṛeyapparasa**." The translator ignored the copulative endings in *Permānadiḡaḷuṃ Eṛeyapparasarum=ildu*, line 11. The two persons are distinctly separated by those copulative endings.—The following word, *ildu*, does not mean "halting," as rendered in the translation here, and in the case of Nj. 139 and 192 in the same volume, and of Hg. 103 in Vol. IV. It is equivalent to the more specific *oḍan=ildu* of Hg. 103, which means "being together, being in the company of each other, being convened."— It may also be noted that the Kyātanahalli inscription, Sr. 147, has been wrongly interpreted as describing **Eṛeyappa** as "**Yuvarāja** of the entire Śrīrājya." The words occur as part of one of the adjectives qualifying the saints **Bhadrabāhu** and **Chandragupta**. And they can only mean something like "[reverenced] by all **Yuvarājas** of the Śrīrājya."

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 148; as regards the date, see page 67 above, note 4.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

One is an inscription at Kûragallu :¹ it mentions him, as the ruling prince, under the appellation of Permanadi ; but it goes on to give his name in the form of Bûtuga ; and it further mentions his wife Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as "governing" the village of Kurgal, and Ereyappa as "governing" the Kôṅgaṇṇād eight-thousand. And the other is an inscription at Kaṭṭemanuganahalli,² which mentions Nîtimârḡa-Ereyapparasa as "governing" the Nugunād and Navalēnād provinces or districts, of which the former appears to be the country on the banks of the Nugu or Nûgu river, a tributary of the Kabbani, in the Heggadadêvankôte and Nañjangûd tâlukas of the Mysore district. These two records do not contain any dates, Śaka or regnal. But they may be placed somewhere towards the end of the rule of Bûtuga I., because of the advance that they shew in the status of Ereyappa, as compared with the Iggali and Kyâtanahalli records.³ Next, then, after Satyavâkya-Râjamalla, we have Satyavâkya-Bûtarasa-Bûtuga I., with fixed dates ranging from A.D. 870-71 to 906-907.⁴

Next after Satyavâkya-Bûtuga I. came the Nîtimârḡa, whom we may unhesitatingly identify with the Ereyappa of the Iggali, Kyâtanahalli, and Kûragallu records, and the Nîtimârḡa-Ereyappa of the Kaṭṭemanuganahalli record, of the time of his predecessor. As regards the period of his own rule, we have as yet no record that actually gives a Śaka date for him under the name of Ereyappa ; but the Kûlagere inscription⁵ gives for him, under the appellation of Nîtimârḡa, the date of Śaka-Samvat 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year ; and we may provisionally fix his initial date in A.D. 908. The relationship of Ereyappa to Bûtuga I., and the circumstances under which he succeeded, have not been ascertained yet. We shall probably

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92.—The name of his wife is given as Paramabbe in the text in Roman characters, and as Saramabbe in the Kanarese text. Both the texts give "Ireyappa ;" but this is, no doubt, a mistake for "Ereyappa."—Mr. Rice (*ibid.* Introd. p. 12, and the Classified List of Inscriptions) has referred this record to the period of the rule of Ereyappa, and appears to treat Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as a wife of Bûtuga II. But it is only in his predecessor's time that Ereyappa could be "governing" simply a province ; and it is impossible to find here, correctly, any reference to Bûtuga II., who came after Ereyappa.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 103.—This record is, in my opinion, sufficient in itself to shew that Ereyappa was a Nîtimârḡa, not a Satyavâkya ; it mentions him as Nîtimârḡa in line 1 in the first set of epithets, and as Erepperasa (according to the published texts) in line 5 in the second set of epithets. The published translation, indeed, has separated the appellation Nîtimârḡa from the name Ereyappa, and has made them two distinct persons, by introducing the words "was ruling the kingdom of the world" in line 3, after the word *Permmânaḡiga* ; and the result of this would be that the ruling prince was a Nîtimârḡa, and that Ereyappa was a governor under him. But that addition to the text is neither necessary nor justifiable. The second *Śvasti*, in line 3, introduces only a second set of epithets. The ruling prince is mentioned only as *Permmânaḡi*, in line 10, which tells us that he and Ereyappa were convened together when the grant registered in this record was made.

³ The Malligere inscription, after introducing the ruling prince as Satyavâkya-*Permmânaḡi*, perhaps goes on to introduce someone else, to whom it applies the epithets that are applied in the Kyâtanahalli inscription to Satyavâkya-(Bûtuga I.) and in the Bêgûr inscription to Ereyappa ; and, if so, that other person must be Ereyappa, by that time entrusted with still greater powers and invested with still higher dignities. But the rest of the record is described as out of sight or illegible.

⁴ I did not on the previous occasion, and I do not now, overlook the point that this arrangement places a Satyavâkya next in succession after a Satyavâkya, whereas it might perhaps be urged that we should expect a Nîtimârḡa to follow a Satyavâkya, a Satyavâkya to follow a Nîtimârḡa, and so on. But the Śaka dates prove conclusively that this was not the case at this point. And we have plainly three Satyavâkyas in succession later on in the case of Mârasimha II., Pañchaladêva, and Râchamalla II. We do not know at present exactly how the appellations Satyavâkya and Nîtimârḡa were determined. But, if a conjecture may be hazarded, it is that Satyavâkya was the customary appellation of the eldest son. We do not know that Mârasimha II. was not the eldest son of Bûtuga II. : it seems probable, in fact, that he was so, because it is unlikely that he should abdicate after ruling for only ten or eleven years, unless he was considerably advanced in years when he began to rule ; and the fact that his half-brother Maruḷadêva was the son of a king's daughter, would easily account for the succession going first to Maruḷadêva's son Rachcha-Gaṅga. The Satyavâkya of the Doddahundi inscription, *i.e.* Râjamalla, is distinctly specified (see page 45 above) as the eldest son of the Nîtimârḡa, *i.e.* Raṇavikrama, of that record. And Nîtimârḡa-Raṇavikrama was a younger son, if we accept the existence of Śivamâra II.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

find, however, that he was a younger son of Bûtuga I. And, from the fact that none of the records, that have as yet come to light, speak of him as the *Yuvarāja* or chosen successor of Bûtuga I.,¹ and from certain other indications, it seems likely that he took advantage of the executive authority entrusted to him by Bûtuga I., and diverted the succession from the direct and proper line. There are hints to this effect, in the description of his son Râchamalla I. as a poisonous tree which was uprooted, and of Bûtuga II. as a pure tree which was planted in its place, by Kṛishṇa III.,² and in the fact that Kṛishṇa III. gave again to Bûtuga II. the Belvola, Purigeṛe, Kisukâd, and Bâgenâd districts,³ which had previously been given to him, as the dowry of his wife Rêvakanimmaḍi, by Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. And there is also the statement in the Bêgûr inscription, that Eṛeyappa governed the Gaṅgavâdi province as an united whole, after depriving all his enemies of their power.⁴ The exact application of this latter statement, indeed, is not yet certain: on the one hand, taken in connection with the mention of hostilities with the Nolambas in A.D. 891-92, in the time of Bûtuga I.,⁵ and with the existence of an intrusive Nolamba record of A.D. 895-96 at Tâyalûr in the Maṇḍya tâluka,⁶ it may mean that Eṛeyappa was successful against some determined effort of the Nolambas to overthrow the Gaṅga power altogether; and on the other hand, as the Bêgûr inscription shews that he was, at that time, on very friendly terms with the Nolamba Ayyapadêva, the fact may be that the enemies whom he overthrew were his own relations, and that he was assisted in doing that by the Nolambas. Still, however this may be, we shall probably find hereafter that Bûtuga II. was the eldest son of the Râcheya-Gaṅga whose death in A.D. 891-92, in battle against the Nolamma or Nolamba, is mentioned in the Iggali inscription, and that Râcheya-Gaṅga was the eldest son of Bûtuga I., and that it was the death of Râcheya-Gaṅga in A.D. 891-92 that enabled Eṛeyappa to secure the succession,—to the exclusion of Bûtuga II., who was eventually placed in possession of his rights by Kṛishṇa III. To the period of the rule of Eṛeyappa himself belongs the Bêgûr inscription,⁷ which mentions him as Eṛeyappa, and describes him as lending a force to Ayyapadêva, for the purpose of fighting against a certain Viramahendra who seems to be the Eastern Chalukya king Bhîma II. This record has to be placed near the end of his rule. To an earlier period in his time belongs an inscription at Gaṭṭavâdi,⁸ which mentions him as the ruling prince under the appellation of Nîtimârnga, and is dated, without any details of the Śaka year, month, *etc.*, in his fifth year, corresponding probably to A.D. 912-13. There is, apparently, an inscription at Marûr in the Hassan district,⁹ dated in his nineteenth year, which would carry him on to about A.D. 926-27. As we shall see shortly, he must have ruled for not less than twenty-five years, up to some date after A.D. 933. And we may provisionally fix the end of his rule in A.D. 938.

Nîtimârnga-Eṛeyappa left a son named Râchamalla I. And it was by killing Râchamalla that Bûtuga II. obtained the succession. We know this from the Âtakûr inscription.¹⁰ That the event occurred in or before A.D. 940, is shewn by the Râshtrakûṭa grant from Dêôlî, dated in that year, which mentions the fact and implies that Bûtuga II. received material assistance from the Râshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III., who was his brother-in-law; for, it says, Kṛishṇa III. "planted in Gaṅgapâtî, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhûtârya, having uprooted the poisonous

¹ Regarding an instance in which he has been supposed to be thus described, see page 68 above, note 6.

² See below.

³ See page 57 above.

⁴ Page 49 above.

⁵ Page 68 above.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 13; and see above, Vol. V. p. 165.

⁷ Page 49 above.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 98.—This record mentions a certain Mârâgâmunḍa, and a person whose name is given in the published texts as Taparekêre-Basavayya. The other Gaṭṭavâdi inscription (Nj. 97), of the fifth year of a Satyavâkyâ (proper name not disclosed), mentions evidently the same two persons, the first of them as Mârâgavunḍa, and the second of them as Tâyûra-Parekêre-Basavayya according to the published texts. This brings these two records into immediate sequence. And Nj. 97 is, therefore, to be referred either to Satyavâkyâ-Bûtuga I., or to Satyavâkyâ-Bûtuga II.

⁹ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 12.

¹⁰ Page 57 above.

tree Rachhyāmalla."¹ And the event must also be placed some few years after A.D. 933, because we have a date in that year for Gōvinda IV., and the reign of Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga intervened after that and before the reign of Kṛishṇa III. That Rāchamalla did actually succeed his father, is distinctly implied by the Dēōli grant. And we have now a record which is to be referred to the period of his rule, and which probably discloses the actual outbreak of hostilities between him and Būtuga I. It is the Hiranandi inscription,² which tells us that— "When Ereyappa ascended to heaven, Bhuvanāditya came and said that Kiriya-Rāchamalla had given, at Mannebetṭa or Mannibīḍu (?), half the country and the treasury; whereupon, the five *Sāmantas*³ and the *Pergaḍes* and the governor (?) of the Bayalnād country said— We will not allow any other than Rāchamalla to rule; then they fought at Māgunḍi (or perhaps at Bhuvanāytana-Māgunḍi) and the four sons of Nindiya-Korantiyarasa fought and died," etc. It is, thus, plain that Rāchamalla I. did actually succeed to the leadership of the Gaṅgas. And it seems that he deliberately gave half the principality to Būtuga II., and thus paved the way to his own overthrow. At the same time, it appears tolerably certain that he ruled for only a short time. And we may probably place the death of Ereyappa, the accession of Rāchamalla I., and the killing of the latter by Būtuga II., all in A.D. 938.

In this way, Rāchamalla I. was succeeded by Satyavākya-Būtuga II., at some time between A.D. 933 and 940, and probably in A.D. 938, or very closely thereabouts. As has been intimated above, we shall probably find hereafter that Būtuga II. was a grandson of Būtuga I., and a son of the Rācheya-Gaṅga who died in A.D. 891-92. And we have, at present, nothing else to add to the account of him given on the previous occasion, except that certain inscriptions at Anṇigere and Gāwarawād in the Dhārwar district, and at Hūli in Belgaum, shew that the exact name of the elder sister of Kṛishṇa III., who was one of his wives, was Rēvakanimmadi,⁴ and that we have now a later date for him in A.D. 953.⁵

On the present occasion, we are not concerned with the general history of the Gaṅgas after A.D. 940. But it may be conveniently noted here, in connection with Pañchaladēva, that the war between him and the Western Chālukya Āhavamalla-Taila II., in the course of which Pañchaladēva was overthrown and killed, is referred to by the Kanarese poet Ranna.⁶

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 289, and Vol. V. p. 191.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 116; and see page 62 above.— I take the text, of course, as given by Mr. Rice. But there are points in it that call for comment. The text in Roman characters speaks of "Koṅgaṇi-Kiriya-Rāchamalla;" but the text in Kanarese characters omits the Koṅgaṇi, and suggests, instead, some illegible *biruda* of the usual kind ending in *vedēga*. For the *Manne-bettadol* of the Roman text, the Kanarese text has *Manni-biddidol*,—presumably for *Manni-biddinol*. There is nothing in either text, implying an invitation to go to Mannebetṭa or Mannibīḍu. *Kottān* means "he gave, he has (already) given," not "he will give or would give." *Bayal-nāḍanu* is certainly not the accusative singular of *Bayal-nād*, governed by *rājyamāṇ geyal*: if it is the real reading at all, it is the nominative singular masculine of a base *Bayal-nāḍa*, with the copulative ending *am*, and it must denote some leading official, probably the *Nālgādmuṇḍa* of the Bayalnād country; we have the same word in the locative, and in the ordinary nominative without the copulative ending, in the Kartemanuganahalli inscription (Hg. 103), which tells us, not that on the day that "there was a fight in Bayal-nād, when Bayal-nād coming, attacked Kottamaṅgala," but that "on the day, or at the time, when there was a quarrel with or war against the *Bayalnāḍa*, the *Bayalnāḍa* came," etc. The *tyām* of the Roman text and *tyām* of the Kanarese text must be a mistake for *tyem*; and *tyem* means, not "we do not wish," but "we will not give, we will not allow."

³ The five *Sāmantas* were probably the subordinate commanders of five bodies of local troops; compare the reference to the *Sāmantas* of the Nāzattara in the Bēgūr inscription (page 49 above). The same expression, *ay-sāmantarum*, "and the five *Sāmantas*,"—occurs in an inscription at Mūdaballi, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 130.

⁴ Accordingly, a certain correction proposed for line 5 of the Habbāl inscription (see above, Vol. IV. p. 352, note 3) is not necessary.—The name Rēvakanimmadi is, I suppose, practically another form of Immaḍi-Rēvaka; and, if so, it probably means "a Rēvaka who was twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Rēvaka" (see page 51 above, note 4).

⁵ See the Postscript, page 83 below.

⁶ See Mr. Rice's *Karnāṭakabaddanūśāsanam*, Introd. p. 28 ff., where Āhavamalla is wrongly identified with Iṇṇabedāṅga-Satyāśraja, and Pañchala is evidently a mistake for Pañchala.

who mentions, in his *Ajitatīrthakarapurāṇa* or *Ajitatīrthēśvaracharita* (finished A.D. 993-94), a defeat inflicted on the army of Pañchala by a general of Taila II. named Nāgadēva.

* * * * *

There is a great deal more to be said, both about the genuine history of the Gaṅgas, and about the spurious records. Both these subjects are of extreme interest to me, partly because the history of the Gaṅgas of Mysore is greatly intermingled, for a certain period, with the history of the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, which has always been my special line of inquiry; and partly because the ancient history of India, as a whole, deserves, and unfortunately still in many respects remains, to be worked out critically and on sound bases, with an elimination of all the fables that have been imported into it from the spurious records of Mysore, from similar records in other parts of the country, and from various chronicles and lists of kings, some of them of early date and some of them quite modern, which have been credited with an authenticity and value which they do not really possess at all. But certain preliminary studies must be completed, before either of these subjects can be handled finally.

In connection with the genuine history of the Gaṅgas of Mysore, we must, among other things, determine more closely the date of the overthrow of the original Pallava dynasty of Kāñchī, and of the supplantation of it by a branch of the Gaṅgas in the person of, probably, Vijaya-Narasimhavarman.¹ We must clear up certain points in the relations of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dhruva and Gōvinda III. with the princes of Mysore. And we must examine more fully certain traditions of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga, on the east coast of Southern India, which have a distinct connection with Mysore. These topics will be dealt with shortly. And, for the present, it is sufficient to throw out the following few hints as to what will be established.

We can now recognise clearly one genuine early Gaṅga prince anterior to Śivamāra I. He is the Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of the Goa grant,² which shews him as a viceroy in charge of four provinces under the Western Chalukya kings Kīrtivarman I., Maṅgalēśa, and Pulakēśin II., under an appointment running from A.D. 591-92. He was plainly a close relation, and probably a brother, of Durlabhadēvi of the Batpūra family, the wife of Pulakēśin I. He was an ancestor, and probably the grandfather, of Rājasimha-Indravarman I., the first king of the earlier Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga, who adopted the era of A.D. 591-92 as the official reckoning in his dominions. And the name of "the original great Bappūra race," to which he is allotted by the Goa grant, must be derived from a secondary appellation of some great city in Mysore,— very likely of Kōlār itself.

We have perhaps another Gaṅga name, earlier than that of Śivamāra I., and belonging to the period A.D. 680 to 696, in the case of the official named Kāndarba, who was the administrative officer when the grant was made which is recorded in the Baḷagāmi inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogilli.³ The emblem at the top of that record is an elephant; the elephant was not the crest of the Western Chalukyas; nor is it likely that it was the crest of the Sēndrakas;⁴ but it was the crest

¹ See above, Vol. V. pp. 157, 160.

² See the notice of this record in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 355; and cancel my suggestion (*id.* p. 349, and in the Table at p. 336; also, in the Table in Vol. III. above, p. 2) that this person may have been a son of Maṅgalēśa.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 142. For the emblem at the top of the stone, see the photograph in Col. Dixon's collection, No. 98, reproduced in my *P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 152.

⁴ It seems highly probable that the name Sēndraka is the origin of the later name Sinda. The Sinda princes are known for the period A.D. 990-91 to 1179, and chiefly in connection with the country round Pattadakal and Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur district and Yelburga in the Nizām's Dominions (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 572 ff.). But there was also a branch of them in the neighbourhood of the territory held in earlier times by the Sēndrakas (*id.* p. 577);

of the Western Gaṅgas, and it is found above their records at Bīlīūr, Peggu-ūr, Kyātanahalli, and Tāyalūr.¹

It is probable that Vijaya-Narasimhavarman represented the main line of the Gaṅgas; and he was very likely a lineal descendant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman.

And it is becoming tolerably certain that Śivamāra I. and his descendants did not belong to the main line, but were the hereditary princes of the Koṅgaṇāḍ eight-thousand province. This would explain why Śivamāra I. and Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa called themselves "the Koṅgaṇi king," and why their descendants assumed the appellation Koṅgaṇivarman, Koṅgaṇivarman, Koṅgaṇivarman, or Koṅgaṇivarman, from which there was evolved, by the persons who fabricated the spurious grants, the name of the fictitious "Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Gaṅga,"² as the imaginary founder of the line.

As regards the spurious grants,—only ten, including the Sūḍi grant, were known when I wrote about them in Vol. III. of this Journal, p. 159 ff.; I dealt there with only some of the features in respect of which they have to be criticised; I could not examine any of the details, except the date, of the Hosūr grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 762, because I was not aware that the text of it, with a lithograph, had been published in Mr. Rice's article on "the Gaṅga kings" in the *Madras Journ. Lit. and Science*, 1878, p. 138 ff.; and, similarly for want of a lithograph or impressions, I was not able to examine any of the details of the Bangalore Museum grant, which purports to have been issued in the third year of Durvīṇa. Since then, some more spurious copper-plate grants of the same series have been published.³ And there are others already known, the publication of which is awaited. In the final examination of them, one interesting line of inquiry will be to collate the texts, examine all the peculiarities of vocabulary and diction, discover the locality in which these curious documents, or at least the majority of them, were fabricated, and trace the order in which they were concocted, and so, perhaps, the steps by which the fictitious pedigree was built up. In connection with all this, it will be desirable to see what real equivalents can be found for the false dates recorded in some of them, and in certain other records of the same nature connected with them: on this point, my present view is that, while some of the false dates are no doubt altogether imaginary, others of them may have been arrived at by calculations more or less correct, and others, again, give the true details of the dates on which the records were fabricated, or of dates, close to those dates, taken from almanacs accessible to the forgers, falsified in respect of the years by striking off an even number of cycles of the sixty-year system, or by similar means, in order to present a semblance of antiquity; and it is an

that branch had the crest of a tiger and a deer; and one of the branches at Bāgalkōt had the tiger-crest. The Sindas claimed to belong to the Nāga race. And a statement referable to the eleventh century A.D., and to be accepted for what it may be worth, would allot the Sēndrakas themselves—(whom it mentions as Sēndras)—to the lineage of the Bhujagēndras or serpent kings (*id.* p. 292).

¹ See the lithographs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, *Coorg Inscr.* p. 7, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 147 and Md. 14.—In pointing out (above, Vol. V. p. 165, note 4) an objection to treating the Tāyalūr record (Md. 14) as "an intrusive Pallava inscription," I omitted to notice the fact that the emblem of the elephant proves conclusively that it is not such.

² This exact expression occurs in an inscription at Kūḍlāpura, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 110, which purports to be of A.D. 1148. It is extremely doubtful whether it is even a genuine record of that period. But, if we assume that it is genuine as far as it goes, then, of course, in putting forward Śaka-Samvat 25 expired, = A.D. 103-104, as the date of "Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Gaṅga," it simply puts forward, in good faith, a false statement successfully palmed off on the officials of the period with a view to setting up a previous grant of the village. Historically, as regards the Gaṅgas, the record is worthless; except in perhaps shewing that, by A.D. 1148, the date of A.D. 103-104 had come to be connected with the imaginary Koṅgaṇivarman.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 113, the Hallegere grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 713, and Nj. 122, the Tagadūru grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 267, and Vol. IV., Yd. 60, the Gaḷigēkere grant, Sr. 160, the Gaṇjām grant, and probably (see page 66 above, note 1) Hg. 4, the Saragūru grant; all of them with lithographs.

interesting fact that some of the dates do work out for precisely the period, the eleventh century A.D., which, as will be shewn, best provided all the historical conditions that necessitated the production of forged title-deeds to regain the possession of genuine endowments which had been confiscated and of which the original title-deeds had been lost, and made it possible to produce forged title-deeds to secure endowments the claims to which were false. And, before dealing with the matter finally, we shall have to consider which of the spurious records may really be accepted as ancient forgeries, worth examination, and which of them,—notably, for instance, the extraordinary Harihar grant,¹ which presents an attempt at two, if not three, alphabets, including some of the most modern Nāgarī or Bālbōdh forms,—may have to be rejected as modern forgeries, like the Suradhēnupura document, and consequently to be dismissed as not worth any further thought. All this will take time. And in this line there is no particular objection to delay: partly in order to include in the final examination as many of these documents as can be brought together; and partly because, in view of what we learn from the Suradhēnupura forgery can be attempted even in the present day, there is no particular object in compiling too quickly a manual of hints which would enable a modern forger to concoct a document that might prove not so easy to deal with as the ancient forgeries.

In connection with both lines of inquiry, there are two questions of more immediate urgency. One is the duration and extent of the Chōla occupation of Mysore, and of some of the neighbouring parts of the Western Chālukya territories, during the eleventh century A.D., which, in consequence of the destruction of temples and the confiscation of endowments, created the chief reason for the production of the forgeries of the Western Gaṅga series; and, in connection with this, I shall edit in full an interesting record at Gāwarawād in the Dhârwâr district,² with extracts from others connected with it. The other is the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.: this will be of use, not only towards exposing fully the palæographic blunders of the ancient forgers, but also for arranging the proper order of genuine undated records not containing information that enables us to refer them to their exact places; and it will be illustrated, in the first instance, by a series of Râshtrakûta records, collotypes of which have already been prepared.

* * * * *

The two preliminary studies, indicated just above, will be published without much delay. Meanwhile, I am under the necessity of using such further space, as can be spared to me on the present occasion, chiefly in noticing, as briefly as possible, some remarks by Mr. Rice which are contained in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. pp. 6 to 8, and are by way of being a criticism of my exposé of the spurious grants in Vol. III. of this Journal, pp. 159 to 175.

We need not spend any time over Mr. Rice's opening assertion that "facts have proved" too strong, and Dr. Fleet has been compelled to admit the existence of the kings from "Śivamâra, in the 8th century, downwards, and perhaps Mushkara, two generations earlier." The assertion has been made carelessly, and without sufficient reflection. I have never made the alleged admissions. And nothing has ever yet been brought to light, that would justify me in making any such admissions.

Nor need we spend any time over the bad orthography of the grants,—over Viśva-karman, the alleged writer (not engraver) of some of the grants which purport to be centuries apart in date,—over the identity of the witnesses in two of the grants which purport to be separated by an interval of two hundred and eighteen years,—over a conjectural

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 173, with a lithograph.

² Noticed in *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 441, note 3. I find that this record contains much more information than I thought from a cursory examination, made when I was writing my *Dynasties* in the leisure moments of official life, of the transcriptions of it and the Annigere inscription in Sir Walter Elliot's collection.

alteration made by Mr. Rice, in the text of the twelfth verse of the Udayêndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa prince Hastimalla-Prithivîpati II., which we now know to be, not only a rather violent liberty, but one that is altogether unsustainable,—and over the dubious title *Rāja* or *Vṛiddharāja*. In each case, the facts are as I stated them. Mr. Rice's remarks are simply an attempt to divert attention from the main issue, the spurious nature of the grants. The points themselves will be dealt with, as far as may be necessary and without reviving any contentious matter, in the ultimate full examination of the spurious grants. They involve nothing of historical importance, except in connection with the Jain teacher Simhanandin, who seems to have been undoubtedly a real person, though the legends about him in Mysore, especially in respect of connecting him with the Gaṅgas, were of a very wild kind. And the time for going usefully into his history will come, when we examine the full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history that were eventually devised in connection with the Gaṅgas of Mysore.

And we need not spend much time over a point, in connection with the invention of the fictitious pedigree that is presented in the spurious grants, which it would not be necessary to notice here in detail at all, but that I have, in this case, to deal with a more than usually unbecoming misrepresentation of what I said.

In 1894 I said¹—"The question may very reasonably present itself,—What was the object "of the invention of the genealogy that is exhibited in these spurious records?" I remarked,— "There are plain indications that, just about the period,—the last quarter of the ninth century "A.D.,—that has been established above as the earliest possible one for the fabrication of "the Merkara grant, all the reigning families of Southern India were beginning to look up their "pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies." And the answer at which I arrived, was, that the Western Gaṅgas had followed, in the person of the great prince Nalambāntaka-Mārasimha II., the example that had thus been set, and that the time when their genealogy, as presented in the spurious grants, was invented, was fixed very closely by an inscription at Lakshmêshwar, which purports to be of his time and to be dated A.D. 968-69, and which then seemed to me "to represent, in a rudimentary form, the beginning of a longer "genealogy which was elaborated subsequently."

Mr. Rice has stamped as a "very remarkable statement" what I said as to there being indications that, about the last quarter of the ninth century A.D., there was a general tendency in Southern India to look up pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies. We may dismiss that observation of his summarily; partly because he has made no attempt to shew how my statement was a remarkable one, and partly because my statement was and is in accordance with facts.

But we cannot dismiss so summarily what he said next. He has said² that, "in support "of this very remarkable statement," I have given the information that "the Pallava puranic "genealogy first appears in the 7th century; that of the Rāshtrakūṭas in 933; that of the "Western Gaṅgas was probably devised about 950 but may have been concocted a little earlier; "that of the Chōlas between 1063 and 1112; that of the Eastern Gaṅgas in 1118." And on this he said, by way of comment,— "But it is singular that not one of these periods falls within "the 9th century, the time when all the royal families were imagined to be engaged with a "strange unanimity in 'furbishing up their pedigrees.' Another thing to be noted is that the "genealogy of the Gaṅgas, with whom we are now particularly dealing, is in no sense puranic."

Now, in the first place, it is only with a reservation that it can be said that the genealogy of the Gaṅgas is in no sense Purāṇic. We know,³ from inscriptions of the eleventh century

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 171.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 7 f.

³ See Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 308 ff.

at Humcha and other places in that neighbourhood, that eventually a full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the usual kind were duly invented for the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But the Purāṇic element does not figure in the genealogy given in the spurious grants, with which I was dealing. And I treated that genealogy simply as what it is, namely a fictitious genealogy of a pretended historical kind; calling it specifically on one occasion¹ "the pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas." That I, naturally, treated the invention of it in connection with the invention of some of the Purāṇic genealogies, is no reason for saying that I stamped it as Purāṇic. And I did not do so.

In the second place, as regards the extraordinary sentence which Mr. Rice has put, by the use of inverted commas, into my mouth,—no such sentence has ever been written by me; nor has anything ever been written by me, that could justify my statements being represented in that form. The sentence is founded upon words which were actually used by me. But it has been made up by Mr. Rice himself, from garbled extracts from different sentences written by me on different occasions. And my reference to the Pallava Purāṇic genealogy was made in a way very different from that in which it has been presented by Mr. Rice.

In 1894, in the remarks which, in particular,² Mr. Rice was attacking in 1898, I made no mention at all of the Pallava Purāṇic genealogy; and I wrote³— "The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas makes its first appearance in the Sāṅgli grant of A.D. 933. The Purāṇic genealogy of the Chalukyas presents itself first in the Korumelli grant of shortly after A.D. 1022. The Chōla Purāṇic genealogy is, apparently, first met with in the *Kaliṅgattu-Parāṇi*, which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I. (A.D. 1063 to 1112). And the Purāṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara "is first made known by a grant of A.D. 1118-19." I plainly put forward each date as the date at which we first come across each genealogy, and not as the date of its actual invention. And it should be obvious to anyone that the genealogies must have existed for some appreciable time, before they could be actually quoted in records.

So much I wrote in 1894, adding the opinion, from the Lakshmēshwar inscription, that, in the time of Nōlambāntaka-Mārasimha II., the Western Gaṅgas followed the general example that had thus been set, and that their genealogy, as put forward in the spurious grants, was probably invented closely about A.D. 968-69. Subsequently, in 1895 or 1896, in my account of the Pallavas, I wrote⁴— "In their records, the Pallavas claim to belong to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Some of the records give them a regular Purāṇic genealogy which appears first in the "seventh century A.D." And at this place I made no reference at all to any of the other genealogies. Further on in the same work, I had occasion to give a full notice of the legendary history, including the Purāṇic genealogy, of the Chalukyas, taken, in its final and most complete shape, from a record of the period A.D. 1022 to 1063.⁵ And to this I attached the following note,⁶—the first part of which does little more than recapitulate what I had said in 1894,— "The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas makes its first appearance in the Sāṅgli grant of A.D. 933. The pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas may have been "concocted a little earlier, but was more probably devised about A.D. 950. The Chōla Purāṇic

¹ *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 342, note 1.

² See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 6, para. 3, the last three lines.

³ Above, Vol. III. p. 171 f.

⁴ *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 316.— I say I wrote this "in 1895 or 1896," for the following reason. The date of a remark must be, ordinarily, the date of the publication of it. The last of the proof-sheets of my *Dynasties* were passed by me, for printing, in September, 1895. And the title-page was among them. It naturally was dated 1895. And that is the date that appears on the title-page of the very few separate copies that were struck off. Nevertheless, and though I expressly gave instructions that uniformity was to be observed, the date was changed, without my being consulted, to 1896, in the title-page as issued in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II., after page 276,— apparently because that volume was not issued till 1896.

⁵ *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 338 ff.

⁶ *Id.* p. 342, note 1.

"genealogy is apparently first met with in the *Kalīngattu-Parāṇi*, which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva I., A.D. 1063 to 1112. And the Purāṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara is first presented in a record of A.D. 1118-19." Here, in this note, for the first time I mentioned the Pallava Purāṇic genealogy in connection with the others. But I did not adduce, as Mr. Rice says I did, that genealogy, which appears first in the seventh century A.D., as having been put together in the tenth century, as I then put it,—differing a little from my previous suggestion of the last quarter of the ninth century. What I said, is,— "The Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas has been mentioned on page 316 above. This is the earliest such pedigree that has as yet come to light. And possibly a discovery of it, in some ancient record, set the later fashion which became so general."

These are the passages from which Mr. Rice has strung together the extraordinary sentence that he has put into my mouth. He has further, on the same occasion, quoted me as describing the reigning families of Southern India as "furbishing up their pedigrees." He has repeated this twice, as if there were something peculiar in the expression. I cannot find any passage in my writings, in which I used these words; nor can friends, who have searched for it, find it; nor can even Mr. Rice himself, to whom I have applied, give me the reference to any passage in which I have used it. I therefore cannot say whether I did use it, or not. Let it be taken for granted, however, that I did use it. It is a very appropriate expression. "To furbish" means "to polish." And "polishing up" describes exactly the process that each Purāṇic genealogy went through, at some time or another, before it was eventually settled in its final form.

We may leave here all these minor matters, with simply the additional remark that it is easy enough to apparently demolish an opponent by first attributing to him statements and admissions that he has not made, and arguments that he has not used, but that that seems hardly the proper way of carrying on even a controversy. And we may now turn our attention to a more important point, the palæographic question, upon which something useful may be said.

In 1894¹ I noticed some of the palæographic blunders in the spurious grants. There is a good deal more to be said in this line hereafter; for I dealt then with only two characters, the *kḥ* and the *b*. But these two characters themselves are letters which furnish, as I said, "a leading test in dealing with southern records;" and the later cursive forms of them are, in certain circumstances, "tell-tale letters." The later cursive forms of them cannot be carried back to much, if at all, before A.D. 804. Through the occurrence of them in the spurious grants, I was enabled to present the conclusion that the Merkāra grant, purporting to have been issued A.D. 466, and the Dēvarhalli grant (then known as the Nāgamāṅgala grant), purporting to have been issued A.D. 776-77, cannot have been written before the beginning of the ninth century A.D. And I indicated that the transitional period, when both the old square forms and the later cursive forms of the two characters in question were in use together, was somewhere about A.D. 865.

Mr. Rice has touched upon only one of these characters, the *kḥ*. He has asserted that of this character "both forms were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period;"² and he has told us that he "had determined the above some time ago:"³ but he has not favoured us with the reference to his examination of the question; and so we cannot consider in detail anything that he may have put forward, but can only say that he has determined a fact which, in Western India, did not exist. He has quoted the Tables of Dr. Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, as giving the cursive form of the *kḥ* for the fourth, sixth, and seventh centuries A.D. And he has told us that "Dr. Bühler (p. 65 of his work) expressly points out that Dr. Fleet is wrong in

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 161 ff.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 6.

³ *Ibid.* p. 7, note 1.

"his dictum as to the age of the cursive form." In support of his assertion that "both forms" "were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period," he has, further, specifically quoted an instance of the occurrence of the cursive *kh* in an inscription on "the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa" at Māmallapuram on the east coast, which, as remarked by myself without any suggestion of dissent, has been assigned by Dr. Hultzsch to probably the sixth century A.D. He has admitted the undeniable fact that both forms occur in the Gaṅga grants that I was reviewing. And he has allowed us to understand that his conclusion is, that the preparation of those records should consequently be referred to a period in which both forms were in use, that is to say, in his opinion, to at any rate a much earlier period than A.D. 804.

Now, for the alleged instance of the fourth century A.D., Mr. Rice has referred us to Dr. Bühler's Table iii. col. XX. But neither does that column, nor does any part of that Table, present a form of the *kh* approximating in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned.

For the sixth and seventh centuries, he has referred us to Dr. Bühler's Table vii. cols. V. and XXIII. Here, again, the form of the *kh* in col. V. does not approximate in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned: it is a very badly formed *kh* of the old square type; and it is, moreover, from a Valabhi record not connected in any way with the territories with which we are dealing. The *kh* in col. XXIII., however, is, indeed, probably a fully developed cursive *kh* of the type of the *kh* with which we are concerned; but I shall shew directly that it has nothing to do with the matter.

As regards the remarks made by Dr. Bühler on page 65 of his work, and referred to by Mr. Rice, they occur in his examination of what he called "the middle step" or period of the Kanarese and Telugu types of the southern alphabets. Dr. Bühler has there drawn attention to "the strongly cursive, already Old-Kanarese, *kha*, Table viii., 12, cols. III. to V., which by Fleet (*Ep. Ind.* III. 162) is said to be not older than about A.D. 800, but which, in the closely cognate "Pallava inscriptions (Table vii., 9, col. XXIII.), appears already since the seventh century."¹ This, of course, is a more important matter, because Dr. Bühler was a very great authority. But, for reasons that will be indicated below, the Tables of his palæographic volume, and some of the results based on them, have to be received with great caution. And, in this case, the remark that he made is a misleading one, not by any means applicable in the way in which Mr. Rice would use it.

Finally, for the instance of the cursive *kh* in the inscription on "the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa," Mr. Rice has referred us to the lithograph in Capt. Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, Plate xiv.,—(to which he might have added Plate xviii., which gives the alphabet of the record in tabulated form),—and to the seventh stanza of the text in Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 6, No. 19. Here, there are mistakes, which do not, indeed, involve anything of importance, beyond illustrating further the rudimentary and superficial manner in which Mr. Rice has dealt with the whole question, but which may as well be corrected in order to save perplexity and trouble to others. The intended record, the one of which Capt. Carr has given us a reproduction, is not on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa; it is at the Gaṇēśa temple; the record on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa is another copy of it, arranged differently, of which we apparently have not as yet any reproduction; the reference to Dr. Hultzsch's text should have been to p. 4, No. 18; and we look in vain to the seventh stanza for the word that is quoted by Mr. Rice; it is in the ninth verse that it occurs. Now, the inscription really intended is in rather elaborate characters, from which fact Mr. Rice has made a curious deduction; in respect of the lithograph of the entire record given in Capt. Carr's Plate xiv., he has said "there is nothing to show that this is a mechanical copy, but the highly florid nature of the alphabet insures that it must have been carefully copied." There is, of course, a good deal of difference between copying carefully and copying

¹ This is as given to me from the German; the English translation is not out yet.

accurately. With characters so florid and elaborate as are those of this record, and "so faintly cut,"¹ and with the absolute certainty that the reproduction of them, though based on tracings to which "several days' labour" was devoted, was not a purely mechanical one, we have every reason to doubt the absolute trustworthiness of the lithograph. And what do we find on actual examination? The *kh* quoted by Mr. Rice occurs in the word *sumukhah*, line 9; but the lithograph gives us *samukhah*, omitting twice the vowel *u*. The *kh* occurs in also the word *khyâtô* in verse 5, line 5; and here the lithograph shews *tyatô*, omitting the *â* and turning the *kh* into *t*. Here are four mistakes in the reproduction, in only five syllables. But it is not necessary to criticise this reproduction any further; because I do not wish to rely on any faults in it. I grant everything that Mr. Rice wishes. I concede that we have here, in the word *sumukhah*, a cursive *kh* of precisely the same type, and almost of the same form, with the cursive *kh* of Western India which, I say, cannot be carried back to before A.D. 804. And I concede that this instance, adduced by Mr. Rice, is to be referred to probably the sixth century A.D. But it has absolutely nothing to do with the matter that we have in hand. It is a Grantha character,—a character of an alphabet which, though derived from the same original stock with the alphabet of Western India, was developed on totally different lines and at a much earlier period, and which shews, in the sixth century and perhaps before that time, many characters which, while preserving the leading features of the original type, already exhibit many and wide divergencies, both in the type and in the details. To the same alphabet belong the characters of the record in which occurs the cursive *kh* given in Dr. Bühler's Table vii., col. XXIII., No. 9: it is the Kailâsanâtha inscription of Râjasimha, of which the text has been given by Dr. Hultzsch in his *South-Ind. Inschr.* Vol. I. p. 12, No. 24, with a facsimile in a Plate issued in Vol. II.; and the *kh* in question is the *kh* of the word *pramukhaih* in verse 7, near the beginning of line 11. And this record, again, has absolutely nothing to do with the development of the alphabet of Western India.

And here we may leave the details of the palæographic question, until the publication of the collotype facsimiles that I have in hand, which will shew the development of the alphabet of Western India during the ninth century A.D., and will prove everything that I have said about the letters *kh* and *b*, and a great deal more too. I have only to add the following general remarks.

In the first place, if we act on Mr. Rice's suggestion, and place the writing of those grants, which shew both forms of the *kh* and *b*, in the period when both those forms really were in use together, we must refer them to about the middle of the ninth century A.D. We must, then—(one instance will suffice),—place about A.D. 850 the Dêvarhalli grant, which purports to have been issued A.D. 776-77. And the reference of it to a period three quarters of a century (or even one quarter of a century) later than the date asserted by itself, stamps it as a forgery, just as much as the reference of it to any period later still.

In the second place, Mr. Rice has expressed surprise at my saying that the writers of this and other spurious records forgot themselves, and introduced tell-tale characters, when they used in certain words the later cursive forms. But there is no occasion for any such expression of surprise. That is exactly what the writers did. And they simply betrayed themselves in just the same way in which forgers are liable to betray themselves, and do betray themselves, all over the world. In a recent notorious case in England, the first clue to the detection of an almost unparalleled series of forgeries, for genealogical purposes, was given by the fact that the forger forgot himself, and was careless enough to introduce a numeral of quite modern form into a date that purported to be of the sixteenth century.

Finally, a few words as regards the general subject of the present position of Indian palæography. The departments of Indian research are numerous; and each one is a complete

¹ See p. 66 of Capt. Carr's book.

study in itself. My special aim has always been to edit as many records as possible, and to write up from them, and from records edited by others, such branches of the history as have engaged my interest. In the palæographic line, I have been satisfied to be able to determine for myself the age and reliability of any documents with which I might be concerned, and have been content to leave to others the systematic prosecution of that line of research. But I have also sought to help it on as far as possible, by means of the lithographs that were issued with my own articles, or that were prepared under my direction to accompany articles written by others. When, however, the science of Indian epigraphy and palæography was not very far advanced, it was thought more important to publish clear and easily legible lithographs, than to give facsimiles which an unpractised eye might find it difficult to deal with because of their including all the imperfections of the originals due to damage and decay. And that procedure necessitated a considerable amount of touching up by hand, either of the originals, or of the impressions of them, or of the proofs. The mistakes that may be made, in such a process, are well illustrated by the evolution of a cursive *kh*, from the old square *kh* of the original, in the lithograph, which was prepared in 1878 more or less under my own direction, of a record of A.D. 694,¹ and by the introduction into Mr. Rice's lithograph of the Âtakûr inscription, simply to suit a purely imaginary reading, of a syllable which does not exist in the original at all.² The mischief of that procedure was recognised about 1882; and attention was then given to obtaining better impressions, from which there might be given, without any manipulation, mechanical facsimiles which would be absolutely faithful and reliable reproductions of typical originals. But, unfortunately, sufficient prominence was not given to the change that was then made, and to the reason for it; and the palæographic inquiry went on, without those who were concerned in it being duly informed. The palæographic line of research has been brought to a climax, for the present, by the publication of Dr. Bühler's volume. And it would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the way in which he sought to attain the objects aimed at in it. But it must be remarked that, great as has been the loss that we have sustained, in every line, through his sudden and premature death, it is peculiarly calamitous that he should have passed away just when so important a book had been issued by him and before it had been subjected to criticism which he himself could have attended to. The Tables of his volume are, unluckily, largely based on the manipulated reproductions that were issued in accordance with the earlier practice. And, moreover, the details of them were by no means all selected and arranged by him. For these reasons, and for others which a study of the work will disclose, we can only receive with great caution the Tables, and some of the results based on them, put forward in his book. And we must hope that someone else will be forthcoming, to carry one stage further the inquiry that he brought so far.

* * * * *

I have to add a few words, by way of correction of views previously expressed by me, on the subject of the invention of the fictitious genealogy that is presented in the spurious grants.

In 1894 I suggested³ that it was devised by the Western Gaṅgas themselves, in imitation of the Purāṇic genealogies of other families,—that it was started in the time of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II.,—and that the Lakshmēshwar inscription, dated A.D. 968-69 and purporting to be of his time, seemed to represent the beginning of it in a rudimentary form, and to fix very closely the time when it was invented.

I have, in the first place, to withdraw the Lakshmēshwar inscription as a basis for any such suggestion. This record⁴ is on a stone tablet which contains, after it, records that

¹ See above, Vol. V. p. 155, note 8.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 172.

³ See page 52 above, note 4.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 101.

purport to be of the time of Satyâśraya-(Pulakêśin II.) and the Sêndra prince Durgâśakti (not dated), and of Vikramâditya II. (dated A.D. 735). And another stone tablet at the same place¹ contains a record of Vijayâditya (dated A.D. 723), followed by other records of the same king (dated A.D. 730), of Gaṅgakandarpa-(Nolambântaka-Mârasimha II.) (dated, again, A.D. 968-69), and of Vinayâditya (dated A.D. 687). These records, though bearing such very different dates, are all in characters of one and the same period, and were all put on the stones at one and the same time. When I dealt with them,—more than twenty years ago,—I believed, and said, that they are in characters of the tenth century A.D.; that is to say, I took them as having been put on the stones in the recorded year A.D. 968-69, in the time of Nolambântaka-Mârasimha II. And I too carelessly endorsed that belief in 1894,² without examining impressions of them again. That belief was wrong. The characters are of an appreciably later date, and are fairly referable to the second half of the eleventh century A.D. And there is no doubt that these records were put on the stones in connection with the rebuilding of the Jain temples and the restoration of their endowments under the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi, after the end of the Chôla occupation, and for the purpose of what Sir Walter Elliot has called “the unification of the titles.”³ As regards the historical value of them,—it is obvious that the Chalukya records are, at the best, only copies of originals, to be taken for what they may be worth; and, for the present, we need only remark that, with the exception of the record of Satyâśraya-(Pulakêśin II.) and the Sêndra prince Durgâśakti, they are plainly based, more or less directly, on original charters which were deciphered intelligently,—that they are questionable, as dishonest records, only in so far as the writers of them may have substituted names of villages and grantees, to suit their own purposes, for other names standing in the originals,—and that, apparently, the only specially important item in them is the mention of the name Pûjyapâda, as that of the teacher of the alleged grantee, in the record of A.D. 730.⁴ As regards the Gaṅga records,—they are questionable in the same way, as dishonest records, in so far as they may put forward fraudulent claims to property. The one that has been edited in full, includes the first three steps of the fictitious pedigree; and, therefore, it was based, in that portion, either on a spurious record, or on a draft of which the ultimate origin is to be traced to the spurious records. But that fact does not make it itself necessarily a dishonest record; because, by the time when it was put on the stone, the fictitious pedigree had evidently become an accepted story, liable to be quoted in even *bonâ fide* records. Even as regards the fictitious pedigree, it makes a mistake, in representing Nolambântaka-Mârasimha II. as the younger brother of the imaginary Harivarman of the third generation. This, however, is a detail, of no real importance, which may be accounted for in any way that may seem appropriate. And the only item of special interest, that can be found in the record at present, is the mention of a Jain temple called Mukkaravasati.⁵ The important point, for the present, is, that this record was put on the stone about a century later than the date recorded in it, which is a date that fell during the period of Nolambântaka-Mârasimha II., and that, consequently, it does not place in the time of that prince the first attempt to devise the fictitious pedigree.

In the second place, when I formed the conclusions that I presented in 1894, we knew of but very few Western Gaṅga records, beyond these Lakshmêśwar inscriptions and the spurious

¹ Noticed, but not edited in full, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 111.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 172, note 4.

³ *Coins of Southern India*, p. 114.

⁴ The possible bearing of this is too complicated a matter to be gone into on the present occasion.

⁵ It is mentioned, incidentally, among the boundaries of one of the properties claimed by the record. The mention of it suggests that, at some time before the eleventh century, there was a person named Mukkara, by whom the temple was founded, or after whom it was named. All else that can be said, is, that, if there was such a person, he may have been a Gaṅga—(which, however, the record does not assert),—or he may have belonged to any other family, and that it is highly probable that he was the person from whom there was evolved the imaginary Mokkara, or Mushkara, the alleged grandfather of Sivavâra I., of the spurious grants.

copper-plate grants from Sûdi and Mysore. Since then, Mr. Rice has given us, in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vols. III. and IV., about a hundred records on stone, from Mysore, which he has referred to the Gaṅga period, and nearly all of which are genuine and have been properly so referred. And we have further, in the way of genuine records, the Vallimalai inscription of Rājamalla grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, from the North Arcot district,—the Bīlūr, Peggu-ūr, and Kōtūr inscriptions, from Coorg,—the Bēgūr inscription of Ereyappa and the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Nōḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II., from Mysore,—and, from the Dhārwar district, the Adaraguñchi and Guṇḍūr inscriptions of the same prince and the Hebbāl inscription of A.D. 975. Neither anywhere in the whole of this mass of genuine materials, nor in any other such record known to me, is there the slightest allusion to, or hint of, the fictitious genealogy, anterior to Śivamāra I., that is presented in the spurious records. And it is now plain that that genealogy was not claimed by Śivamāra I. and his descendants, but was simply evolved by the persons who fabricated the forged grants, in concocting the necessary pseudo-historical portions of their spurious title-deeds.

The general subject of Purāṇic genealogies will be an interesting topic for examination on some future occasion. Meanwhile, in respect of such of the great families of Southern India as can be traced back to before A.D. 1000, the position is as follows. The earliest such genealogy that we meet with, in any but a merely allusive and rudimentary form, is that of the Pallavas of Kāñchī; and it appears first in the Kūram grant of the second half of the seventh century A.D.¹ We meet next, as a matter of certainty, with that of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ, in the Nausārī grants of A.D. 915.² And that of the Yādavas of the Sēuṇa country, from whom sprang the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, is first found in the Saṃgamnēr grant of A.D. 1000.³ As a matter of certainty, the Purāṇic genealogy of the Chōḷas is first met with in the so-called Leiden grant of A.D. 1019 or 1020;⁴ but it would be carried back, in somewhat different forms, to the period A.D. 900 to 940, if a fragmentary grant of Vīra-Chōḷa from Udayēndiram⁵ is a genuine original record and is referable to the time of Parāntaka I.⁶—and to the year A.D. 915, if the Udayēndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa prince Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II., dated in the fifteenth year of Parāntaka I.,⁷ is, again, a genuine original record actually drawn up in that year.⁸ The full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Chalukyas are first met with in a record of the eastern branch, the Korumelli grant of the period A.D. 1022 to 1063.⁹ And the Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara are first found in a grant that bears the date of A.D. 1118-19.¹⁰ These are the dates at which, as far as our information goes at present, the genealogies are first met with. But, obviously, each of the genealogies had been selected, thought over, and elaborated, at a time appreciably earlier than that at which we first come across it. The earliest of them was that of the Pallavas. It was, probably, a discovery of it, in some ancient record, that set the fashion which became so general. And all the historical considerations point to the latter half of the ninth century A.D. and to the tenth century, as the period during which the other early great families of Southern India applied themselves to putting forward, or in some cases elaborating, claims to descent from the Lunar and Solar Races, and to working up their own traditions so as to establish presentable historical connections with those races.

In the way of fictitious pedigrees of a pretended historical kind, without Purāṇic introductions, we have an instance in that of the Kādambas of Hāṅgal,—from the name of

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 144.

² *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 261, 267.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212.

⁴ See, provisionally, *Archæol. Surv. South-Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 204.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 79.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 375.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48.

⁶ See Dr. Hultzsch's remarks, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.

⁸ See page 65 above, note 4.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 165.

Mayûravarman I. to that of Âdityavarman.— which is put forward in the Kargudari inscription of A.D. 1108.¹ The alleged genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâḍ, as presented in the spurious records, is a genealogy of this same kind, without a Purâṇic introduction. A Purâṇic introduction was eventually prefixed to it. And, as far as is disclosed at present, in genuine records,—that is to say, in records which contain all that fabulous matter, but put it forward, *bonâ fide*, as a story that had come to be really believed, and without using it fraudulently,—the fictitious historical pedigree and the Purâṇic introduction, both together, first appear in records of the eleventh century A.D. at 'Purale,' Humcha, and 'Kallur Gudda' in Mysore.² The Purâṇic introduction seems to have been invented in that century. We shall consider, on another occasion, the period to which the inception of the fictitious historical pedigree may be carried back.

POSTSCRIPT.

I subjoin a few supplementary remarks which suggested themselves after this paper had gone into pages.

Page 53, text line 3, and note 7. The reading *a[nika]-Tri[nē]tran* may be accepted; see some remarks under Kṛishṇa III., in a note on the appellations of the Râshṭrakûṭa king, which will be given in a subsequent article in this volume.

Page 57, note 8. Another instance of the occurrence of *anikakâra* in a *biruda* the first component of which is not a proper name, is Chaladānikakâra, "the champion of firmness of character," in the case of the Râshṭrakûṭa prince Indra IV. (*Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 57, verses 5, 6).

Page 71, line 24. The date of A.D. 953 for Bûtuga II. is supplied by an inscription at Chinchli in the Gadag tâluka; see some remarks under Kṛishṇa III. in the place referred to above.

Page 72, line 2. It may be added that the killing of Pañchala in battle at the command of Nûrmaḍi-Taila II. is attributed to the *Mahîmaṇḍalêśvara* Âhavamalla-Bhûteyadêva or Bhûtiga, whose descendant Barma was governing the Lôkâpura twelve and other circles, at Toragal, in A.D. 1187, in the time of Sômesvara IV.; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 96, text lines 4 to 6 (the verse has not been well translated). I am indebted to Professor Kielhorn for drawing my attention to this reference.

No. 7.—THE DATE OF THE KOTTAYAM (SYRIAN CHRISTIANS') PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

After a careful examination of the Grantha letters in the Kôṭṭayam plate of Vira-Râghava, above, Vol. IV. page 293, Mr. Venkayya has intimated that, on palæographical grounds, Vira-Râghava's grant may be assigned to about the 13th or 14th century A.D. Convinced of the general correctness of Mr. Venkayya's conclusion, I have examined the date of the grant for the four hundred years from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1500, and am enabled to state that during that period³ there is only a single day for which the date is absolutely correct, *viz.* **Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1320.**

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 249; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* pp. 559, 560.

² See Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 308 ff.; also, his Annual Report for the year ending 31st March, 1891, which gives the date of the Humcha record as Saka-Samvat 999 (expired), = A.D. 1077-78.

³ For the same period of years I have calculated the date of the Tiruppâvanam plates of the Pāṇḍya Jātavarman *alias* Kulâśekhara-dêva, from the data furnished by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 288, with the result that the only day between A.D. 1100 and 1500 which satisfies all the requirements of the date, is Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214. I may have an opportunity to treat more fully of this date on another occasion.

The data furnished by the original date are—"the day of (the *nakshatra*) Rôhîṇî, a Saturday on which passed¹ (the day) twenty-one (of) the month of Mîna, (when) Jupiter (was in) Makara."

In Śaka-Saṃvat 1241 expired=A.D. 1319-20 the Mîna-saṃkrānti by the Ārya-siddhānta took place 3 hours 22 minutes after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th February A.D. 1320, which therefore was the first day of the month of Mîna. Accordingly, the 21st day of the month of Mîna was Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1320. On this day (which was the 5th of the bright half of Chaitra) the moon was in the *nakshatra* Rôhîṇî during the whole of the day, and the true longitude of Jupiter by the Ārya-siddhānta was $9^{\circ} 1' 14'$, i.e. Jupiter was in the 10th sign Makara.

I may add that in the period from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1500 there are two other Saturdays, 95 years before and 95 years² after the 15th March A.D. 1320, either of which answers two of the other requirements of the original date, but not all of them. They are:—

Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1225, which was the 21st day of the month of Mîna, and on which the *nakshatra* was Rôhîṇî, while the true longitude of Jupiter was only $8^{\circ} 27' 58''$; and—

Saturday, the 16th March A.D. 1415, when the *nakshatra* was Rôhîṇî, and the true longitude of Jupiter $9^{\circ} 4' 28''$, but which was the 20th day of the month of Mîna.

I venture to hope that the results of Mr. Venkayya's examination of the plate and of my own calculations will be considered to render it extremely probable that Vîra-Râghava's grant was made in A.D. 1320, and not in either A.D. 775 or so strangely early a year as A.D. 230.³

No. 8.—MAYIDAVOLU PLATES OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; DRESDEN.

These copper-plates were found about the middle of 1899 by a man who was digging the soil of a field in the *pāḍu* or abandoned village north of Mayidavôlu. The *pāḍu* is about four acres in extent and contains the ruins of a small old temple. Mayidavôlu⁴ is a small village 12 miles east of Narasârâvupêṭa, the head-quarters of a tâluka of the Kistna district. As good luck would have it, the find of the plates came to the notice of that zealous antiquarian, Mr. J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L., to whom epigraphy is already indebted for the Chikkulla plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 193) and the Tottaramûḍi plates (*ibid.* p. 318). He forwarded the plates to Mr. Venkayya, who sent me three sets of ink-impressions and the following description of the original:—"Eight plates and fifteen sides. The length of the plates varies from $6\frac{1}{2}''$ to $7''$. As regards the breadth, the plates are slightly narrower in the middle than at the ends; the average may be taken as $2\frac{1}{4}''$. The plates were held together by a ring which is $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter and $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick; it has been cut by me before taking the impressions. The ends of the ring are secured in an elliptical seal which measures very nearly $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$. The seal bears in relief an animal couchant and facing the proper right—apparently a bull, as it has a hump on its back—and

¹ I owe a literal translation of the date to Dr. Hultzsch.

² The same number of years (or, more accurately, the number of 34699 days) intervenes between the two days in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. which would answer all the requirements of the date, viz. Saturday, the 10th March A.D. 680, and Saturday, the 11th March A.D. 775.

³ See above, Vol. IV. p. 292, note 7. So far as I can see, the astronomical calculations of Mr. Kookel Keloo Nair were not quite correct. Saturday, the 6th March A.D. 230, was the 21st day of Mîna and the *nakshatra* for part of the day was Rôhîṇî; but Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, not in Makara.—I do not venture to hope that we ever shall find in an inscription a date of the third century A.D. that would admit of exact verification.

⁴ See Mr. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 72.

below it, the legend *Sivaska[ndavarmmanah?]* in an alphabet which appears to be slightly different from that of the inscription. The bull and the legend are enclosed in a circle which is partially preserved."

After I had despatched the manuscript of this article to the press, Mr. Venkayya sent me the original copper-plates and informed me that, at the instance of Mr. J. Ramayya, they have now been presented to the Madras Museum by their owner, Mayidavolu Jaya Ramayya. The writing on the plates is carefully done, and its preservation is tolerably good; all damaged syllables can be supplied with certainty.

Like the Hirahadagalli plates,¹ the new copper-plate grant was issued from **Kāñchīpura** by **Sivaskandavarman** of the **Bhāradvāja gōtra** and of the **Pallava** family (ll. 1—3). As he is here styled *Yuva-Mahārāja*² or heir-apparent, the date of the grant (l. 25 f.) is apparently prior to that of the Hirahadagalli plates and has to be referred to the reign of Sivaskandavarman's unknown predecessor. Sivaskandavarman granted to two Brāhmanas a village named **Viripara** (ll. 10 and 12), which belonged to **Andhrāpatha**³ (l. 9), i.e. the Telugu country. Viripara, which I am unable to identify, must have been situated near Amarāvati in the Kistna district; for Sivaskandavarman addressed his order regarding the grant to his (or his father's) representative at **Dhaññakaḍa**⁴ (l. 3), the modern Amarāvati. We thus learn that, during the reigns of Sivaskandavarman and his predecessor, the Pallava kingdom included not only—in the south—the **Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam**, to which their capital, Kāñchīpura, belongs, and perhaps—in the west—the **Bellary** district, in which the Hirahadagalli plates were purchased, but—in the north—the **Telugu** country as far as the **Krishṇā** river.

The date of the grant (l. 25 f.) is given in words and numerical symbols. It was the 5th tithi of the 6th fortnight of summer in the 10th year (of the reign of Sivaskandavarman's predecessor). As shown by Professor Kielhorn,⁵ neither numerical symbols nor season-dates have been found in records later than the 8th century A.D. But the subjoined grant has to be assigned to a much earlier period because of its archaic alphabet, and because, like the Nāsik inscriptions of the Andhra kings, the Hirahadagalli plates, and the plates of Vijayaskandavarman, it is written in **Prākṛit**.⁶

The language of the inscription is a **Prākṛit** dialect which differs from the literary **Pāli** in several respects. Thus consonants are softened in *°kaḍa* (l. 3), *bhaḍa* (l. 15), and *khādaka* (l. 13), but hardened in *papesa* (l. 15) for *pavesa*. The unaspirate takes the place of the aspirate in *Aṁdhāpatiya* (l. 9). The letter *y* is sometimes replaced by *j*, e.g. in *jo* (l. 21) and *majādā* (l. 18) for Sanskrit *maryādā* (*ṁariyādā* in **Pāli**), while *y* takes the place of *j* in *Bhāradāya* (l. 2) for Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja* and of *ch* in *ya* (l. 6) for *cha* (which occurs in lines 17 and 20). Two cases of peculiar *saṁdhi* are *sayatti* (l. 27) for *svayam=iti* and *Gonāṁdija* (l. 9) for *Gonandī + ajja*. Of inflected nouns may be noted the **Māgadhi** nominatives *vejayike* and *vadhanike*⁷ (l. 5 f.), the ablative *°purāto* (l. 1), and the neuter *ādīm* (l. 10) for *ādi* (against *dāni*, l. 5, for *idānīm*). The personal pronoun of the first person is represented by the base *amha* (ll. 5 and 21), the nominative *amho* (l. 23) and the instrumental *amhehi* (ll. 5 and 10). The inscription contains several verbal forms, viz. the gerund *aticchitūna* (l. 21 f.) from *ati + chhid*, the presents *ānapayati* (l. 4) and *vitārāma* (l. 13), the imperatives *pariharatha* and

¹ Edited by the late Professor Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2 ff.

² The same title is applied to Vijayabuddhavarman in the plates of Vijayaskandavarman; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 101, l. 2.

³ On the synonymous terms **Āndhra-maṇḍala**, **Āndhra-patha**, and **Vaṇuga-vali**, see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

⁴ See above, Vol. III. p. 94 and note 5.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. p. 195 and note 4.

⁶ See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, 2nd edition, p. 320.

⁷ The same two words occur in the Hirahadagalli plates, l. 9. The plates of Vijayaskandavarman have *ceddhanīyā* (l. 8 f.).

pariharāpetha (l. 20), and the potentials *karejjā*, *kārāpejjā* and *karejāmo* (ll. 22—24), which correspond to Pāli *kareyya*, *kārāpeyya* and *kareyyāma*.

As regards **orthography**, double consonants are rarely expressed by a compound letter, as in *paṭṭikā* (l. 28), *sagotta* (ll. 2 and 7 f.), and *°vammo* (l. 3), or by a nasal with preceding *anusvāra* (in *Dhamṇā*°, l. 3). Generally the writer follows the practice of the cave-inscriptions, where a single consonant does duty for the double letter; see *Agivesa* (l. 7 f.) for Sanskrit *Āgnivēśya*, *dīṭha* (plate i. a) and *chhaṭṭha* (l. 26) for *diṭṭha* and *chhaṭṭha*, *sāmpadatta* (l. 11) against *datta* (l. 27), *ana* (l. 17) for *anna*¹ (*añña* in Pāli), *Palava* (l. 2) for *Pallava*, *sava* (ll. 12, 17, 19) for *savva* (*sabba* in Pāli), and *tasa* (l. 23) etc. for *tassa* etc.

The **alphabet** of the new plates is an epigraphic curiosity. Though on the whole resembling that of the Hirahadagalli plates, it exhibits a few letters which differ from the corresponding characters of all Indian alphabets. Thus the letter *s* consists of two equal curves, one below the other, but not connected with it. The letter *m* consists of the same upper curve and of a loop which starts from its upper right corner and reaches below the line; in the group *mmo* (l. 3) the same loop is attached once more to the right of the syllable *mo*. The dental and lingual nasals are not distinguished from each other, but represented by a symbol which assumes various slightly dissimilar shapes and resembles *d* and *ḍ* so closely, that only the context can show which letter is meant in each individual case. I have transcribed it by *n* wherever it cannot be read as *d* or *ḍ*. The *j* of *vejyike* (l. 5) looks, roughly speaking, like an angle and a circle. This circle is open on the right in *°tujasa* (l. 8) and *°rājo* (l. 1), while it is joined to the horizontal leg of the angle in *°dijasa* (l. 9). In *majādāya* (l. 18) and *karejāmo* (l. 24) we have the usual form of *jā*. The group *jjā* in *karejjā* (l. 22) and *kārāpejjā* (l. 23) is identical in shape with *jō* (l. 21).² Finally I would draw attention to the letter *e* in *etasa* (l. 11) and *etehi* (l. 16), which looks like an archaic Tamil *ē*.

Plates ii. to viii. are marked with the numerical symbols '2' to '8' on the left of the first side between the ring-hole and the margin.³ The symbol '10' and duplicates of the symbols '5' and '6' occur in the date portion on plate vii. b. The symbol '4' differs from that of the Hirahadagalli plates and already resembles the corresponding modern figure.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate; First Side.

Dīṭha[m]⁵ [l]*]

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 [Kām]chipurāto⁶ yuva-mahārājo
- 2 Bhāradāya-sagotto Palavānam

Second Plate; First Side.

- 3 Sivakha[m]davammo Dhamṇakaḍe
- 4 vāpatam ānapayati [l]*]

¹ This form occurs in the Hirahadagalli plates, ll. 6 and 43.

² In the Hirahadagalli plates the *jjā* of *kārāpejjā* (l. 40) differs from the *jō* of *°rājo* (l. 2).

³ The symbol, if any, on the first plate is obliterated.

⁴ From Mr. Venkayya's ink-impressions and from the original plates.

⁵ The same word is entered on plate i. a of the Hirahadagalli plates.

⁶ The first syllable of this word is almost entirely obliterated, but can be supplied with certainty from line 1 of the Hirahadagalli plates.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 5 amhehi dāni amha-vejayike
 6 [dham]m-āyu-bala-vadhanike ya

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 7 bamhanānam Agivesa-sagottasa
 8 Puvakoṭujasa Agī(gi)vesa-sagottasa

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 Gonamdiṇasa Amdhāpati(thi)ya-gāmo
 10 [Viripa]ram¹ amhehi udak-ādima

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 11 sampadato [i*] etasa gāmasa
 12 Viriparasa sava-bamhadēya-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 pa[r]i[hā]ro(re) vitarāma [i*] alona[kh]ādakam
 14 araṭhasam[vi]nāyikam aparamparābaliva[dam*]

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 15 abhaḍapapesam akūracholaka-
 16 vināsikha[ā*]samvāsam [i*] etehi

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 anehi cha sava-bamha-
 18 deya-majāḍāya

Sixth Plate ; First Side.

- 19 sava-parihārehi parihārīto [i*]
 20 pariharatha pariharāpetha cha [i*]

Sixth Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 jo amha-sāsanam atichhi-
 22 tūna pīlā bādh[ā] karejjā [vā]²

Seventh Plate ; First Side.

- 23 [ta]³ kārāpejjā vā tasa amho
 24 sārira[m] sāsanam karejāmo [i*]

¹ Of the first three syllables only slight traces can be distinguished, but the same word is quite distinct in line 12.

² This *akshara* and the first *akshara* of the next plate seem to have been scored out by the engraver, who had omitted *kārāpejjā* and had begun to write *vā tasa*, but found out his mistake when he had got as far as *ta*.

³ See the preceding note.

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

25 sa[m]vachhara[m] dasamaṁ 10 gimhā¹
 26 pakho chhaṭho 6 divasaṁ pañchami 5 [!*]

Eighth Plate.

27 ānatī sayatti dattā
 28 paṭṭikā [!]*]

TRANSLATION.

(*This edict*) has been seen.²

(Line 1.) From **Kāñchipura** the **Yuva-Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman** (of the family) of the **Pallavas**,³ who belongs to the *gōtra* of the **Bhāradvājas**, orders (*his*) official (*vyāpṛita*) at **Dhañṇakaḍa**⁴ (as follows) :—

(L. 5.) For conferring on ourselves victory (*in war*)⁵ and for increasing (*our*) merit, length of life, and power, we have now given, with libations of water, the village of **Viripara** in **Andhrāpatha** to the (*two*) **Brāhmaṇas** **Puvakoṭuja** of the **Āgnivēśya gōtra** and **Gonandija**⁶ of the **Āgnivēśya gōtra**.

(L. 11.) To this village of **Viripara** we grant all the immunities (enjoyed by) *brahmadēyas*.

(L. 13.) (*Let it be*) free from diggings for salt,⁷ *araṭhasamvīdāyika*, free from (*the supply of*) bullocks in succession,⁸ free from the entrance of soldiers, free from (*the supply of*) boiled rice, water-pots, cots and dwellings.⁹

(L. 16.) With these and all the other immunities (*prescribed*) by the rules regarding all *brahmadēyas* (*we have*) caused it to be exempted.

(L. 20.) (*Accordingly*) you¹⁰ have to exempt (*it*) and cause (*it*) to be exempted.

(L. 21.) Who, transgressing our edict, shall give or shall cause to be given trouble (*and*) annoyance¹¹ (*to the donees*), on him we shall inflict bodily punishment.

¹ This is an abbreviation for *gimhānam*; compare Nāsik No. 11, l. 12, and No. 14, l. 1.

² With the word *dīṭham* or, in Sanskrit, *drishṭam* we have to supply *idam śāsanam*. It is the equivalent of the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' at the foot of official letters and Government orders. For a different explanation of *drishṭam* see above, Vol. III. p. 259.

³ For other instances of this elliptical use of the genitive see above, Vol. IV. p. 197, note 6, and Vol. VI. pp. 15 and 19.

⁴ Compare *ānapayati Govadhane amacha* in the Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 11, A and 15.

⁵ The corresponding word in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates, *vijaya-vejayike* (l. 9), is omitted in Professor Bühler's translation (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 8).

⁶ I.e. *Gōnandiyārya*. Compare *Nandija* in line 21 of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates.

⁷ This term and the next one occur in the Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 11, A, 11, B and 15.

⁸ Compare line 33 of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates.

⁹ With the last term compare *a-khatṭā-vās-audanam* (above, p. 14, text line 8), and see line 31 of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates, where the photo-lithograph reads *akūra*^o, and not *akara*^o as the printed text. The word *cholaka* or *yolloka* is probably related to *chullakt*, 'a kind of water-pot'; *vindai* or *vimesi* remains obscure.

¹⁰ I.e. the inhabitants and officials of the district, etc. See line 35 of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 101, l. 10 f., where Professor Bühler's improved reading (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2, note 2) has to be further corrected by reading with the photo-lithograph *pariharatha pariharāpetha*. The translation would then run :— "Knowing this, you, the villagers (and) officials, exempt (it and) cause (it) to be exempted with all the immunities!" In line 7 of Dr. Fleet's text join *Mahānarakadevakula*, and in line 6 f. read *Atukassa kasita* . . . *chhettaṁ* "the field ploughed by Ātuka."

¹¹ Here and in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates (l. 40) one would expect the acc. sing. *pīlām baddham* instead of the acc. plur. *pīlā baddhā*.

ՀԱՅԿԱՆ ԳՐԱԿԱՆ
ՄԱՐԿԱՆ ԳՐԱԿԱՆ
ՄԱՐԿԱՆ ԳՐԱԿԱՆ
ՄԱՐԿԱՆ ԳՐԱԿԱՆ

E. HULTZSCH.

Collotype by Römmler & Jonas, Dresden.

SCALE 35.

(L. 25.) The tenth—10th—year, the sixth—8th—fortnight of summer, the fifth—5th—lunar day.

(L. 27.) The executor (*djñapti*) (was) myself. Accordingly (*this*) set of plates (*paṭṭikā*) has been given (*to the donees*).

NO. 9.—THE ARMENIAN EPITAPH AT THE LITTLE MOUNT.

By FATHER VARTAN MELCHISEDECH, OF THE MECHITHARIST CONGREGATION, VIENNA.

Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* (Vol. I. page 175 f.) contain a short, but excellent description of the three sites on the south of the city of Madras which are connected with the legend of St. Thomas. These are—the village of St. Thomé, which claims to possess the apostle's grave; the Little Mount, where he is said to have suffered martyrdom; and St. Thomas's Mount, the church on the top of which contains the famous inscribed cross.¹ The church at the Little Mount is reached by a flight of stone steps, and at the foot of these is set up a stone which bears a cross and, below it, the subjoined Armenian epitaph. The stone lately attracted the attention of His Excellency Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Madras. At his instance Dr. Hultzsch sent inked estampages of the inscription to Professor H. Hübschmann, of Strassburg, who was the first to decipher it. It is dated in the year 1112 (of the Armenian patriarch Moses), i.e. A.D. 1663, and is the epitaph of an Armenian merchant, named David, the son of Margarê.

TEXT.²

1 Hais³ ê tapayn⁴
2 Khujay Davuthi⁵

3 ordi Khujay Margarê
4 ayin⁶ thvin⁷ r ch zh b.

TRANSLATION.

This is the grave of Khoja⁸ David, the son of Khoja Margarê.⁹ In the year 1112.

NO. 10.—GADAG INSCRIPTION OF VIRABALLALA II.; SAKA-SAMVAT 1114.

By H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a stone standing up against the back wall of the temple of Trikûṭêśvara at Gadag, the chief town of the Gadag tāluka in the Dhârwâr district of the Bombay

¹ See above, Vol. IV. p. 174 ff.

² As read by Professor Hübschmann from the inked estampages.

³ This is a cockneyism for Old-Armenian *ais*, 'this,' which has become *as* in New-Armenian.—H. H.

⁴ Read *tapan*.—H. H.

⁵ In Old-Armenian this would be *Davthi*, the genitive of *Davith*. The form *Davuth* seems to be due to the influence of *Dā'ūd*, the Arabic form of the name 'David.'—H. H.

⁶ Dr. Karst considers *Margarayi* to be the genitive of *Margarê*; and *n* is the definite article.

⁷ Instead of *thvin*, 'of the year,' we ought to have *ithvin*, with the locative prefix *i*.

⁸ This is the Persian خواجه, 'a lord, master,' a title generally applied to preceptors and merchants.

⁹ This name is identical with the Armenian word *margarê*, 'a prophet.'

Presidency. An abstract of its contents was given by Dr. Bhau Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, p. 321 f. The text was first published, together with a translation, by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 298 ff.; and a very small photograph of it is given in P.S.O.C.I. No. 98. I now re-edit it from Dr. Fleet's excellent impression, made over to me by Prof. Kielhorn.

The inscription contains 56 lines of writing which covers a space of about 3' broad by 4' 6" high, and is throughout in an extremely good state of preservation. At the top of the stone are some sculptures:—In the centre a man worshipping a *liṅga* with a head lying on a *yōni*;¹ to the left a figure of Gaṇapati, beyond which is a figure of Śiva's bull Nandin; to the right a figure of a Śakti, beyond which are a cow with a calf and a crooked knife.—The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{8}$ ".—The alphabet is Old-Kanarese. In the first and third lines some of the letters are drawn out into ornamental flourishes.—The language is Sanskrit. In lines 6 and 32 we have the Kanarese words *hoy* and *malaparolgaṇḍa*. The main portion of the text is in verse; only lines 31-33 and 41-46, speaking generally, are in prose, and besides a few words in lines 1, 36, 37 and 39, and the introductory remarks to the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 46, 47, 48, 49 and 53.—As regards orthography, the groups *ddh* and *bbh* are generally spelt *dhdh* and *bhbh*, the only exceptions being *Vishṇuvarddhana*- in l. 8 and *pātayēd-dharttā* in l. 51; and *b* is written instead of *v* before a consonant in *brati*- in l. 5 and *kūbya*- in l. 37.

The inscription, which records a grant of land by the Hoysaḷa king Virā-Ballāḷa II., contains a number of historical references which have been dealt with already by Dr. Fleet in his account of the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. The following remarks are therefore chiefly based on Dr. Fleet's discussions.

Opening with two verses invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and praising the king, the inscription gives in verses 3-7 the well known legendary account of the origin of the Hoysaḷas. They claimed to belong to the lineage of Yadu; in this race there was a king called Saḷa, 'who, changing the name of the family, caused Yadu, the first of it, to be forgotten.' Once there lived at Śaśakapura an ascetic who, while engaged in performing his rites, was attacked by a tiger. He called Saḷa for assistance with the words: *Hoy Saḷa*, 'Slay, O Saḷa.' Saḷa killed the tiger, and thus acquired for himself and his descendants the name of Hoysaḷa and a tiger as emblem of their banner. Śaśakapura or Śaśapura seems to have been the seat of the first rulers of the dynasty.² In inscriptions incised in Śaka 1060 and 1106³ Vinayāditya, the first historical king, is represented as ruling at Sosavūru, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, as the passages containing it were evidently taken from older records. Mr. Rice⁴ is undoubtedly right in identifying Sosavūru with Śaśapura, but his identification of Śaśapura with the modern Aṅgaḍi in the Mūḍgere tāluka of the Kaḍūr district, Mysore,⁵ does not seem to be well founded.

The inscription then turns to the historical genealogy of the family. After other kings, Vinayāditya became king (v. 8). His son was Eṇṇaṅga (v. 9), who again had three sons, Ballāḷa, Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya (v. 10). Nothing beyond the name is recorded

¹ Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 298, speaks of 'three heads on an altar,' but the drawing accompanying the impression shows one only.

² Probably already in the time of Ballāḷa I., and certainly in the time of Viṣṇuvardhana, the capital was Vēlāpura, the modern Bēlūr, whence during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana the seat of government was shifted to Dōrasamudra, the modern Halēbid; compare Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 491.

³ *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part II. p. 203; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329, where the name of the town is given as Sosulya. *Ibid.* p. 260, Vinayāditya is said to have been born at Śaśapura.

⁴ *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part II. Introd., p. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.* Part I. Introd., p. 18; Part II. Introd., p. 18.

of Udayāditya, the inscription speaking in the following verses only of the elder two brothers, of whom, after some general praise (v. 11), it is said (v. 12, 13) that, 'when the elder of them,¹ the mighty one, who attacked Jagaddēva, the lord of elephants, with his own horse in the van of battle and overturned him and took away his sevenfold (sovereignty), had ruled the kingdom, after him his younger brother also, Vishṇuvardhana, reigned for a long time.' In other records the defeat of Jagaddēva is attributed to Ballāla's successor Vishṇuvardhana. In an inscription at Bêlûr² and in another at Hosakôte³ Vishṇuvardhana is called 'a Bhairava in destroying (or conquering) the armies of Jagaddēva,' and in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa⁴ he is said to have drunk the rolling sea of the armies of the lord of Mālava, Jagaddēva, and others, sent by the emperor (*chakrin*). The discrepancy between these statements is removed by an inscription at Lālanakere,⁵ where it is said that at Dōrasamudra the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishṇu and Udayāditya, destroyed the army of Jagaddēva and captured his treasury. The joint victory of the three brothers over Jagaddēva must therefore have occurred before A.D. 1118, the earliest reliable date, as far as I know, for Ballāla's successor Vishṇuvardhana.⁶ As to Jagaddēva, the term *saptāṅga* used of his kingdom in the present inscription would seem to indicate, at first sight, that he was an independent ruler; but it is apparently only a hyperbolical phrase, as the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription leaves no doubt that he was a feudatory of some emperor who can only be the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.⁷ I am therefore inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet, who looks upon Jagaddēva as identical with the Śāntara prince Tribhuvanamalla-Jagaddēva of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura⁸ who, according to the Baḷagāṁve inscription,⁹ was ruling as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of Jagadēkamalla II. at Sêtuvina-bīḍu in A.D. 1149, and who, according to an inscription at Anamkoṇḍ,¹⁰ after the defeat of Taila III., laid siege to the fortress of Anamakōṇḍa. The latter event must have taken place between A.D. 1150 and 1163. There would thus lie an interval of at least 32 years, but probably a much longer time, between the Jagaddēva of the Hoysala records and that of the Chālukya and Kākatīya inscriptions, so that, if the identification should prove correct, Jagaddēva must have enjoyed a considerably long reign.

The next verses (14-17) speak of the conquests and pious gifts of Vishṇuvardhana, 'who, having given away in religious gifts the whole of his own territory, in order to have a kingdom of his own, invaded Uchchaṅgi¹¹ and other territories belonging to his enemies; who, invading the whole country from his own abode to Bêlvola, bathed his horse in the Krishnavêrnâ; who is again and again reminded by his servants whenever they wait upon him: 'Know the Hoysala alone among (all) princes to be unconquerable for king Paramardidēva.'¹² The

¹ I take *tatra* in the sense of *tyāgā*, and the two verses as forming one sentence.

² *Mysore Inscr.* p. 263.

³ *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part I. p. 36.

⁴ *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 138, p. 107. This inscription gives only the direct line of descendants, omitting Ballāla I. and Udayāditya altogether.

⁵ *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. p. 200.

⁶ *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 59, p. 57; compare *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part I. p. 120, and *Mysore Inscr.* p. 265. Mr. Rice says (*Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. *Introd.*, p. 19) that Ballāla I. died in A.D. 1104, but I do not know his authority for this statement.

⁷ Vikramāditya, it is true, did not bear the title *chakravartin*, but his three successors, Sôṁêśvara III., Jagadēkamalla II. and Taila III., styled themselves, respectively, *Sarvajñachakravartin*, *Pratāpachakravartin* and *Chālukyachakravartin*, and it is therefore quite intelligible that in a record written in Śaka 1081 this title should have been conferred on Vikramāditya also.

⁸ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 494.

⁹ *Mysore Inscr.* p. 97 ff.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 13.

¹¹ Regarding this place see the note by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 285.

¹² Different translations have been proposed for this verse by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 497, and Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 87. The version given above differs from that of Dr. Bhandarkar especially as regards the word *pratyupachāram*.

warlike exploits of Vishṇuvardhana need not be discussed here, as they have been treated at great length by Dr. Fleet, who also was the first to identify king Paramardidēva with the Western Chālukya king Permāḍi-Vikramāditya VI., the feudal lord of Vishṇuvardhana.

Vishṇuvardhana's son and successor was **Narasimha**, who married the noble **Ēchaladēvi** (vv. 18, 19). Their son was **Vira-Ballāla II.** to whom the rest of the eulogy (vv. 20-36) is devoted. He is said (v. 20) to have acquired the kingdom by worshipping Vajrēśvara. This term seems to refer to Indra; but, as *vajra* is occasionally used also with reference to the *chakra* of Vishṇu,¹ Vajrēśvara may possibly be meant here for Vishṇu. At any rate it is stated in another record² that he had gained the empire by being the favourite of Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa, and in the present inscription also he is represented as an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu (v. 24). After a series of laudatory verses (20-33) and the general statement that the Āṅgas, Kāṇḍas, Vāṅgas, Magadhas, Chōḷas, Mālavas, Pāṇdyas, Kēralas and Gūrjaras were in fear of him (v. 34), the inscription gives in verses 35 and 36 a more detailed account of two of Ballāla's campaigns: 'And by force, he, the strong one,³ defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty, the general **Brahman** whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants, and who had conquered sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless⁴ elephant, when, on account of an insult to his father, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the **Kaṭachuris**. And cutting off **Jaitrasimha** who was, as it were, the right arm of that **Bhillama**, he, the hero, acquired also the sovereignty over the country of **Kuntala**.'

The general **Brahman** mentioned in the former verse was the councillor and general of the last Chālukya king Sōmēśvara IV. His name occurs in several Chālukya records from A.D. 1184-85 to 1186-87,⁵ and in one of them he is called 'a fire of death to the Kaṭachuryas. Like his father Kāma or Kāvana, he had originally been in the service of the Kaṭachuryas. Kāvana is mentioned as the *danḍanāyaka* of king Saṅkama in a Harihar inscription, and again as the commander-in-chief of all the forces of that king in a Baḷagāṁve inscription of A.D. 1179, and as the *danḍanāyaka* of Āhavamalla in a Baḷagāṁve inscription of A.D. 1181.⁶ And Brahman himself is called the *muhāpradhāna*, *sēnādhipati* and *danḍanāyaka* of king Sōvidēva in a record of A.D. 1175. The reason for his rebellion is given in our inscription in the words '*nyakkārēṇa pīṭuḥ*.' Dr. Fleet renders them 'in contempt of his father,' but I doubt that the words admit of such an interpretation. I can only translate them as I have done above, and, considering that the records make it highly probable that Kāvana was still alive when Brahman revolted against his sovereign, I see no difficulty in assuming that the account of the motives of Brahman as given in our inscription is correct. As to **Jaitrasimha**, by whose conquest Ballāla is said to have acquired Kuntala or the southern Marāṭhā country, there can be no doubt that he is identical with the Jaitrasimha mentioned as the minister of the Yādava king Bhillama in the Gadag inscription of Śaka 1113.⁷ On the other hand, I see no cogent reason why this Jaitrasimha should be identified with Bhillama's son and successor Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla.⁸ The names, it is true, are similar, but if Jaitrasimha had been Bhillama's son, one should certainly expect that

¹ See e. g. *Mysore Inscr.* p. 152.

² *Ibid.* p. 266.

³ *Bhujabhrīt* seems to be an equivalent of *bhujabala*, and is apparently used here in allusion to Ballāla's *biruda* Bhujabala, just as *śtra* is used in the next verse.

⁴ For *tūbara* the dictionaries give the meanings 'a bull without horns; a beardless man; a eunuch;' here it evidently denotes a tuskless elephant as opposed to *dantīn*, the tusked elephant. A revised translation of the verse was given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464. I differ from him only with regard to the words *nyakkārēṇa pīṭuḥ*.

⁵ For this and the following dates see Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464.

⁶ *Mysore Inscr.* p. 117.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. III. p. 217 ff.

⁸ See especially Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 106.

this relationship of the two had been hinted at either in the present or in the Gadag inscription referred to above.

Lines 31 ff. then record that the *Pratāpachakravartin*, the glorious **Vira-Ballāḍeḍa**, who was adorned with such titles as 'the refuge of the whole world, the illustrious favourite of the earth, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the lord of the excellent city of *Dvārāvātī*, the sun in the sky of the Yādava family, who has perfection as his crest-jewel, the destroyer of the Maḷapas, who is fierce in war, a hero even without anybody to help him, who is brave even when alone, who has success even on a Saturday, the conqueror of hill-forts, a Rāma in war, having established his victorious camp at *Lokkiguṇḍi*,— at a lunar eclipse on Saturday, the day of the full-moon of the month *Mārgaśirsha* of the *Paridhāvin* year, when 1114 years¹ had elapsed of the era of the Śaka king,— after having washed the feet of the holy *āchārya* *Siddhāntichandrabhūṣaṇapaṇḍitaḍeḍa*, also called *Satyavākya*, who was the disciple of *Vidyābharaṇaḍeḍa* and the disciple's disciple of *Sômēśvaraḍeḍa* of (the lineage of) the *āchārya* *Kālamukha*, granted out of devotion, with oblations of water, the village of **Hombāḷalu** in the **Beḷvola** three-hundred, with its boundaries as known before and together with the right to hidden treasures, underground stores, water, stone, gardens, *etc.*, together with the *tribhōga*, together with the full proprietorship of the *aṣṭabhōga*, together with the right of appropriating all things such as tolls and fines, for the sake of the *aṅga*- and *raṅga-bhōga* of the Holy one, the *guru* of all moving and immoveable things, the holy god *Svayāmbhū-Trikūṭēśvara*, for the sake of repairing anything that might be broken, torn, or worn out through age, *etc.*, for the sake of providing for instruction, and for the sake of feeding, *etc.*, ascetics, *Brāhmaṇas* and others, making it a *sarvanamasya* grant not to be pointed at with the finger by the king or the king's officials.

Inserted into this portion of the text are eleven verses (37-47) glorifying the god Śiva *Svayāmbhū-Trikūṭēśvara* at **Kratuka** and the chief priest (*sthānāchārya*) of his shrine, the said *Siddhāntichandrabhūṣaṇapaṇḍitaḍeḍa*, called also *Satyavākya*, of the lineage of the *āchārya* *Kālamukha*. Among the verses in praise of the latter, special interest is attached to verse 39, where the *Paṇḍit* is called the living *līṅga* by whom the god who is the lord of the three peaks (*Trikūṭēśvara*) by his three stationary *līṅgas*, in the opinion of people became at the same time a lord of four peaks (*chatuṣhkūṭēśvara*). This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva in the form of a *līṅga* descended upon the three mountains *Kâlēśvara*, *Śrīśaila* and *Bhīmēśvara*, and that these three *līṅgas* marked the boundaries of the country which was in consequence called the *Trilīṅga*, *Teliṅga* or *Telugu* country.²

The members of the Śaiva school of *Kālamukha* seem to have enjoyed considerable local fame. They were originally established at *Baḷagāṁve*, where a quarter of the town was called after them the *Kālamukha* *Brahmachārin* quarter.³ The numerous records at *Baḷagāṁve*,⁴ together with the present inscription, the Gadag inscription mentioned above, and another Gadag inscription of the time of *Vira-Ballāḷa* II.,⁵ furnish the following line of *āchāryas*,⁶ all of whom

¹ The date is expressed both in words and in figures.

² Arden, *Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, p. 1, [and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198 note 13].

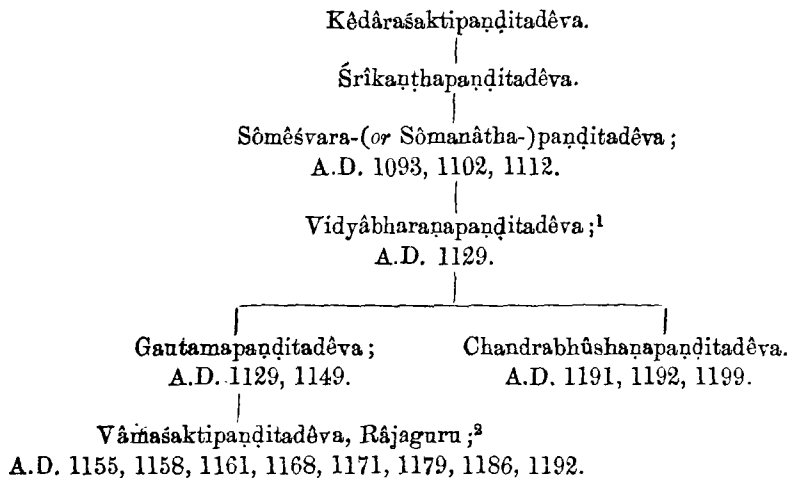
³ *Mysore Inscr.* p. 147, [and above, Vol. V. pp. 220 to 226].

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 74, 77 ff., 80 f., 85 f., 87, 91, 92, 95 f., 99, 101 f., 105 f., 111, 160, 174.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 155 f. The last two inscriptions record grants in favour of the same temple as the present one.

⁶ Another branch of the lineage of *Kālamukha Chakravartimuni* at *Baḷagāṁve* is mentioned *loc. cit.* p. 172,

from Sômesvara onwards, with exception, of course, of Chandrabhûshana, were in the service of the temple of Dakshina-Kêdârêsvara at Baḷagâmve :



Lines 46 ff. contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, and the inscription ends with the statement that, by order of king Ballâladêva, the *śâsana* was composed by Agniśarman, an emperor among the learned.

The date of our inscription corresponds, as shown by Prof. Kielhorn, to **Saturday, the 21st November A.D. 1192**, when there was a lunar eclipse visible in India, commencing 0 h. 18 m. before mean sunrise.

Of the localities mentioned, **Kratuka** is the modern Gadag itself; **Lokkiguṇḍi**, the modern Lakkunḍi, 5 miles east-south-east of Gadag; and the village of **Hombâḷalu**, the modern Hombal, 7½ miles north-west of Gadag.

TEXT.³

- 1 Svasti ◎ Trailôkyam pâlyatê yêna sadayam sat[t*]va-vṛittinâ | sa dêvô Yadu-śârdûlâḥ Śrî-patiḥ śrêyasê stu vaḥ || [1*]
- 2 Dêvaḥ samasta-sâmanta-mastaka-nyasta-śâsanah | â-chamdr-ârkkam nṛipah pâyâd-bhuvam=ambhōdhi-mêkhalâm || [2*]
- 3 Âst=kshitan kshatriya-puṁgavânâm⁴ śirô-maṇiḥ śrî-Yadu-nâmadhêyah | yad-anvavâyê sa Harir=dhdha(ddha)ritrî-bhâr-âvatâr-ârttham=ajô=pi jâtaḥ || [3*] Tad-anvavâyê
- 4 bahavô babhûvur=bhbhu(bbhu)j-ôdbhavâ viśruta-kîrtti-bhâjaḥ | ady=âpi lôkê charit-âdbhutâni yêshâm purâṇêshu paṭhamti samtaḥ || [4*] Kâla-kramêṇ=âtha babhûva kaśchin=mahî-
- 5 patis=tatra Saḷ-âbbidhânah | kulasya kṛtvâ vyapadêsam=anyam vismâritô yêna Yadus=tad-âdyah || [5*] Kên=âpi bra(vra)ti-patinâ sva-dêvakâryyê śârdûlâm grasitum=upâgatam ni-
- 6 hamtum | âdishtaḥ Śaśakapurê sa hoy=Saḷ=êti prâpat=tam kila vinihatya Hoysaḷ-âkhyâm || [6*] Tataḥ-prabhṛiti tad-vamê pravṛittam Hoysaḷ-âkhyayâ | śârdûlâś=cha dhvaja-

¹ Vidyâbharana is once called the younger brother of Sômesvara; *ibid.* p. 91.

² A pupil of Vâmasakti was probably Svâmidêva or Sâvidêva, of whom in an inscription at Baḷagâmve dated in A.D. 1181 it is said that 'his head was marked by the lotus hands of the excellent *muni* Vâmasaktiśa, the Śiva seer;' compare *ibid.* p. 119.

³ From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

⁴ The second *anuvâra* of this word has been drawn out by the engraver into an ornamental figure.

- 7 sy=âsîd=amkaha śatru-bhayaṁkaraḥ || [7*] Aparēṣhu cha tad-rājyaṁ bhuktavatsv=
atha rājasa | **Vinayāditya** ity=âsîd=kramaśaḥ prithivīpatih || [8*] **Ereyaṁg-**
ābhidhānō śbhūn=nṛipati-
- 8 s=tasya ch=ātmajaḥ | guṇair=ananya-sāmānyaiḥ prakhyātaḥ prithivī-talē || [9*]
Atha tasy=āpi **Ballāla-Vishṇuvarddhana-nāmakau** | abhūtām=ātmajanmānāv=
Udayāditya-
- 9 paśchimaṁ || [10*] Tējasvinaṁ bhūta-hita-pravṛttau lōka-pūjitau | yāv=abhāsayatām
viśvaṁ sūryyā-chāndramasāv=iva || [11*] Raṇa-śirasi yēna balinā gajapatim=
ākramya nija-turamgēṇa [1*]
- 10 viṇipātya **Jagaddēvaṁ** sapt-ā[m*]gaṁ tasya ch=āpahṛitam || [12*] Tat=āgrajē
nijam rājyaṁ=upabhuktavati kramāt | anujō=pi chiram rājyaṁ bubhujē
Vishṇuvarddhana(rddha)naḥ || [13*] Yō dēśam=agrahā-
- 11 rikṛitya samastam nijam sva-rājy-ārttham | āchakrām=Ōchchaṁgi-prabhṛitin=anyān=
dvishad-dēśān || [14*] Ārabhya nija-nivāsād=Beḷvola-paryyamtam=akhiḷam=api
vishayam | ākramya
- 12 yēna dhautam turaga-vapuḥ **Krishnavērnṇāyām** || [15*] Yaḥ smāryyatē niyuktaiḥ
pratyupachāram nṛipēshv=asādhyatayā | **Paramarddidēva-nṛipatēr=Hoysalam=ava-**
- 13 dhāray=ēti muhuḥ || [16*] Yēn=āgrahārāḥ kratavō mahā¹dānāni shōḍaśa |
anyāny=api cha puṇyāni paunaḥpuṇyēna chakrinē || [17*] **Narasimha** iti
khyātō jāta-
- 14 s=tasy=ātmajo nṛipaḥ | yasya varṇṇayitum n=aiva śakyaṁtē mādrisair=gguṇāḥ
|| [18*] Tasya Śrīr=iva Daity-ārēḥ Śāṁkarasy=ēva Pārsvatī | āsīd=**Echaladēv=**
īti mahā-dēvi kul-ōdgatā || [19*]
- 15 ☉ Tēn=āpi tasyām=atula-prabhāvō Vajrēśvar-ārādhana-labdha-rājyaḥ | jātaḥ suṭō
dōr-vva(bba)ḷa-chakravartī śrī-**Vira-Ballāla** iti prasidhdha(ddha)ḥ || [20*]
Mādhyasthyēn=ōnnatyā kāmchana-
- 16 vibhāvēna vibudha-sēvyatayā | yō jaṁgama iva Mēruṁ=mmahābhṛitām=agrapr=
jjagati || [21*] Śīm-ātikrama-bhīrōr=atigambhirasya vipula-sat[t*]vasya |
ratnā-
- 17 karasya yasya cha na kō=pi lakshmīvatōr=bhbbhē(bbhē)daḥ || [22*] Charitam
Bharat-ādīnām=api bhuvanē tāvad=ēva bōdya(dhya)m=iha | lōk-ōttarā na
yāvad=drīśyantē yasya sādhu-gu-
- 18 nāḥ || [23*] Vishṇuṁ nisargga-sidhdhā(ddhā)m bhaktim¹ yasy=ādya paśyatām
pumśam | Prahrād-ādi-kathā api na vismayāya prakalpantē || [24*] Tan=na
tapas=tan=n=ēśhtam tan=na hutam tan=na dānam=ast=iha | a-
- 19 sakrin=na yēna vihitam dēśē kālē cha [pā]trē cha || [25*] Strīshv=arbbhba-
(rbbha)kēshu sūdrēshv=anyēshv=api yēshu kēshuchij=jagati | sō ssti na
janō vidhattē yaḥ pāpam yatra śāsitarī || [26*] Shaṭ-tarkka-
- 20 kāvya-nāṭaka-Vātsyāyana-Bharata-rājanītiṣhu cha | anyēshu tēshu tēshu cha
śāstrēshv=akhiḷēshu yaḥ kuśalaḥ || [27*] Sarvvēshu darśanēshu cha bhūvi
tārkkika-chakravartinō
- 21 yasya | n=aiv=āsti prativādī vādi-mada-dvirada-kēsariṇaḥ || [28*] Sarvv-āyudh-
ājīva-puraḥsarēṇa samasta-vidvaj-jana-vallabhōna | śāstrāṇi śāstrāṇi cha yēna
lōkē sa-
- 22 nāthātām=adya chirād=gatāni || [29*] Yan-nāmadhēyam=api viśva-[vi]lāsinīnām
lōkē vaśīkaraṇa-karmmaṇi sidhdha(ddha)mantraḥ | tasya pragalbha-vanītā-
kusumāyudhasya

¹ Originally *bhaktiḥ* had been engraved, but the lower dot of the *nisarga* seems to have been effaced.

- 23 saubhāgya-varṇana-vidhan katamaḥ samartthaḥ || [30*] Vishvag-vāji-khura-prahāra-
dalita-kshôpi-tala-prôchchaladh-dhûlî-dhvānta-nimlîl-âkhiḷa-diśi¹ dvandva-
pradôsh-âgamê | dût=i-
- 24 v=âtîpatîyasî muhur=iha svas-sundaribhiḥ samam virâṇam=abhisâraṇam vitanutê
yat-khadga-yashtîr=dvishâm || [31*] Śasvad=yat-sama-âvatâra-pisunêshv=
âhanyamâ-
- 25 nêshv=itas=tûryyêshu sva-pati-praṇâsa-chakitâḥ kshubhyanty=arâti-striyaḥ | apy=
êtâḥ subhaṭa-svayamvara-kritê mamdâra-mâlâm=itô hastâbhyâm parigrihya nâka-
- 26 vanitâḥ sajjîbhavyantî=ambarê || [32*] Yasmin=Hoysala-bhûmipâla-dharaṇî-sâmrâjya-
simhâsanâd=ârûḍhê sati matta-vârânapatêr=yyudhdhâ(ddhâ)ya pûrvv-âsanam |
sadya[h*] sva-
- 27 sva-kula-kram-âgata-mahi-sâmrâjya-simhâsanât=pratyartthi-kshitipâlakair=api ranê
valmîkam=ârûhyatê² || [33*] Yasmin=dig-vijay-ârttham=udyatahati prasthâna-
bhêrî-ravê
- 28 gambhîrê sphuṭam=uchcharaty=avanibhritsv=anyêshu vârtt=aiva kâ [*] dûrâd=
Amga-Kalînga-Vamga-Magadhâs=Chôlâs=tathâ Mâlavâḥ Pâmḍyâḥ Kêraḷa-Gûrjjara-
prabhritayô=py=ujjhanti sadyô dhri-
- 29 tim || [34*] Nyakkârêṇa pituḥ śriyam Kalachuri-kshatr-ânvayât=karshatâ yêṇ=
aikêṇa hi tûbarêṇa karîṇâ shashtîr=jjitâ dantinâm | tam cha Brahma-
chamûpatim gaja-ghaṭ-â-
- 30 vashtabha-sainyam hathâd=yêṇ=âsvair=api kêvalair=bhhu(bbhu)ja-bri(bhri)tâ
nirjjitya râjyam hritam || [35*] Uchchidya Jaitrasimham dakshipam=iva
tasya Bhillamasya bhujam | virêṇa yêṇa labdham Kuntala-dêś-âdhi-
- 31 patyam=api || [36*] © Sa cha samastabhuvanâsraya-śrîpithivîvallabha-
mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-Dvârâvatî p u r a v a r â d h i ś v a r a -
Yâdavakulâmbaradyu-
- 32 maṇi-samyaktvachûḍâmaṇi-malaparolgamda-kadanaprachamda-asahâyaśûra-êkâṅga v i r a -
sanivârasidhdhi(ddhi)-giridurggamalla-chaladamkaRâma-ity-âdi-samasta-prasasta-n â m -
âvalî-vi-
- 33 râjamâna[h*] śrîmat-pratâpachakravartî-śrî-Vira-Ballâḷa-dêvô Lokkigumḍi-nivêśita-
vijayaskamdhâvâraḥ || © Asti Svayambhûḥ Kratuk-âbbidhânê grâmê
Trikûtêśvara-
- 34 nâmadhêyaḥ [*] Śivaḥ samasta-kshitipâla-manî-maṇi-prabhâ-ranîjita-ramya-pîṭhaḥ
|| [37*] Tasya sthân-âchâryyaḥ Kâlamukh-âchâryya-sammati-prabhavaḥ |
Sidhdhâm(ddhâm)tichamdrabhûshapam-
- 35 dîta-dêv-âbbidhâ ssti munîḥ || [38*] Tam Trikutêśvaram dêvam limḡais=taiḥ
sthâvarais=tribhiḥ | jaṅgamêṇa samam yêṇa chatuḥkûtêśvaram³ viduḥ || [39*]
Satata-śarîr-ârdhdha(rddha)-sthita-Gaurî-bhriśa-saṅgamâ-
- 36 d=vadhûshv=adya | Śiva iva virajyamânô yô bhâti brahmacharyyasthaḥ || [40*]
Yas=cha || Kula-sailêshu chalatsv=api maryyâdâm=atipatatsu simdhushu cha |
satyam na Satyavâkya-dvitiya-
- 37 nâmâ parityajati || [41*] Anyatra kâbya(vya)-nâṭaka-Vâtsyâyana-Bharata-râjanîty-
âdau | [n=ai]va kathâ-sidhdhâ(ddhâ)ntêshv=akhiḷêshv=api yasya n=âsti samah
|| [42*] Yêṇa cha || Âdriyêta kadâ-

¹ Read -prôchchaladh-dhûlî-; compare *Kathâsaritsâgara*, 101, 291: gulpha-daghn-ôchchhalad-dhûlân (*kârdgrîhê*).

² Compare Mr. Rice's *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part II p. 206, line 7, and, as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 69, l. 18.

³ Read *chatushkê*.

- 38 chid=visrāmō vāridhau tarāṅgāṇām | na tv=ēva kṛipā-bhājā pradiyamānē śśnatām
sat[t*]rē || [43*] Annēn=aiva na kēvalam=api tu suvarṇṇ-aushadh-āmbu-
vastr-ādyaiḥ | antō n=āsti ja-
- 39 nānām nīrantarām tarpyamāṇāṇām || [44*] Yēna ch=ātra sthānē || Udhdhṛi-
(ddhṛi)tya jīrṇam=akhilam nirmāya cha nūtana[m] puram ramyam |
dēv-āntikam=āntā vēśyā-vīthī sthitā parataḥ || [45*]
- 40 Amṛit-ōpama-pāṇīya-pūrṇā pushkarāṇī¹ kṛitā | vanam cha Nandana-[sām]yam nānā-
pushpa-latā-vṛitam || [46*] Kim jalpitēna bahunā grāva-prākāra-vaḥaya-bāhyam=i-
41 ha | yad=yat=samasti tat=tat=samastam=api tasya nirmāṇam || [47*] © Tasya
bhagavataś=charāchāra-gurōḥ śrī-Svayāmbhū-Trikūṭēśvara-dēvasy=āṅga-raṅga-bhōga-
khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jīrṇ-ōdhdhā(ddhā)-
- 42 r-ādy-arttham vidyā-dān-arttha[m] tapōdhana-brāhmaṇ-ādi-bhōjan-ādy-arttha[m] cha
Belvola-trisat-āntarggata-Hombālalu-nāmadhēya-grāmam pūrvva-prasidhha(ddha)-
sīmā-samanvitaṁ nidhi-nikshēpa-
- 43 jāla-pāshāṇ-ārām-ādi-sahitaṁ tribhōg-ābhya[m]taram=asṭabhōga-tējaḥ-svāmīya-yuktaṁ
śulka-damḍ-ādi-sakala-dravy-ōpārjjan-ōpētām Śakanṛipakāl-ātita-samvatsara-śa-
- 44 tēshu chaturddas-ādhikēshv-ēkādaśasu amkatō=pi 1114 varttamāna-
Paridhāvi-samvatsar-āntarggata-Mārggaśirsha-paurṇamāsyām Śanaishchara-
vārē sōma-grahāṇē tasya Kālamukh-ā-
- 45 chāryya-Sōmēśvaradēva-prāśishyasya Vidyābharaṇadēva-śishyasya Satyavāky-āpara-
nāmadhēyasya śrīmad-āchāryya-Sidhdhā(ddhā)ntichamdrabhūshaṇapamḍitadēvasya
pāda-prakshā-
- 46 lana[m] kṛitvā rājñā rājakīyair=apy=anamguliprēkshaṇīyam sarvvanamasyam kṛitvā
dhārā-pūrvvakam bhaktyā dattavān || © Asya cha dharmmasya samrakshaṇē
phalam=ida-
- 47 m=udāharanti sma tapō-mahima-sākshātkṛita-dharmma-sthitayō Manv-ādayō mah-
arshayaḥ || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya
- 48 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Ganyantē pāmsavō bhūmēr-
gganyantē vṛishṭi-bimḍavaḥ | na ganyatē Vidhāt=āpi dharmma-samrakshaṇē
phalam || Apaha-
- 49 rataḥ samarthasy=āpy=udāsīnasya tair=ēva viparitam=api phalam=udāhṛitam || Sva-
dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdhārām | shashṭīm varsha-sahasrāpi
vishṭhā-
- 50 yām jāyatē kṛimih || Para-dattām tu yō bhūmim=upahimsēt=kadāchana | sa
badhdhō(ddhō) vāruṇaiḥ pāśaiḥ kshipyatē pūya-sōṇitē || Kulāni tārayēt=karttā
- 51 sapta sapta cha sapta cha | adhō śdhaḥ pātayēt=dharttā sapta sapta cha
sapta cha || Api Gaṅg-ādi-tīrtthēshu hantur=ggām=atha vā dvijam | nishkṛitiḥ
syān=na dēvasya-brahmasva-hara-
- 52 nē nṛṇām || Viṇḍhy-ātavīshv=atōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-śāyinaḥ [*] kṛishṇa-sarppā
hi jāyamitē dēva-dravy-āpahārakāḥ || Karmaṇā manasā vāchā yaḥ
- 53 samarthō=py=upēkshatē | sa syāt=tad=aiva chaṇḍāla[h*] sarvva-karma-
bahishkṛitaḥ || Ata ēv=āha Rāmachandraḥ || Sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=
nṛipāṇām kālē kālē
- 54 pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārtti(rtthi)v-ēmdrān=bhūyō bhūyō
yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ || Mad-vamśajāḥ para-mahīpa-
- 55 ti-vamśajā vā pāpād=apēta-manasō bhuvi bhāvi-bhūpāḥ | yē pālayanti mama
dharmmam=imam samagram tēshām mayā virachitō smjalir=ēsha
- 56 mūrdhni || © Ballāḍadēva-nṛipatēr=ādēsād=Agnīśarmmaṇā rachitā | śāsana-
padhdha(ddha)tir=ēshā sārvasvata-sārvvabhaumēna(ṇa) ||

¹ Read *pushkarīṇī*; but compare Pāli *pokkharāṇī*.

No. 11.—NILGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.;
A.D. 866.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. And I edit it from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887. I edit it, partly because it is interesting in itself, and partly because it is closely connected with the Sirûr inscription, of the same date, of which a version has been given by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215 ff. A revised version of the latter record will be given shortly, in the course of some papers which will illustrate the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.¹ And it is convenient to publish the Nilgund record first, because, as far as the words *Annigereyol=ire* in line 22, it was based on the same draft on which was based the same part of the Sirûr record, and, though on the one hand parts of it could hardly have been deciphered without the help of the Sirûr record, on the other hand it supplies a few *aksharas* which are illegible in the Sirûr record and could not be supplied from any other source.

Nilgund is a village about twelve miles S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag taluka of the Dhârwar district. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) as 'Neelgoond.' The modern form of the name is carried back to A.D. 1379 by the Dambal grant of that year, which mentions the place, in Nâgarî characters and in a Sanskrit verse, as Nilagunda.² The present record gives its name in the older form of Nirgunda;³ the purport of it places Nirgunda in a circle of villages known as the Mulgunda twelve, which, again, it places in the Belvola three-hundred district; and Mulgunda, from which the circle took its name, is, of course, the modern Mulgund, about two miles on the south-east of Nilgund. The inscription is on a stone tablet which was found standing in front of the house of Aṅgaḍi-Râchappa, in the village of Nilgund.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, of which the principal ones are the goddess Lakshmi, squatting and facing full-front, with an elephant, on each side, standing towards her: the tips of the trunks of the elephants, which are uplifted, meet above her head, and each of them holds something which may be either a flower or a water-pot or some sacred symbol; and above them, and perhaps supported by them, there is a smaller image, representing probably Vishnu, squatting and facing full-front. Below the figure of Lakshmi, there is a *svastika*. On the proper right of the latter, there are a cow and a calf; and on the proper left, two objects which, in the sketch submitted to me, look like a thick-set bush and a flowering plant, each in a tub or stand.—The writing covers an area about 3' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 5' 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. Lines 1 to 15 are in a state of fairly good preservation. Lines 16 to 25 have suffered a great deal of damage; and there are many syllables here, in addition to those which I have placed in square brackets, which could hardly have been deciphered with any certainty, if at all, without the help of the Sirûr inscription. Lines 26 to 35, also, are considerably damaged, but not to the same extent.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. They are of a good antique square and upright style, presenting an appearance much older than that of the characters of the Sirûr inscription, of the same date, of which a collotype will be published hereafter. And the size of them ranges from about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in the *ya* of *traya*, line 12, to about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

¹ See a remark made on page 74 above.

² *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 357, text line 129.

³ The dental *nd* can be recognised clearly in the impression, both in *Nirggundada*, line 26, and in *Mulgunda*, line 2; and it is, of course, exactly what we should expect. The Nilgund inscription of A. D. 982, however, for some reason or other gives the name as Nirgunda, with the lingual *nd* (above, Vol. IV. p. 206, text line 20).

in the *la* of *Kulappayyaṃ*, line 22. Only the first part of the ink-impression, containing lines 1 to 13, is suitable for reproduction; and here the largest *akshara* seems to be the *kā* of *kānt-ēndu*, line 3, which is about $2\frac{1}{8}$ " high. The record uses final forms of *t* in line 16, of *n* in lines 28 and 33, of *r* in line 27, and of *l* in lines 25 and 27 (twice). And it marks, in the usual way, the difference between the lingual *ḍ* and the dental *ḍ*; this can be recognised in the *ḍā* of *Gauḍān*, line 6, though the *akshara* is somewhat damaged. As regards palæography, the record, which belongs to the transitional period, favours the older rather than the later types, not only in general style, but also in details. The *kh* occurs twice: in *likhitaṃ*, line 35, it is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to decide whether we have there an old square *kh* rather loosely formed, or a later cursive *kh*; but in the *kha* of *śaṃkha*, line 12, No. 14, we have clearly the later cursive character. The *j* is damaged and undeterminable in *vijaya*, line 19, and *rājyābhivṛiddhi*, line 20; but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *j*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 19 and 20: in the lithograph, the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *ja* of *dhirāja*, line 9, No. 22. The *ñ* occurs three times, in *ōttuṅga*, line 13 (the last *akshara* but one), and *Nṛipatuṅga*, line 17, and *sainvatsaraṅgaḥ*, line 19-20: in each instance, it is damaged and not determinable with certainty; but such marks as are recognisable, indicate that in each case it follows the usual rule which connects it with the *j*, and is of the old square type, with the closed form. The *b* is damaged and undeterminable in *baraṃ*, line 17, and *bbrāhmaṇarumaṃ*, line 29; but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *b*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 17 and 29: the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *bdha* of *labdha*, line 3, No. 24. The *l* is damaged and undeterminable in *Lattalūra*, line 16, *Lakshmivallabhendra*, line 17, *salutt-ire* and *kālātita*, line 18, *salutt-ire*, line 20, *Kulappayyaṃ*, line 24, *kālaṃ*, line 26, and *kālē-kālē pālānīyō*, line 34: in the *li* of *maṇḍalikarkkaḷā*, line 10, No. 23, and in the *lā* of *lāṅchanam*, line 16, we have the later cursive *l*, and so also in the upper *l* in *vallabhō*, line 5, *ella*, line 12, and *kallaṃ*, line 35; but in every other instance we have unmistakably the old square *l*, and the intended form of it is illustrated very well by the *la* of *alamkṛitaṃ*, line 3, No. 20; the formation of it here exhibits, though not to a very marked extent, the prolongation, with a sweep to the right, of the downstroke that makes the end of the letter, which (as will be shewn more clearly hereafter) had been the first step in the development of the later cursive type from the old square type.—As regards the language, we have Sanskrit ordinary verses in lines 1 to 8, and Sanskrit benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 30 to 35, with, among them, a verse in praise of the god Vishṇu which seems rather out of place there; the remainder of the record is in Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record uses two words which are not included in dictionaries; namely, in line 10, *prātirāja*, employed in the sense of *pratirāja*, 'a hostile king';¹ and in line 24, *rājaśrāvita*, for which the best translation seems to be 'a royal decree.'² In *Vāraṇāsiyul*, line 27, we have the locative ending *ul*, which, in genuine records, is of sufficiently rare occurrence, as compared with the endings *ol* and *al*, to be

¹ See above, Vol. III. p. 104. I owe this reference to Prof. Kielhorn.

² The word *rāja-śrāvita*,—or *rājā-śrāvita*, as sometimes written, and perhaps in the present record, but wrongly,—means, literally, 'caused to be heard by the king, spoken by the king.' It has been met with before, in an inscription of the period A.D. 680 to 696 at Baḷagāmi, where we have *rāja-śrāvitaṃ=ḍge*, "on a royal decree being (issued)," i.e. "under or in accordance with a royal decree" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 145, text line 11-12), and in an inscription of the period A.D. 733 to 747 at Aihole, where we have *rājā(ja)-śrāvitaṃ mahādjanam naka(ga)ra-śrāvitaṃ*, "a decree by the king, a decree by the *Mahādjanas* and (the people of) the city" (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 286, text line 4-5; it may be noted here that, at the end of line 5 of this record, the correct reading is *Vāraṇāsiol*, for *Vāraṇāsiyo!*).—The Ādūr inscription helps to illustrate the term, by giving us [*vi*]śrāvya, "having caused to be heard everywhere, having made proclamation" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 69, text line 7-8).—We have the same erroneous lengthening of the *a* of *rāja* in *rājā(ja)-rakshitaṃ dharma*, "a religious grant protected by the king," in the Belūr inscription of A.D. 1021 or 1022 (*id.* Vol. XVIII. p. 274, text line 37).

worth noting.¹—As regards **orthography**, the only points that present themselves are (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in the word *śrīṣṭi*, lines 12 and 33, though everywhere else the vowel seems to be used correctly; and (2) the occasional omission to double a consonant after *r*, in the second *jayati*, line 1, in *Gūjarāmś*, line 6, in *ārtham*, line 25, in *brahma-svām*, line 31, and in *nṛipānām*, line 34.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amôghavarsha I., who was on the throne from A.D. 814 or 815 to A.D. 877 or 878. It mentions him by also the *birudas* of **Atiśayadhavala**, **Lakshmivallabhendra**,² and **Nṛipatuṅga**. His proper name is not yet known. But, from the way in which his sovereignty is likened to the sovereignty of the god Viṣṇu, and from the attribution to him, in that passage, of the *biruda* Lakshmivallabhendra or “chief among the husbands or favourites of Lakshmi or Fortune,” and of the epithet *surāsuramardana* or “subduer of gods and demons,” which would hardly be appropriate in any ordinary description of a king, it seems likely that his name either was Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, or else was a name beginning with the word Viṣṇu. It mentions an officer of his, named **Dēvaṇṇayya**, who,—residing at **Annigere**,³ which is the modern Anṇigere

¹ The following other instances, the dates of which are known or can be fixed approximately, may usefully be put together here, from genuine records, and from others for questioning which there are no *prima-facie* grounds. *Vāranaśivaduḥ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 145, line 13; at Balagāmi; of the period A.D. 680 to 696; and, in line 15 of the same record, *elpattaruḥam*, in which we have the copulative or emphatic ending *am* after the *uḥ*. *Tīmgaḥuḥ*, *pūṇṇamāsaduḥ*, *viṣṇupaduḥ*, *gāṇaduḥ*, and *Vāranaśiyuḥ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, lines 2 to 5; at Aihole; A.D. 708. *Ūruḥ* and *okkaluḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. My. 55; at Varuṇa; A.D. 765 to 805. *Okkaluḥ* again; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 93; at Matakere; about A.D. 783. *Ma(?)māvindilaḥuḥ* and *nāyakaḥuḥ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 39, No. 2, lines 6, 8; at Gūlgānpode; A.D. 850 to 900, or somewhere thereabouts. *Pathaduḥ*, *besaduḥ*, and *kōṭeyuḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Nj. 75; at Husukūru; A.D. 870-71. *Nāḍinuḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 103; at Kattēmanuganaballi; A.D. 870-71 to about A.D. 903. *Nāḍuḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Nj. 134; at Nandigundā; A.D. 1021; and further on in this record we seem to have a very exceptional locative, *baḍagalaḥu* or *baḍagalaḥ*.—We can now recognise *uḥle*, as a development of the *uḥ*-ending, in *Maṅgaluḥle*, “at (the village of) Maṅgal,” in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 103, line 8; at Mahākūṭa; A.D. 696 to 733-34. And we have the same ending presented in *saṅghaduḥle* and *Kaḷvappinuḥle*, in *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* Nos. 31, 34; date not yet fixed.

² See page 106 below, note 2.

³ This name occurs in line 22 of the text. In other ancient records, as far as they have come under my notice, it is always written with the lingual *ṇṇ*,—Anṇigere, and the vowel is sometimes marked long,—Anṇigēre. A half-Sanskritised form, in which *taḍḍaka* is substituted for *kere*, occurs in a verse in a record of not long after A.D. 1176 (*Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 42): the transcription gives there, also, the lingual *ṇṇ*; and the metre marks the vowel as short,—Anṇitaḍḍaka. Whatever may be the explanation of the use of the dental *nn* in the present record and in the Sirūr inscription, we may take it as tolerably certain that the more correct form of the name was always that with the lingual *ṇṇ*. The vowel, no doubt, was liable to be used either short or long.—As regards the etymology, the first component of the name may be a proper name; or it may be a variant of *anne* (1), ‘excellence, purity,’ or of *anne* (3), = *ḍṇi* (3), which occurs in *ḍṇikallu*, ‘a hailstone,’ and (see, particularly under *ḍi*, 1) may perhaps mean ‘water, cloud, or rain;’ or it may quite possibly stand for *hanṇi*, ‘the sunflower,’ which we have in the name *Haṇṇikeri* (see further on in this note), on the analogy of *ḍḍu* for *hōgu* (above, Vol. V. p. 262). With the dental *nn*, there does not seem to be any word *anni*; and the words *anne* (1), (2), and (3), do not give any suitable meaning.—As regards the modern form, the compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, issued in 1878, certifies it as ‘Anṇigēri,’ with the lingual *ṇṇ* and the long *i*: but I feel tolerably certain that, in giving *gēri*, = *kēri*, ‘a street,’ instead of *gere*, = *kere*, ‘a tank,’ it does not even represent any correct modern custom outside official circles; for, to the best of my remembrance, the inhabitants of the town always pronounce the name as Anṇigere. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) has ‘Anigereee,’ which rather suggests that the writer was thinking of *giri*, ‘a hill.’ The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) has ‘Annehgeree,’ which suggests that the person who then took down the name, heard, correctly, *gere*. The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) has ‘Anṇigēri.’ And the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* uses that same form; e.g. pp. 389, 440, 650, 651.—In connection with the official certification of the modern name as ‘Anṇigēri,’ I may add the following remarks, which will be of use in respect of some other names also. In the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, there is a constant tendency to substitute *i* for the final *e* of nominal bases and verbal roots,—for instance, *mane*, ‘a house,’ will just as often, if not more frequently, be written *mani*, and *kare*, ‘to call,’ often becomes *kari*, for conjugational purposes; also, the old character *r* has passed out of use altogether; and the mark which distinguishes the long *i*, *ē*, and *ō*, is rarely, if ever, used in writing. The result is that a nondescript word *kēri* is

or Annigere, about twelve miles west of Gadag,— was governing the Belvola three-hundred district. And it mentions also a relative of Dēvaṇṇayya, probably named Kulappayya, who was governing the circle of villages known as the Mulgunda twelve. The object of it is to record an assignment of the tax on clarified butter or ghee. The assignment was made under

used to represent, indifferently, either *kere* (*keṛe*), 'a tank,' or *kēri*, 'a street;' and it is impossible to decide which it represents, as the final of a place-name, unless one can hear the name pronounced by a resident of the village itself, or can find it in an ancient record. In cases in which I have been unable to ascertain whether the real termination is *kere* or *kēri*, I have used that nondescript word *keri*, as a reminder to myself that the name has not been determined; and it is for that reason that I have written, for instance, Kattageri, Beṇḍigeri, and Hapṇikeri (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 448, note 1, 526, 556). There is, perhaps, more trouble with the words *kere* and *kēri* than in any other detail. But no one, who has not tried it in person, can realise how difficult it is to get at the really correct and undeniable spelling of many a place-name, unless some indication is derivable from an ancient record. My experience is that, among modern publications, the older sheets of the Indian Atlas, though by no means infallible, are in many respects the best guide, in spite of the want of any definite system in them, or rather, because no attempt was made in them to aim, in vain, at any uniformity of system on lines which, at that time, had hardly become definitely fixed even among scholars. The revised sheets are not so useful a guide, because in them (as also in the Bombay Survey sheets) the spelling is adapted to the modern official system. The chief features of this system are, the use of *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *u*, instead of *u*, *a*, *ee*, and *oo*, and the use of *d*, instead of *r*, for the lingual *ḍ*. It would be good enough, if it were in safe hands; that is to say, under the control of someone who could determine the exact correct spelling everywhere, and could enforce the uniform use of it. But it is not in such hands. It frequently gives the long *ā* where it ought to give the short *a*, and *vice versa*. It has a particularly weak point in failing to make any distinction between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*, which latter usually appears as *r* in the older sheets of the Indian Atlas. It has produced such monstrosities as 'Kānara' and 'Kānarese,'—(supposed to be critical forms),—instead of the purely conventional but thoroughly well established words Kanara and Kanarese. And, as specific instances of the failure of this system in official hands, we may quote, from the Bombay Survey sheet No. 272 (1891), Kanvad and Kutvad, which are given there instead of Kanvād and Kutvād, and Shirti instead of Shirhatti, and, from sheet No. 239 (1887), Bagni, instead of Bāgni (regarding these names, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIX. p. 278 and note 23, p. 276, and p. 277, note 17). The best way to determine the real name of a place, is, naturally, to make local inquiries in person. And it is, of course, the cultivators and the hereditary village-officials,—not the district officials and their clerks,—who can best furnish information as to the true names of their villages. But what they pronounce, has frequently to be written down by an ordinary clerk who takes no real interest in the matter. And that is where all the mistakes come in now, and, apparently, came in in earlier times also.—In illustration of the way in which the cultivators can help towards the identification of ancient places, we may refer to the case of Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur district. The cultivators call it Bāṅḍāḍikōṭe. This name is accounted for, though the exact form of it is not absolutely justified, by the fact that the ancient name of the place was Bāḡaḍageyakōṭe, Bāḡaḍigeyakōṭe (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 170). This name, adduced by the cultivators, first put me in the way of identifying Bāḡaḍage with Bāgalkōṭ. And, in addition to the epigraphic passage which I then quoted, I may now refer to a record of A.D. 1049 at Sirūr, eight miles on the south-east of Bāgalkōṭ, which mentions *Bāḡaḍagā-rājapatha*, "the highway to Bāḡaḍagā."—In illustration of the way in which the cultivators preserve the real names of places, we may take the case of a village close on the east of Gadag and incorporated with that town for municipal purposes. The name of it is certified in *Bombay Places* as 'Betḡeri;' and, I may add, in the Dhārwar volume of the *Gazetteer* it appears as 'Bettigeri' (pp. 712, 713), which illustrates very well the vagaries of official practice. But the cultivators call it Batḡere. And the ancient name occurs as Baṭṭakere in a record of A.D. 888. In this instance, it happens, the official mistake, of substituting *kēri* for *kere*, is carried back to A.D. 1379 by the Dambal grant, which mentions the place as Battageri (*loc. cit.* in note 2 on page 98 above, text line 125), evidently as the result of an ancient official failing to catch the name correctly; and it may be remarked that the same record also mentions as Kanjageri, in line 126, a neighbouring village, the name of which is found in a record of A.D. 933-34 as Kovujageri, or possibly Kovujamgere.—I would make, here, a correction in the name of a village in the Karajgi tāluka, at which some early Kadamba copper-plate grants were obtained (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 33 ff.). The name of it figures in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) as 'Dewgeeree,' and in the Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) as 'Deogeree,' and in the Postal Directory (1879) as 'Deogiri,' and in the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer* as 'Devḡiri' (p. 665). I was told that the cultivators call the place Dēvagere and Dēogere. But I was assured that that is a mistake, and that the real name is Dēvagiri. And I, therefore, gave the name as Dēvagiri in editing the grants in question, and elsewhere (*e.g.* above, Vol. V. p. 173). Subsequently, I was led to believe that the real name is Dēvagere; and I have used that form in, for instance, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 287. But I have since then found, from records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at the place itself, that the ancient name was Dēvaṇḡeri,—sometimes perhaps written Dēvagēri, without the *anusṭra* in the second syllable. I also notice that the Native gentleman, to whom I was indebted in the first instance for impressions of them, wrote the name, on the first of the impressions, as Dēvagiri in English characters (according to official custom),

the authority of a *rājāśrāvita* or royal decree¹ of Amôghavarsha I. And it was made to the hundred-and-twenty *Mahājanas* of **Nirgunda**,— doubtless in order to make the proceeds of the tax available for expenditure by them on communal purposes, instead of being credited to the royal revenues.²

The passages containing the details of the date are partly illegible. But enough can be deciphered to shew that the date of this record is the same as the date of the Sirûr record. The full details, then, are an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyaishtṥa of the Vyaya *samvatsara*, Śaka-Samvat 788, in the fifty-second year of the reign of Amôghavarsha I. And the corresponding English date is Sunday, 16th June, A.D. 866, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India, at 9 h. 4 min. after mean sunrise.³

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Ōm⁵ [||*] Jaya[t]i⁶ bhuvana-kāraṇam Svayambhur=jayati Purandara-nandanō
Murārīḥ jayati Giri-
- 2 [s]utā-niruddha-dēhō durita-bhay-āpaharō Haras=cha dēvaḥ [||*] Sa⁷ vō=vyād=
Vēdhasā dhāma yan-nā-
- 3 [bhi]-kamala[m] kṛitam Haras=cha yasya kânt-ēndu-kalayā kam=alamkṛitam [||*]
Labdha⁸-pratishṥṥam=achirāya
- 4 [Ka]li[m] su-dûrā(ra)m=utsāryya śuddha-charitō(tai)r=ddharanî-talasya kṛitvā
punah Kṛitayuga-śrī(śrī)yam=a-
- 5 [p]y=as[ē]shām chitram katham Nirupamaḥ Kalivallabhō=bhût [||*]
Prabhûtavarshō⁹ Gōvinda-rājā(jah)¹⁰ śauryyēshu
- 6 vikramaḥ¹¹ jitvā jagat=samastam yat=Jagattumga itil¹² śrutah [||*] Kēraḷa-¹³
Mālava-Gaudān¹⁴-sa-¹⁵Gûrjarā[m]ś=Chi-

but as Dēvagēri in the Mōḍi or current Marāṥṥi characters. And I entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call it, is, not Dēvagere (as reported to me), but Dēvagēri, and that this is the form that ought to be used for the future.

¹ See page 99 above, and note 2.

² See note 4 on page 107 below.

³ See Prof. Kielhorn's result in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 123, No. 59, and Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 198, No. 4939, and Plate 99.— The week-day is specified in the Sirûr record, but not here. — The Śaka year 788 has to be taken as the expired year: for, as pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn, by the mean-sign system the Vyaya *samvatsara* lasted from the 23rd September, A.D. 865 (in Ś.S. 788 current) to the 19th September, A.D. 866 (in Ś.S. 788 expired), and by the southern lunar-solar system Vyaya was Ś.S. 789 current (789 expired), = A.D. 866-67, — (as also by the northern system of the same kind).

⁴ From the ink-impression.

Represented by a plain symbol; and so also in lines 9 and 30.

⁵ Metre, Pushpitāgrā.

⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁶ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹⁰ The Sirûr inscription, line 3, has precisely the same reading, *Prabhûtavarshō Gōvinda-rājā*. The run of the metre would have been better suited by *Prabhûtavarsha-Gōvindō rājā*.

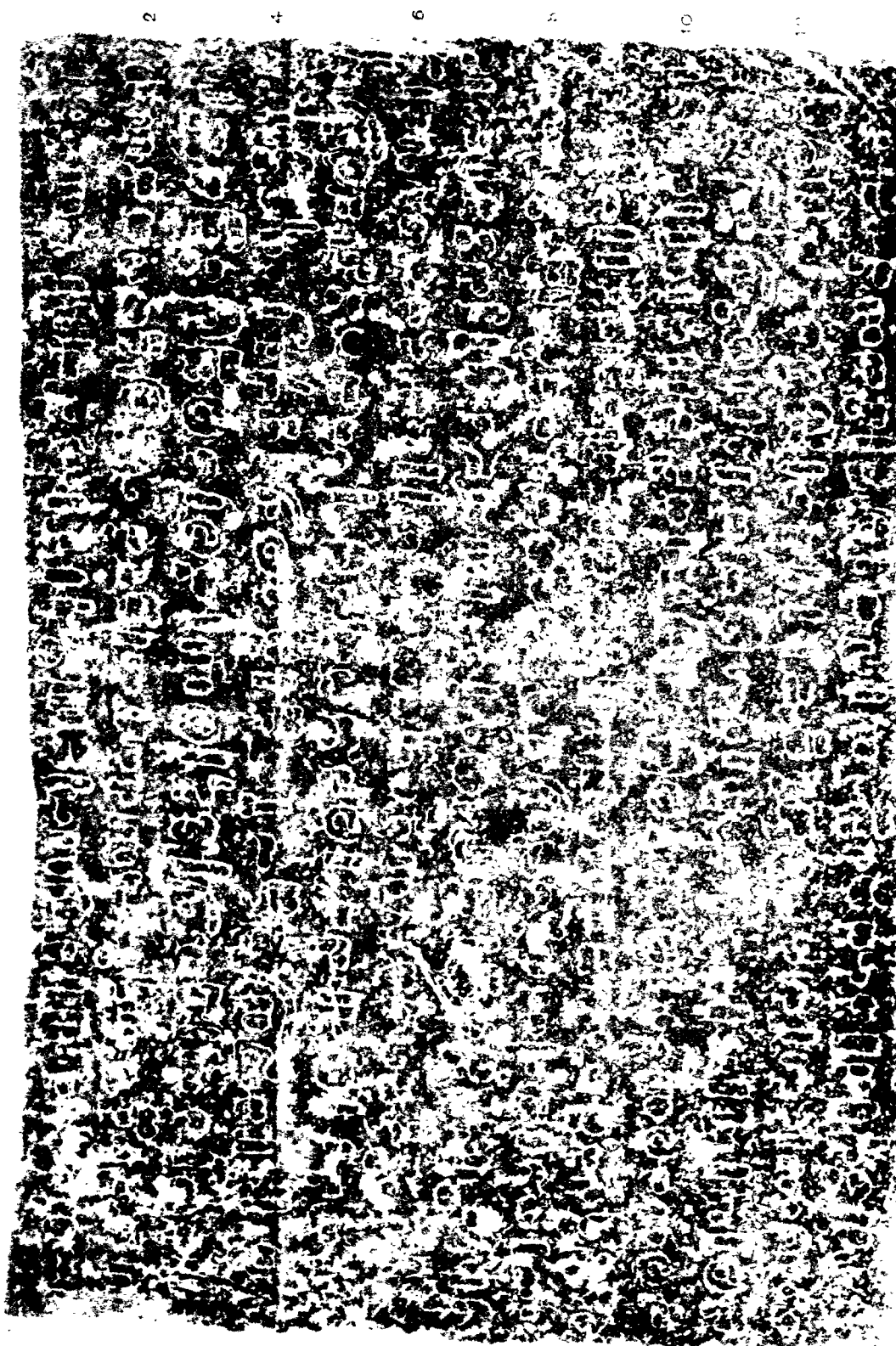
¹¹ Sirûr, line 3, has the same, *śauryyēshu vikramaḥ*; but the *ē* of the *ryyē* was omitted at first and then was added by way of correction. It would be difficult to make any sense of *śauryy-ēshu-vikramaḥ* 'having heroism-arrow-prowess'; and it can hardly be thought that *śauryyēshu Vikramaḥ*, "a very Vikrama in deeds of heroism," was intended. I can only suggest that the words are a mistake for *śauryyēna vikramaḥ*, or else that the text is altogether corrupt here.

¹² Read *yaj=Jagattumga*, which, however, in view of the past participle *jitvā*, must probably be treated as a mistake for *yō Jagattumga*. In Sirûr, line 4, the pronoun was omitted altogether and the reading is [*sama*]st[*am*] *Jagat*[*i*]¹³*umga*.

¹³ Metre; the first two *pādas* are Āryāgiti, and the last two are Āryā: or, we may say, the verse is an Āryāgiti, in the last *pāda* of which the metre of an Āryā has been followed. There is a mixture of metres again in the next verse.

¹⁴ Sirûr, line 4, has *Śautān*. In each record, the reading is quite distinct.

¹⁵ Sirûr, line 4, has *Gurjard*: it gives the short *a*, according to the undoubtedly more correct spelling of the name in the second syllable, it omits the *r*; and, — as the writer seems to have intended *Gurjardā* without *samāh*; with the following word, — it omits a final *a*.



W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE

SCALE .20

J. F. FLEET

- 7 **trakûṭa**-giridu[r]gga-sthân=ba[d*]dhvâ **Kāñch**-îśân=atha sa **Kirttinârâyaṇô**
jâṭaḥ¹ [||*] Ari²-nripati-makuṭa-ghaṭṭi-
- 8 ta-charaṇas=sakala-bhuvana-vandita-sauryyaḥ **Vaṃg-Âṃga-Magadha-Māḷava-Veṃg-**
îśê(śai)r=archchitô=**Tisayadhava**[lah] [||*]
- 9 **Om Svasti Śrî³** Samadhigatapañchamahâśabda-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭâraka
chatur-udadhi-
- 10 **valaya**-valayu(yi)ta⁴-sakala-dharâtala-prâtîrâjy⁵-ânêka-maṇḍalikarkkalâ **kaṭaka**-kaṭi-
sûtra-ku-
- 11 ṇḍala-kêyûra-hârâ[bha]raṇ-âḷamkṛita-gaṇika-sâhasra⁶-châmar-ândhakâr-â d h ô - d i r y y a -
viryyamâna⁷-śvi(śvê)-
- 12 t-âṭapatra-traya-kaḷaha-kâhaḷa⁸-śamkha-pâḷidhvaj-ôru⁹kêtu-patâk-âchchhâdita-d i g a n t a r -
ella sri(sri)sṭi-
- 13 **sênâpati** puravara-taḷavargga-daṇḍanâyaka-sâmant-âdy-ânêka¹⁰-vishay a - v i n â m [n]-¹¹
ôttu[n]ga-[ki]-
- 14 riṭa-makuṭa-ghṛisṭa-pâdâravinda-yugma nirjjita-v[ai]ri ripu-nivaha-Kâla-daṇḍa dushṭa-
mada-bha[m]janan¹²=a-
- 15 môgha-Râman para-chakra-pañchânanam sur-âsura-marddanam vairi-bhaya-[ka]ram
badd[e]-ma[nô]haram a[bh]imâna-
- 16 man[d]iram **Ratta**-vaṃś-ôdbhava[m] **Garuḍa**-lâñcha(ñchha)nam¹³ tiv[i]i-
pareghôshaṇa[m] **Lattalûra**-p[u]ra]-paramêśvara[m] śrîmat

¹ Sirûr, line 5, has *jigati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*.

² Metre; the first two *pâdas* are Âryâ, and the last two are Udgiti; or we may say, the verse is an Âryâ, in the last *pâda* of which the metre of an Udgiti has been followed.

³ Sirûr, line 6, omits the *Om* and the *Śrî*.

⁴ Sirûr, line 7, also has *yuta*.— Prof. Kielhorn has given me, from the *Dasakumâracharita*, the quotation *ratndkara-vêlâ-mêkhalâ-valayita-dharanî*, which suggests that the original source of the draft used in this record had *chatur-udadhi-vêlâ-valayita*, etc. Compare, in some respects, lines 1, 2 of the Bêgûr record (page 48 above).

⁵ Sirûr, line 8, also has *prâtîrâjy*.

⁶ Read *gaṇikâ-sahasra*.

⁷ Sirûr, line 9, has *ândhakâra-vêḍiyya-viyya-mâna*. The words *virya*, 'bravery, or heroism,' and *mâna*, 'pride,' seem altogether inappropriate in this passage. And I can only suggest that the intended reading was *ândhakâra-dôḍṭpyamâna*, or else that there may have been meant *dôḍṭhuyamâna*, "being waved to and fro like fans," which we have in line 47 of the Kādaba grant (above, Vol. IV. p. 342), applied, however, to *chauris*, not to white umbrellas.

⁸ Sirûr, line 9, omits this word, *kâhaḷa*.

⁹ The reading is quite distinct here. And it can be recognised, now, that in Sirûr, line 7, the writer or engraver first formed, instead of *ru*, the *k* of *kêtu*, and then, before attaching the *ê*, corrected the *k* into *r*, and then added the *u*. This disposes of the *ôkakêtu*, the "banner of a bird, or bird-ensign," which I thought was indicated by the Sirûr inscription.

¹⁰ Sirûr, line 10, has the same reading, *âdy-ânêka*. In each record, the reading is quite distinct. *Âdy-ânêka* would be more in accordance with custom. But the use of *âdya* instead of *âli* in such a combination, though somewhat unusual, is hardly to be treated as a mistake.

¹¹ In Sirûr, line 10-11, the reading is very clear,— *vishaya-vinâmn-ôttuṅga*, except that the *ri* of *vinâmn* is rather intermediate between *vi* and *dhi*. And the reading is equally certain here, though the subscript *n* of *vinâmn* is a good deal damaged. We might accept *vinâmn* as a mistake for the usual Sanskrit word *vinamra*, 'bent down,' etc., or for a word *vinamna* which might be justified by the use of *namna* by Kanarese authors as an equivalent of *namra*, 'bowing, bent,' etc. (see Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, under *namna* and *namni-kṛita*; and I think that I have met with either *namna*, *nâmnna*, *vinamna*, or *vinâmnna* in Kanarese records, though I cannot at present find the passages). But, as has been pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, no such word would give any suitable meaning here, and what is needed after *âdy-ânêka* is some expression meaning 'chief or ruler of a district.' I am inclined to think, therefore, that what was really intended was *vishay-âdhinâth-ôttuṅga*.

¹² From this point, the present record,— and the Sirûr inscription also,— pays more attention to the case-endings of the nominatives in *a*, which are disregarded altogether in the preceding part of this passage. Sirûr, line 11-12, has here a reading which indicates that there was intended there *bhañjanan amôgha*, without *samdhî*.

¹³ Sirûr, line 13, has the same mistake, *ñcha* for *ñchha*.

- 17 Amôghavarsha¹-Nṛipatu[n]ga-nâm-â[m]kita-[La]kshmiṣa[lla]bhêndra² chandr-
âditya-kâlam-[baram]³ [ma]hâ-Vishṇu[va] rājyaṁ-bol=uttar-ôttaram⁴
- 18 rājy-âbhi[vri]ddhi sa[l]utt-ire Śaka-nṛipa-kâ[l-â]tita-samvatsara-śata[m]ga[=êl]-n[ûr]-
enbhatt-enta[ne]ya Vyaya-[samva]tsara[m] pra-
- 19 [va]rttise [śri]ma[d-A]môghava[rsha]-Nṛi[pa]tu[m]ga-[nâm-âmkita]nâ vijaya-
râ[jya]-pravarddhamâna-samvatsa[ra]-
- 20 [n]ga[=ayva][tt-era]dum=uttar-ô[ttaram] [rājy-âbhivṛiddhi⁷ sa]l[u]tt-i[r]e
A[ti]śa[yadha]va[la]-narê[n]d[ra]-dê[va]⁸-prasâda[dind=A]-
- 21 môgha[varsha]-dêva-p[â]dapa[m]kaja-[bhra]mara[m] viśiṣṭa-ja[n-âśra]y a n = a] p p a
śrîmad-Dêvaṇṇayyaṁ Beḷvo[la]-
- 22 mûnûṛuman=â[uttum] Anni⁹geṛeyol=ire â[ta]na ma[y]du[nam] Kulappayya[m]¹⁰
Muḷgunda-pa-
- 23 nneraduman=â[utt-ire] ta[d-a]ntarggata¹¹-Jyêṣṭha¹²-mâsada kṛiṣṇa-pakshad-
amâseyu[m]¹³ sūryya-graha-
- 24 pamum=âgi¹⁴ Ku[lappa]yya[m]-binnapa[m]-g[e]yye Dêvaṇṇayya[m] Amôgha-
varshadêvarol rāja[Pjâ]-śrâ-
- 25 vitam-mâḍi tad-anuma[ta]dind=irvorum mâtâ[pi]tṛi¹⁵m-â[r]tham
[p]uṇyam=âg[iy=â] grahaṇado[l]
- 26 Nirggundada nûr-irppadimbarum mahâjanada kâ[la]m kaḷchi tuppa-dereya[m]
sa-bhōga-sâda(dha)-
- 27 kam-âgi bitto[r] [[*] Î dharmama[m] k]âdom Vâraṇâsiyu! sūryya-grahaṇado!
sâsira kavile-
- 28 yaṁ vêda-vidarkka[=appa] brâhmaṇarkkaḷge koṭṭa puṇya-phalaman=a(?e)yduvon idan=
aḷid-up[=â]vam
- 29 sâsira kavileyum¹⁶ sâsi[r]vvar=[bbr]âhmaṇarumam Vâraṇâ[s]iyuman=aḷida pañcha-
mahâpâka-

¹ Read *śrîmad-Amôghavarsha*. Sirûr, line 13, omits the *Amôghavarsha* here, and has *śrî-Nṛipatunga*.

² Sirûr, line 14, has the same reading, *vallabhêndra*. But the construction requires the genitive, *valla-bhêndra* or *vallabhêndra*.

³ Sirûr, line 14, has *chandr-âditya kâlam-varegam*. In the present record, there are only two *akṣaras* after *kâlam*, both much damaged. The first of them seems to be *ba*, rather than *va*. The second of them may be *ram*, in which case *baram* was written, quite correctly; or it may be *gam* in which case *bagam* was written by mistake for *baregam*.

⁴ Sirûr, line 14, divides the words, and has *rājyaṁ-bol uttar-ôttaram*.

⁵ The *akṣaras* given here in square brackets are supplied entirely from Sirûr, line 15. But there is no doubt about the correctness of them, as the name of the *samvatsara* is quite recognisable, and so also are the other details in line 23.

⁶ The preceding note applies here also.

⁷ Sirûr, line 17, gives *rājy-âbhivṛiddhi*; and the same seems to have been the reading here also. But we require in this place the instrumental *rājy-âbhivṛiddhiyîm*. The nominative seems to have been carelessly repeated from line 18 above, where it is quite correct.

⁸ Sirûr, line 17, omits the *dêva*.

⁹ Sirûr, line 19, makes *saṁdhi*, and has *â[uttum]=Anni*. As regards the *nni*, which is quite distinct here as well as in the Sirûr inscription, but is probably a mistake for *nni*, see page 100 above, note 3.

¹⁰ Both here, and in line 24, there seems to be the vowel *u* attached to the *k*. But the name may perhaps be *Kalappayya*, or even *Kâlappayya*.

¹¹ Read *tad-varsh-ântarggata*.

¹² Read *Jyêṣṭha*; or, more correctly, *Jyaisṭha*.

¹³ Sirûr, line 19, has *amaseyum*, with the short *a* in the second syllable. Either form is admissible. The week-day, which is specified in the Sirûr inscription, is omitted here.

¹⁴ Sirûr, line 19, has the infinitive form *dge*, instead of the past participle which we have here.

¹⁵ Three *akṣaras* are quite illegible in the ink-impression here. We should expect something like *śrîyô-dharm-ârtham*, *puṇy-âpyâyan-ârtham*, *puṇy-âbhivṛiddhy-ârtham*, etc.; but none of these expressions adapts itself to such traces as are discernible.

¹⁶ Read *kavileyuman*, since we have *brâhmaṇarumam* instead of *brâhmaṇarum*.

- 30 takan¹=akkum Ōm [||*] Vyâsa-vâkyam [||*] Sva²-da[ttâm] para-dattâ[m] vâ
yô harêti³ vasundharâm shashtim varsha-sahasrâ-
31 pi vishthâyâm j[â]yatê kṛimih [||*] [Dê]va-s[v]am visham=ity=[â]hur=brahma-
svam visham=[u]chyatê visham=êk[â]kinam hanti bra-
32 hma-sva[m] putra-pantrika[m] [||*] Brahma-svam prapayâd=bhuktvâ dahaty=
â-saptamam kulam v[i]kramêna [yê] bhôjyantê⁴ daśa pû-
33 rrvân=daś=âvarân [||*] Jayati [s]thiti-sa[m]hâra-sri(sri)shtikâra[na]-kâraṇa[m]
Harir=dditija-kânt-âsya-kuśê[śaya]-himâgama[h] [||*]
34 Sâmanyô⁵=yam dharmma-s[êt]ur=nripâ[nâm] kâlê-kâ[lê] pâlaniyô bhavadbhih
sarvvân=êtân=bhâvinah pârthivêndrân=[bhûyô]-
35 bhûyô yâchatê Râmaḥ[drah] [||*]⁶ bhaṭṭara
likhitam i kalam Nâgamuḍḍa(?)na(?)⁷ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōm!—(Verse 1; line 1). Victorious is Svayambhu (Brahman), the cause of the world; victorious is Murâri (Vishnu), the son of Purandara (Indra);⁸ and victorious is the god Hara (Śiva), whose body is imprisoned by (*the embraces of*) (Pârvatî) the daughter of the mountain (Himâlaya), and who removes sin and fear!—(V. 2; l. 2). May he (Vishnu) protect you, the water-lily (*growing*) in whose navel is made a habitation by Vêdhas (Brahman); and Hara, whose head is adorned by a lovely digit of the moon!

(V. 3; l. 3). Since, with his pure actions, he in no long time drove far away from the surface of the earth Kali who had secured a footing there, and made again complete even the splendour of the Kṛita age, it is wonderful how Nirupama-(Dhruva) became (*also known as*) Kalivallabha.⁹

(V. 4; l. 5). (*There was his son*)¹⁰ Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja (III.), who, having conquered the whole world by his heroism and deeds of prowess (?),¹¹ was known as Jagattuṅga. —(V. 5; l. 6). Having fettered the people of Kêraja and Mâlava and Gauḍa, and, together

¹ Read *pdtakan*. The *ta* stands in the margin, before the *ka*. There are some indications that an attempt was first made to supply the *ta* below the *pâ* of the preceding line.

² Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the next three verses.

³ Read *harêti*; or *harati*.

⁴ Read *bhókshyantê*; or *bhujjâtê*.

⁵ Metre, Śâlinî.

⁶ Eight or nine *aksharas* are illegible here.

⁷ Four or five *aksharas* are illegible here.

⁸ The reading *Purandara-nandanô* is quite clear and unmistakable in the present record, and in line 1 of an inscription at Kâlânjar, referred to "about the eighth century," from which the verse has already been brought to notice by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. V. p. 210, note 3). And it seems impossible to translate the word otherwise than by "son of Purandara." But, Vishnu was one of the *svayambhu* or self-existing gods; the later mythology represents him as the younger brother of Indra; and, as yet, we know of no other statement that would make him a son of Indra, and we know the expression "son of Indra" only as an epithet of the monkey-king Vâlin, of Arjuna, and of Jayanta.

⁹ This verse is met with, earlier, in lines 13, 14 of the Wanî grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157), in the description of Dhôra, i.e. Dhruva; and we know from that record that Nirupama and Kalivallabha were *birudas* of Dhruva. The *primâ-facie* meaning of the *biruda* Kalivallabha would be "favourite of Kali,"—Kali being the personification of the present age. But the verse points out that it would be curious that an enemy of Kali should be called the favourite of Kali. And, either the *biruda* means "the favourite of brave men," or else, as has been suggested to me by Dr. Hultsch, we must explain it by taking *kali* in its meaning of 'dissension, war, battle,' in which case we may render the appellation by "fond of war."

¹⁰ In this and the following two verses, there are no verbs except past participles. I supply, in such terms as seem appropriate, that which appears necessary to complete the construction. It seems likely that these three verses are detached excerpts from some longer composition, which has not yet come to notice in the records of the dynasty; just as the preceding verse about Nirupama-Kalivallabha is an excerpt from the full description of Dhruva given in the Wanî grant (see the preceding note).

¹¹ See page 102 above, note 11.

with the **Gūrjaras**, those who dwell in the hill-fort of **Chitrakūṭa**, and then the lords of **Kāñchi**, he became (*known as*) **Kirtinārāyaṇa**.¹

(V. 6; l. 7). (*And then there came his son*) **Atiśayadhavaḷa**-(**Amôghavarsha I.**), whose feet are rubbed by the diadems of hostile kings (*bowing down before him*), and whose heroism is praised throughout the whole world, and who is worshipped by the lords of **Vaṅga**, **Aṅga**, **Magadha**, **Mālava**, and **Veṅgi**.

(Line 9)—**Ôm!** Hail! Fortune! While, to an extent ever greater and greater, the increase of the sovereignty of him, **Lakshmivallabhendra**,² who is distinguished by the name of the glorious **Amôghavarsha-Nripatunga**,—the *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka* who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*;³ he who has covered all the territories of the numerous chieftains⁴ of the hostile kings, over the whole surface of the earth which is girdled by the belt of the four oceans, with his thousands of courtesans decorated with waistbands and belts round their hips and ear-rings and armlets and necklaces, and with the darkness (*caused by the multitude*) of his *chauris*, and with his very brightly shining (?) three white umbrellas, and with his battle-horns and conches, and with his broad standard of the *pāḍihvaḷa*-banner and his (*other*) flags; he who is a born leader of armies; he whose feet, resembling water-lilies, are rubbed by the lofty tiaras and diadems (*bowed down before him*) of *Danḍanāyakas* (*in charge*) of capitals and groups of places,⁵ and of chieftains and other lords of districts (?); he who has conquered his foes; he who is a very staff of Death to the host of his enemies; he who breaks down the pride of wicked people; he who is a very unfailing Rāma; he who is a very lion to the army of his enemies; he who subdues gods and demons; he who causes fear to his foes; he who captivates the minds of truthful women;⁶ he who is the habitation of haughtiness; he who has been born in the race of the **Raṭṭas**; he who has the **Garuḍa-crest**; he who is heralded in public with the sounds of the musical instrument called *ṭiṭi*; (*he who has the hereditary title of*) supreme lord of the town of **Lattalūra**,—was continuing, like the sovereignty of the great **Vishṇu**, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun might last:—

(L. 18)—While the **Vyaya saṁvatsara**, the seven [hundred and eighty-eighth] of the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the **Śaka kings**, was current; and while the

¹ I.e. "a very Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) in fame." A verse in the description of Gōvinda III. in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 presents this *biruda* in the form of Kīrtipurusha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text line 24). I then translated it by "the personification of fame." But there is no real authority for that. And, on the other hand, Purusha was Vishṇu, who, again, was Nārāyaṇa; and the composer of that verse evidently used Kīrtipurusha instead of Kirtinārāyaṇa, simply to suit his convenience in framing his lines.—The Sirūr version of the verse has, instead of *jātaḥ, jigati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*,—"he (*became known as*) Kirtinārāyaṇa on the earth." The Chūchli inscription of A.D. 897-98 (mentioned in note 8 on page 105 above), however, presents clearly *jātaḥ*, again. And *jāta*, which means ordinarily 'born,' seems to be used here in the meaning of 'happened, become, present, apparent, manifest.'

² We might take this as simply an epithet, and translate it by "the chief among the husbands or favourites of Lakshmi or Fortune." But various analogies justify us in finding in this word a formal *vallabha*-appellation of Amôghavarsha I., which in its simplest form would be Lakshmivallabha.

³ The present passage is one of a limited number in which this epithet is applied to paramount sovereigns. Two other instances have been given by me in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296, note 9; and a few others will be adduced on some more convenient occasion.

⁴ The genitive *maṇḍalikarkaḷa* seems to be governed by *digantar-ella*, the last member of the following compound, rather than by any of the preceding members of it.

⁵ From *taḷavarga*, which we have here and in Sirūr, line 10, we have *Taḷavargin*, which occurs as an official title in Vol. IV. above, p. 253, text line 14.

⁶ Kittel's Dictionary gives *badde*, 'a truthful woman,' and indicates that it is a feminine form of *badda*, 'firm, true,' which is a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *baddha*. The whole word *badde-manḍhara*,—half Kanarese, half Sanskrit,—is a *viruddha-samāsa* (more popularly known as an *arisamāsa*), "an incongruous or improper compound, a compound of heterogeneous words or words dissimilar in kind," which, according to the *Śabdamanidarpana*, sūtra 174, is allowed only when sanctioned by poets of old, as, for instance, especially in *birudas*.

fifty-[second] of the augmenting years of the victorious reign of him who is distinguished by the name of the glorious Amôghavarsha-Nripatuṅga was continuing (with) an increase of sovereignty to an extent ever greater and greater :—

(L. 20)—While, by the favour of his majesty the king Atisayadhavaḷa, the illustrious Dēvaṇṇayya, a very bee on the water-lilies that are the feet of Amôghavarshadēva and a very asylum for excellent people, was dwelling at Annigere,¹ governing the Beḷvola three-hundred ; and while his [brother-in-law]² Kulappayya was governing the Muḷgunda twelve :—

(L. 23)—When it was the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyēshṭha in that [year*], and when there was an eclipse of the sun,—on Kulappayya making a request, Dēvaṇṇayya obtained a royal decree from Amôghavarshadēva,³ and, with his (Amôghavarsha's) approval, the two of them, for the . . . of their parents, in a meritorious manner, at the time of that eclipse, laved the feet of the hundred-and-twenty Mahājanas of Nirgunda, and relinquished⁴ (to them) the tax on clarified butter, with a conveyance of the usufruct of it.

(L. 27)—He who protects this act of religion shall attain the reward of the merit of giving at Vāraṇāsi, at the time of an eclipse of the sun, a thousand tawny-coloured cows to Brāhmaṇs who know the Vēdas ; whosoever destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the five great sins of destroying a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brāhmaṇs and Vāraṇāsi !⁵ Om ! And there is the saying of Vyāsa :— (V. 7 ; l. 30). He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty

¹ Regarding the second syllable of this name, as written here, see page 100 above, note 3.

² The meanings given to *mayduna* in Kittel's Dictionary, which seem to mark clearly the relationship that is ordinarily intended, are 'a sister's husband, a husband's brother, a wife's brother ;' and other meanings are 'a connection, friend, or husband,' and 'a brother's son in his relation to a sister's son.' Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary gives (under *maiduna*, which is the same word) 'the son of a mother's brother, or of a father's sister, or a man's brother-in-law, if younger than one's self ;' and on this authority I have, I think, sometimes translated it by 'cousin.'

³ *Lit.*, "Dēvaṇṇayya having made a *rājāśrāvita* on Amôghavarshadēva." For *rājāśrāvita*, 'a royal decree,' see page 99 above, note 2.

⁴ *Biḍu* means 'to let loose, to quit hold, to let go, to leave, to abandon, to give up,' etc., etc. We might perhaps understand it to mean here that the tax in question was abolished. But the verb is often used, in the ancient records, in the place of *koḍu*, 'to give ;' that is to say, in the sense of 'to relinquish, to assign ;' see, for instance, Vol. IV. above, p. 65, text line 23, and p. 353, lines 21, 34, and Vol. V. p. 25, lines 25, 26, 28, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, line 12, and Vol. XII. p. 325, line 19, p. 256, line 18, and p. 271, line 17-18 : and the causal *biḍisu* occurs in the sense of 'causing to relinquish, assign, or allot,' in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 225, line 10. The expression *sa-bhōga-sādhakam-āgi*, "in a manner accomplishing or effecting the enjoyment, with a conveyance of the usufruct," seems to shew clearly that it must be taken in that sense here. And there are three other references to the same matter, of the same period, one of which distinctly specifies a grant of the tax in question. The Sirūr inscription, of precisely the same date (see page 98 above), records that Dēvaṇṇayya, while governing the Beḷvola three-hundred, laved the feet of the two-hundred Mahājanas of Śrīvūra and relinquished (to them) (*biḷṭom*) the *tuppadeṛe*. An inscription at Soratūr, dated, without full details, in the same year, the Vyaya *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-Saṃvat 788 (expired), = A.D. 866-67, records that, while he was governing the Purigere *nāḍ*, the Mahāsāmant Kuppeyarasa "graciously abandoned (*uḷidon*) the *tuppadeṛe* to the fifty (Mahājanas) of Baraṭavura." And an inscription at Gāwarawād, dated in Ś.S. 791 (expired), in A.D. 869, records that, while he was still governing the Beḷvola three-hundred, Dēvaṇṇayya, under a royal decree (*rājāśrāvita*), "laved the feet of the Mahājanas and . . . of Gavadiḷḍa, and gave (to them) (*dānam-gottā*) the *tuppada tere*, to continue as long as the moon and sun should last." — It seems probable, now, that *biḍu* should be taken in the same sense of 'assigning' in line 6 of the Baḷagāmi inscription of the time of Vinayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogilli (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 144). And the purport of that record, accordingly, will be that Kāndarba, under a royal decree, conferred a favour on the specified establishments, etc., by assigning to them the specified fees and duties.

⁵ One might, perhaps, rather expect "at Vāraṇāsi." But plenty of other cases might be quoted, in which the accusative is used just as it is here. We may quote, in particular, lines 13, 14 of the Doddabunḍi inscription (page 44 above), where the destruction of only Vāraṇāsi is mentioned

thousand years!—(V. 8; l. 31). They say that the property of a god is poison;¹ and the property of a Brâhman is said to be poison: but poison kills only one person; whereas the property of a Brâhman kills one's sons and grandsons!—(V. 9; l. 32). If a man enjoys the property of a Brâhman through (*breach of*) trust, he burns his family to the seventh generation; and those who enjoy it by force (*burn*) ten ancestors and ten descendants!—(V. 10; l. 33). Victorious is the god Hari (Vishnu),² the cause of continuance and destruction and creation, who is a very winter to the water-lilies that are the faces of the wives of the demons!³—(V. 11; l. 34). “This general bridge of religion of kings should at all times be preserved by you;” thus does Râmabhadra make his earnest request to all future princes!

(L. 35)—Written by bhâtta. Nâgamudâ (?) [set up] this stone.

No. 12.—TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA.

BY H. LÜDEBS, PH. D.; GÖTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of these two inscriptions were sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch through Prof. Kielhorn. The *first*⁴ is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying on the ground near the steps leading to the temple on the hill at Mangalagiri, 12 miles north-east of Guṇṭūr in the Kistna district.

It contains 257 lines of writing.—The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{4}$ ". At the top of the fourth face is a representation of the sun and the moon.—The alphabet is Telugu. The chief points in which it differs from the modern script are the following. The *talakaṭṭu* is a flattened semi-circle. The *dirghamu* goes right down to the bottom of the line, except in *ṭā, ṇā* and *hā*, where it is represented by the curve above the line which in the modern alphabet appears in *hā* only. The *guḍi* is like the upper half of a circle, and to denote *ī*, the tip is sometimes slightly curved inwards; see *e.g.* *sī* in l. 241. But in most cases it is absolutely impossible to distinguish between the long and the short vowel, except in *mī*, which appears in the modern form (l. 25). Medial *ē* has the form of a sickle or a semi-circle open to the left. In *mau* (ll. 54, 107), *yau* (l. 63), and *ryau* (l. 224) the diphthong is expressed by attaching the ordinary sign for *au* to the right of the letter and the sign for *ē* to the middle bar or to the *r*. Initial *a, ē, ga, gha, chha, ṭa, ṇa, ḍa, pa, pha, ma, va, śa, sha* and *ha* show still the ancient forms. In the case of *sha* this is all the more remarkable as already in the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma, dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1300,⁵ occasionally a form of *sha* appears which on account of the division of the middle horizontal line comes nearer to the modern form (see *e.g.* ll. 2, 18, 30). *Ka*, on the other hand, shows, except in *ka* in ll. 22, 177 and *kē* in l. 23, an advanced form which in its characteristic lines already resembles the modern form. *ḷa* has a peculiar form, differing from the sign used *e.g.* in the Bitraguṇṭa grant of Saṃgama II. (Śaka-Saṃvat 1278),⁶ and the Vānapalli plates as well as from the modern sign. The *ottu*, the small vertical stroke underneath the letter, which in the modern alphabet is the sign of aspiration, is never found in *kha, chha* and *tha*, but, as a rule, it is used in *gha, ḍha, dha, pha* and *bha*, when no other sign stands below

¹ With the first, second, and fourth clauses, supply “if confiscated, or misappropriated.”

² This verse seems rather out of place in the middle of the benedictive and imprecatory verses.

³ Compare the expression in the Tuṣām inscription, which describes Vishnu as “a very frost to (*cause the withering of*) the beauty of the water-lilies which are the faces of the women of the demons” (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 270).

⁴ No. 257 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 59 ff., Plates.

⁶ Above, Vol. III. p. 21 ff., Plates.

the letter, as in *ghna*, *dhva*, *bhri*, *bhya*, etc.¹ Occasionally, however, the *ottu* is missing without any reason; examples for *gha* are found in l. 18; for *dha* in l. 48; for *dha* in ll. 153, 228; 214 (*dhā*); 39, 130, 178 (*dhi*); 180, 218 (*rāhi*); 93, 116, 198 (*dhu*); 27, 82, 163 (*dhdha*); for *bha* in ll. 33, 39, 231; 170, 187, 230 (*bhu*); 15, 85 (*bhū*); 233 (*bhā*); 141, 233, 244 (*bhō*). As in the latter cases the *talakaṭṭu* disappears, it is, of course, impossible to distinguish *bhā* and *bhō* from *bā* and *bō*. In the groups *chchha* and *rchchha* the *chha* is written above the *cha* (see ll. 15, 102, 160), the subscript *chha* apparently being found impracticable on account of the loop in the middle of the letter. As first letter of a group, *r* is represented by the full sign in *rchū* (ll. 220, 224, 236), and before *y* and *v* with the exception of *rva* in l. 177, *rvā* in l. 24, and *rvi* in ll. 21, 33. Here, as in all other cases, the secondary sign has been used.—The language is Sanskrit, and the whole text is in verse, with the exception of the introductory phrase *śubham=astu* in l. 1, the concluding Telugu words *śrī śrī śrīm jēyunu* in l. 257, and a few explanatory remarks in Telugu in ll. 46 f., 49 f. and 121.—As regards orthography, it will suffice to state that the doubling of consonants after *r* occurs only in *Rompicharilla* (l. 149) and *vargga* (l. 240). After *anusvāra* a consonant is doubled in *vēdāntta* (l. 10), *Krishnamāmbbayā* (l. 61), *saṁtāna* (l. 90), *ākramtta* (l. 140), *anamtta* (ll. 149, 225), *saṁdhahāntam* (l. 163), *Romppicharla* (l. 226), *-āṁkkitaṁ* (l. 243), and probably in *Koṁḍakāvūri* (l. 255). A superfluous *anusvāra* has been inserted in *Timmma* (l. 40, 252). In *nigriṁhya* (l. 5) and *Samhya* (l. 246) the *anusvāra* is due to faulty pronunciation. The group *ddh* is written *dhdh* in *ānadhha* (l. 8), *pātālādhdh=dharanī[n*]* (l. 27), *śudhdha* (l. 48), *yadh-dhāpi* (l. 82), *yudhdha* (l. 86), *saṁdhahāntam* (l. 163), and perhaps *-ōdhdhāta* (l. 83). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhāna* are written *maṇṭapa* (ll. 155, 168, 173, 184, 204) and *prathāna* (l. 29; *pratāna* in l. 113).

The proper object of the inscription is to record a grant by **Sālva-Timma**, the prime-minister of king **Kṛishṇarāya** of **Vijayanagara**. It opens with invocations of Vishṇu in his boar incarnation (vv. 1, 2), as lord of Kākūḷa (v. 3), and as Rāma (vv. 4, 5). The title of *Kākūḷēsa* seems to refer to Vishṇu as worshipped at Śrīkākūḷam, 19 miles west of Masulipatam in the Kistna district. Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I. p. 55, states that there is a temple at that place dedicated to Śrīkākūḷēśvara-svāmin and considered to be very sacred.²

The following verses (6-8) are a eulogy of king **Kṛishṇarāya**. They contain no historical information besides the statement that 'king Kṛishṇa's pillar of victory is shining in the court of **Kāliṅga**,' an allusion to his conquest of the eastern coast.

The next verses (9-15) give an account of Kṛishṇarāya's prime-minister **Sālva-**(or **Sālva-**) **Timma**. He belonged to the *gōtra*³ of Kaṇḍīnya, and was the son of the minister **Rācha** and the grandson of the minister **Vēma**,⁴ and it may be added here that vv. 43, 44 and 47 incidentally mention the name of his wife, **Lakshmi**.⁵ Two verses (13 and 14) are devoted to his conquest of **Koṇḍaviṭi**, i.e. Koṇḍaviṭu, the well-known hill-fort in the Narasārāyupēṭa tāluka of the

¹ But if the subscript sign stands far enough to the right, the *ottu* appears occasionally; see *rghya* in l. 159.

² That this temple existed long before the time of our inscription is proved by the fact that it contains a number of inscriptions ranging from the latter half of the eleventh to the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.

³ Or, as it is called here, *kula*.

⁴ I have used throughout the Sanskrit forms of these names, *Rācha*, *Vēma*, *Timma*, *Appa*, etc., though in the text we find also the longer forms *Timmaya*, *Appaya* (ll. 56, 143, 150, 153, 189, 227). Except in *Timmakhyē* in l. 42, the longer forms are invariably used in compounds before a word beginning with a vowel, as in *Appayādmīya*, *Gōpayādmīya*, *Timmayādmīya*, *Vēmayādmīya*, *Rāchayādmīya*, *Gōpayādrya*, *Appayādrya*.

⁵ Perhaps the praise bestowed on Sālva-Timma in vv. 11 and 12 for his literary attainments was not quite unfounded. In his *Index to the Sanskrit Mss. at Tanjore*, p. 159, Burnell mentions an 'exceedingly diffuse' commentary (*vyākhyāna*) on Agastya's *Bālabbhārata* by Timmaya, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work apparently is the same as the *Bālabbhāratavyākhyāna* described by Taylor in his *Catalogue of Oriental Mss.*, Vol. I. p. 168, where the name of the author is given as Sālva-Timmaṇṇa *daṇḍamātha*. The date, the title and the surname of the author make it highly probable that he is identical with the minister of Kṛishṇarāya.

Kistna district. From verse 13, where it is said that he captured 'the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Koṇḍaviṭi,' it appears that Koṇḍaviṭu was governed at that time by some chieftains subordinate to the Gajapatis of Orissa. This agrees very well with what we can gather from other records. Until the beginning of the 15th century A.D. Koṇḍaviṭu was ruled by the Reddis,—the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭa-Vēma, the latest record of the dynasty hitherto published, being dated in Śaka 1333.¹ Not long afterwards the country must have been occupied by the Gajapatis. In Śaka 1377, the cyclic year Yuvan,² we find as ruler of Koṇḍaviṭu a certain Gāṇadēva Rautarāya, whose family was connected with that of the Gajapatis, and who apparently was a tributary of the Gajapati king Kapila.

The capture of Koṇḍaviṭu formed part of Kṛishṇarāya's victorious campaign against the Gajapatis of Orissa. A detailed account of it is given in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara* written about 1525 and 1535 by two Portuguese horse-dealers, Domingos Paes and Fernão Nunes.³ There⁴ we are told that after the conquest of Odigair or Digary (Udayagiri)⁵ king Crisnarao (Kṛishṇarāya) laid siege to Comdovy (Koṇḍaviṭu) which was one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Orya (Orissa). The king of Orissa approached with a large army in defence of his country. When Kṛishṇarāya had heard of this, he left a portion of his troops at Koṇḍaviṭu as a guard against any attack from behind, and advanced himself four miles (*leguas*). On the banks of 'a great river with salt-water,' which apparently is the Kṛishṇā, a battle took place which ended in the defeat and flight of the king of Orissa.⁶ After this victory the king told his '*regedor*' Salvatinea (Sālva-Timma) that he intended to continue the siege of Koṇḍaviṭu. After two months the fortress surrendered, and Sālva-Timma was appointed governor of Koṇḍaviṭu. But as he wished to accompany the king on his further expedition against the king of Orissa, he conferred, on his part, the governorship on one of his brothers. After taking the fortress of Comdepallyr (Koṇḍapalle) and occupying the country as far north as Symamdary,⁷ Kṛishṇarāya made peace with the king of Orissa and married one of his daughters. The 'river,' apparently the Kṛishṇā, marked henceforth the boundary between the two kingdoms. After another expedition against Catuir⁸ on the coast of Charamāodel (Coromandel) the whole country was pacified, and Sālva-Timma was sent by the king to Koṇḍaviṭu to organize the administration of the newly acquired territory. On his way to Koṇḍaviṭu, Sālva-Timma defeated a general of the king of Daquem (Dekkan), called Madarmeluquo. A few months Sālva-Timma stayed at Koṇḍaviṭu, organizing the civil and judicial administration of the province. Then he returned to Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), where he was received by the king as the principal person of the kingdom. The narrative of the chronicle has the appearance of being, on the whole, perfectly reliable.⁹ If the inscription differs from it in ascribing the capture of Koṇḍaviṭu to Sālva-Timma alone, it is apparently only because he was the general in command of the Vijayanagara forces.

As a counterpart it may be quoted here what local tradition has to tell about the capture of the fort. According to Mr. Boswell,¹⁰ the story goes that about the beginning of the 16th century the last king of the Redḍi dynasty of Koṇḍaviṭu died childless, and his seventy-two

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 318 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 390 ff. The date is irregular.

³ *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga. Manuscrito inedito do seculo XVI publicado por David Lopes, Lisbon, 1897, p. lxxvi f.*

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 19-24.

⁵ The conquest of Udayagiri and its dependencies took place in 1513; compare Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 107, and *Sketch of the Southern Dynasties*, p. 109.

⁶ This seems to be the battle referred to in an inscription at Mēḍṛu; see Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 51.

⁷ Symamdary is described as 'a very large town.' I therefore consider it to be Rājamahēndri (Rajahmundry), Symamdary being probably an error for Rasmamdary or a similar form.

⁸ I cannot identify this place.

⁹ One very slight mistake will be noticed hereafter.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 183.

chiefs could not agree upon the selection of a successor. Kṛṣṇarāya resolved to make use of this state of things, and to acquire for himself the kingdom. To accomplish his designs, he sent a wily and unscrupulous Brāhmaṇ to Koṇḍaviḍu. This Brāhmaṇ was directed to set up and consecrate a new image in the temple of Gôpināthasvāmin at the foot of the fort, and to invite the seventy-two chiefs to the celebration of these rites. They descended from their hill-fortress and were all seated in the great hall. From thence one by one the priest led them to the inner shrine to view the new image. As they stepped into the inner hall, and bowed at the threshold, two ruffians, who were concealed in the chamber, stepped forward, and before the victim had time to raise a cry, precipitated him into a deep well whose mouth it was impossible to discover amid the surrounding gloom. When all had thus found their death, Kṛṣṇarāya had no difficulty in seizing the fort. In a Telugu chronicle extracted by Mr. Sewell¹ the name of the wicked Brāhmaṇ is given as Rāmayya Bhāskarudu. It is hardly necessary to point out that the story, as it stands, is incompatible with the historical facts. Whether it is purely fictitious or based on events which occurred at a different time, cannot be decided at present. At any rate it shows once more that local traditions and local chronicles, by themselves, have no historical value, even when they refer to events of comparatively modern times.²

The date of the capture of Koṇḍaviḍu is given several times, expressed in words, letters and figures.³ It took place on Saturday, the Harivāsara of the bright half of the month Āshāḍha in the Śaka year 1437. For Śaka-Saṃvat 1437 expired, this corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1515, when the twelfth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha ended 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.⁴

Vv. 16-19 give a short genealogy of the two ministers Appa and Gôpa. They were the sons of the minister Timma, who belonged to a family from Nādiṇḍla⁵ and to the *gôtra*⁶ of Kauśika, and his wife Kṛṣṇāmbā or Kṛṣṇamāmbā who was the sister of Sālva-Timma, as appears from vv. 19 and 28, where Appa and Gôpa are called Sālva-Timma's sister's sons (*bhāginēya*). Later on, however, in v. 30 Gôpa is incidentally spoken of as his son-in-law (*jāmātri*), and in v. 27 as his younger son-in-law (*jāmātary-avarē*), which term, if used in its strict sense, would imply that both brothers were married to daughters of Sālva-Timma, their cousins. Of the following verses, vv. 20-23 are in praise of Nādiṇḍla-Appa, vv. 24-28 are glorifying Nādiṇḍla-Gôpa, and vv. 29-34 give a description of the latter's pious gifts. With v. 35 the text returns to Nādiṇḍla-Appa, the list of whose donations fills vv. 36-59. Of

¹ *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 48.

² Of course, this does not exclude that some of their statements may be correct. The account of the Telugu chronicle, for instance, is partly confirmed by the inscriptions and the Portuguese chronicle.

³ For details I refer to the translation.

⁴ My thanks for the calculation of this and the following dates are due to Prof. Kielhorn who has also favoured me with the following additional remarks regarding the term *Harivāsara*. According to Molesworth's *Marāṭhi Dictionary*, *Harivāsara* is a term for the first quarter of the 12th lunar day, and a common term for the 12th lunar days of the light fortnight of the months Āshāḍha, Bhādrapada, and Kārttika, upon which, respectively, occur the *nakṣatras* Anurādhā, Śravaṇa, and Rēvatī. In accordance with the latter meaning we find e.g. in two Bombay *Pañchāngas* for Śaka 1789 and 1814 *Harivāsara* written opposite to *Āshāḍha-śukla-pakṣa* 12, with, in either case, the Anurādhā-*nakṣatra*, but not in a Bombay *Pañchānga* for Śaka 1812, where the *nakṣatra* on *Āshāḍha-śukla-pakṣa* 12 was Viśākhā. That in the inscription also *Harivāsara* is used with the same meaning, is proved by the fact that on the day in question the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Anurādhā by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. With regard to the origin of the name, it may be pointed out here that the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha was considered to be pre-eminently auspicious for the worship of Viṣṇu. The *Dharmasindhu* says '*Āshāḍha-śukla-dvādāśyām Vāmana-pūjanēna naramēdha-phalam.*' It is therefore also called *Vaiṣṇava-tithi* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 333, No. 17) and described as *mahātilhi* (*ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 131, Plate IV. A, l. 16). *Harivāsara* must not be confounded with *Haridāsa* which, according to Molesworth, is simply a term for the *ekādāśi* or 11th day of the waxing or waning moon, and in this sense occurs e.g. in *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I. p. 63 (*Hartr=dind*).

⁵ On Nādiṇḍla, the modern Nādenḍla, see below, p. 115 and note 4.

⁶ Here called *avaya*.

historical value are verses 21, 27, 28 and 35. V. 21 states that Nādiṇḍla-Appa obtained from king Krishṇa and the minister Sālva-Timma the right to use a palanquin, two *chauris*, and a parasol, and the posts of commander-in-chief of an army, of superintendent of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarāvati, and of sole governor (*ekadhuraṁdhara*) of that kingdom. Vinikoṇḍa is apparently the modern Vinukonḍa, a hill-fort and town in the Kistna district, about 37 miles west-south-west of Koṇḍaviḍu.¹ Gutti (Gooty) is the well-known hill-fort in the Anantapur district, and Amarāvati is the equally well-known Buddhist site in the Kistna district. Vv. 27 and 28 state in very similar words that Sālva-Timma gave to Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa the right to use a palanquin and two *chauris*, and the posts of general of an army and sole governor (*ekadhuraṁdhara, dhaurēya*) of the town and country of Koṇḍaviṭi. But in v. 35 we are told that in the year Yuvan, marked as Sālīvāhana-Śaka (*Sālīvāhana-Śak-āṅka*), Nādiṇḍla-Appa obtained the regentship of Koṇḍaviṭi from Sālva-Timma.

The apparent discrepancy between these statements may be solved, I think, with the help of the data furnished by the Portuguese chronicle. We have only to assume that Nādiṇḍla-Appa was temporarily appointed after the capture of Koṇḍaviḍu, when Sālva-Timma left the country in order to accompany the king on his expedition against Orissa, and that afterwards, when Sālva-Timma had settled the administration of the country and intended to return to Vijayanagara, he installed Appa's younger brother Gōpa as governor of Koṇḍaviḍu, while Appa himself received the governorship of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarāvati. That Appa was appointed immediately after the capture of the fort, is shown by the date. There can be no doubt that it was Śaka-Saṁvat 1437 expired, which corresponds to Yuvan, although the chronogram does not work out quite correctly. The first three letters present no difficulty, *s(ā)* being 7, *l(i)* 3, and *v(ā)* 4, but, according to Burnell, *h(a)* has the value of 8, whereas here it would have to be taken as 1.² Secondly, the above assumption agrees with the fact that five years afterwards, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1442, Gōpa was ruling as governor of Koṇḍaviḍu.³ And from v. 45, where Appa, 'the lord of Vinikoṇḍa etc.', is said to have made a grant in Śaka-Saṁvat 1439, we may perhaps even conclude that the new arrangement was made in or before that year. The chronicle, it is true, does not mention the second appointment of a substitute, and the first substitute is called there the brother of Sālva-Timma, which certainly is a mistake. On the other hand, the statement that the real governor of Koṇḍaviḍu was Sālva-Timma, and that he, on his hand, appointed a regent, is fully borne out by the terms used in v. 35, and the fact that he granted a village situated in the territory of Koṇḍaviḍu.

The list of Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa's gifts comprises only three items.

1. (V. 29.) In the Śaka year counted by Rāghavāya (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1442) he erected some new buildings (*harmya*) adorned with a wall (*vapra*) and a gate-tower (*gōpura*) in honour of the god Rāghava in Achalapuri. This is the Sanskrit equivalent of Koṇḍaviḍu, as we learn from the following verses that the temple of Rāghava or Raghunāyaka was situated in that town.

2. (Vv. 30-32.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the towns (3), the Vēdas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vṛisha, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Phālguna, he set up an image of Raghunāyaka in the town of Koṇḍaviṭi. This image was surrounded by statues of Rāma's followers.⁴ For Śaka-Saṁvat 1443 expired, the date corresponds to Monday, the 10th February A.D. 1522, when the full-moon *tithi* of Phālguna ended 18 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

¹ The older form of the name seems to have been *Vishṇukunḍa*; see above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 1.

² The chronogram is altogether a very poor one; it has three letters, or, if *āṅka* is to be considered part of it as in *Sālīvāṅka* in v. 14, even four letters too many.

³ See the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription which will be published at an early date in this volume.

⁴ For details I refer to the translation.

3. (V. 34.) In order to do the performance of *niyôga*, exceeding seventy-two,¹ he presented to the temple of the holy **Sâluva-Râghava** the fertile village of **Unnuva**, defined by its four boundaries and completely furnished with all necessary things, together with the eight powers and enjoyments. The temple of Sâluva-Râghava seems to be identical with the temple of Râma at **Koṇḍaviḍu** referred to in the preceding verses. The village of Unnuva is the Vunnava of the map, 5 miles south-south-east of **Koṇḍaviḍu**.

Of the nineteen grants of **Nâdiṇḍla-Appa** enumerated in vv. 36-59 one is undated, six were made in Śaka 1438, ten in Śaka 1439, one in Śaka 1440, whereas one (v. 38) lies as far back as Śaka 1414. This last date seems to me open to grave doubts;² at any rate, it is difficult to see how Appa could have granted a village in the principality of **Koṇḍaviḍu** 23 years before the occupation of the country. The localities mentioned are situated in the modern *tâlukas* of **Vinukoṇḍa**, **Narasarâvupêṭa**, **Guṇṭûr**, **Bâpaṭla**, **Bezvâḍa**, **Oṅgôlu**, and **Palnâḍ** (?). As we do not know the exact date of Appa's installation as governor of **Vinikoṇḍa** etc., we cannot say with certainty whether he made these grants in the latter capacity or at the time when he was still governor of **Koṇḍaviḍu**. And even from those cases where the granted villages are expressly stated to have been in the *siman* of **Vinikoṇḍa**, no conclusions can be drawn in this respect, as there is no reason to believe that **Vinikoṇḍa** formed a separate province before the country was divided between Appa and **Gôpa**.

1. (V. 36.) In the Śaka year to be counted by 9, the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year **Îśvara** (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), having founded an excellent village³ bearing the name of **Appâpura**, which was supplied with a tank and with some⁴ good arable land between **Vinikoṇḍa** and the river **Kunti**, he gave it to the temple of **Ângaḍi-Gôpinâtha-Hari**. From v. 47 we learn that this temple was in the town of **Vinikoṇḍa**. The river Kunti may be the **Guṇḍalakamma**, or, more probably, one of its tributaries.⁵ 4 miles south-west of **Vinukoṇḍa**, on the left bank of the **Guṇḍalakamma**, the map shows **Sabinivinu Appavupuram**, which probably is the same as the **Appâpura** of the inscription.

2. (V. 37.) To the temple of **Ananta-Gôpinâtha**, situated at **Rompicharla**, he gave the village of **Gôpavara**. **Rompicharla** is 10 miles west of **Narasarâvupêṭa**.⁶ **Gôpavara** may be the **Gopapuram** of the map, 8 miles south of **Rompicharla**.

3. (V. 38.) In the Śaka year contained in the **Indras** (14), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1414), he presented a wall (*vapra*) and the whole village of **Painimarri** to the temple of **Mâdhavidêvi** in the town of **Madderêla**, to be enjoyed as long as the earth will last. **Madderêla** or, as it is called in v. 48, **Madderâla** seems to be the **Madheralah** of the map, 21 miles south-west of **Bâpaṭla**, 6 miles west of **Môtupalle**.⁷ **Painimarri** may be the hamlet of **Pamidimarru**, the **Payidimarri** of the map, 8 miles south of **Narasarâvupêṭa**, though the distance between **Pamidimarru** and **Madheralah** amounts to 30 miles.

¹ *Dodsaptaty-adhikâm niyôga-kalanâm kartum*. I do not know what is meant by this phrase. It occurs again in the **Koṇḍaviḍu** inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), l. 98: *drâsaptaty-adhikâm niyôga-rachandm . . . kṛitêd*.

² There seems to be some confusion in the verse. The *vapra* which Appa is said to have erected in Śaka-Samvat 1414 is apparently the same which according to v. 48 he built in Śaka-Samvat 1438.

³ With *kṛitêd grâmaparam* compare *avayuti-kaland-nirmit-Appapur-dhhyam . . . grâman* in v. 52, *Appapuram . . . virachayya* in v. 54, and *grâman vidhâya* in v. 55.

⁴ With *kiyanmâtratah* compare *kiyatim=avayutya bhûmim* in v. 54, and *avayutya bhûmim=uchitam* in v. 55.

⁵ The **Guṇḍalakamma** seems to be identical with the **Ômkâra** mentioned in v. 40.

⁶ In the village is a temple dedicated to **Gôpâlasvâmin**, which probably is identical with the temple mentioned in the inscription; see Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. Appendix, p. xii.

⁷ There is also a **Mudderalapaudoo** (**Madderâlapâḍu**) 6½ miles north by east of **Oṅgôlu** in the **Nellore** district on the right bank of the **Guṇḍalakamma**.

4. (V. 39.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the Brahmins (9),¹ the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), he erected a temple (*alaya*), adorned with a solid hall (*manṭapa*), a wall (*vapra*) and a plastered mansion (*saudha*), to Rāmēśvara in the fort of Vinikōṇḍa.

5. (V. 40.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhātṛi (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), he built a splendid temple of Śiva at the village of Nandipāṭi near the river called Ōmkāra. Nandipāṭi seems to be the Nundeeppandoo (Nandipāṭu) of the map, 8 miles north of Ongolu. It is situated on the right bank of the Gundlakamma which in that case would have to be identified with the Ōmkāra river.²

6. (V. 43.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Rāmas (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvaṇa, he presented a plastered hall (*manṭapa*) of stone to the temple of the great Virēśvara in the village called Nūntulapāṭi in the *sīman* of Vinikōṇḍa, for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.³ 29 miles south-south-west of Guṇṭūr, 34 miles east-south-east of Vinukōṇḍa, the map shows Nutalupadu, which possibly is identical with the Nūntulapāṭi of the inscription. The date is the same as that of the grant recorded in v. 46.

7. (V. 44.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the air (0), the oceans (4), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Bahudhānya (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1440 expired), he built a fine large hall (*manṭapa*) and presented it to the temple of Agastya-Mahēśvara at Krāñjā for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.⁴ Krāñjā is the modern Kāzā, 9 miles north-east of Guṇṭūr.

8. (V. 45.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), he founded *sarva-mānyas*,⁵ (which supplied) the taxes and fees (*mēra*)⁶ (due) to village accountants (*karanika*), for the eternal prosperity of his father and mother in the Vaikuṇṭha heaven.

9. (V. 46.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvaṇa, he gave the *agrahāra* Mallavara, filled with all kinds of riches, to be enjoyed for ever,⁷ to the temple of Channa-Kēśava-Ramānātha, the lord of that village, whose nature is knowledge.⁸ The date is irregular. It corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired = Īśvara, to the 1st August A.D. 1517, when the full-moon *tithi* of Śrāvaṇa ended

¹ *Brahman*, with the value of 9, occurs again in vv. 52 and 54 [and the synonym *Aja* above, Vol. IV. p. 193]. I have found it only in the list given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. The use of *Brahman* in this sense is rather strange, especially as its synonym *pitāmaha* is mentioned by Bérāni among the numerical words for 1.

² There is another Nandipāṭu six miles south by east of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. But this would seem to be too far to the south as to be the village referred to in the inscription.

³ The phrase *Lakṣmī-nāyaka-Sālva-Timma-vihara* occurs again in v. 47, and with the addition of *punyāya* in v. 44 and v. 28 of the Kondavidu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3). The meaning is that the gift was made for the benefit of Sālva-Timma and his wife Lakṣmī, as clearly stated in the Telugu portion of the Kondavidu inscription, l. 153 ff. The words *Lakṣmī-nāyaka* are apparently used on account of their ambiguity.

⁴ See the preceding note.

⁵ *Sarvamānya*, 'exempted from all taxes,' is always applied to villages or portions of land allotted to Brāhmins or some temple.

⁶ [For *mēra* and *karanika* see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.—E. H.]

⁷ *Achalam*, literally 'immovable,' seems to have here this meaning.

⁸ See below, p. 129, note 5.

19 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. But this day was a **Saturday**, not a **Monday**.¹ Mallavarâgra-hâra may be the Mullavarum Agra of the map, 4 miles north of Tummarakôṭa in the Palnâḍ tâluka, on the right bank of the Kṛishṇâ, or Mallavarum, 10½ miles north-east of Koṇḍa-viḍu, or Mullavarum, 11 miles north-north-west of Oṅgôlu. There is also a Chinna Mullavarum, 23½ miles north-north-east of Oṅgôlu.

10. (V. 47.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month Vaiśākha, he presented a beautiful large hall (*maṇṭapa*) and a very high wall (*prākāra*) to the temple of Aṅgaḍi-Gôpinâtha-Hari in the town of Vini-koṇḍa for the benefit of Sâlva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.² The same temple we have met with already in v. 36.

11. (V. 48.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1438), he presented to the temple of Mâdhavi-dêvi in the town of Madderâla the wall (*vapra*) which he had caused to be heightened. This temple was mentioned already in v. 38.

12. (V. 49, 50.) In the Śaka year contained in the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhâtṛi (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), having presented the whole village of Âtukûru, surnamed Nâdiṇḍla, to the Brâhman, he gave them a large tank, causing the growth of rice-fields and sugar-cane, for the performance of the daily ceremonies of bathing and praying at the *saṃdhyâs*, etc. This statement is repeated in different words in the second verse.³ Âtukûru is the Autcoor of the map, 11 miles north of Bezvâḍa.

13. (V. 51.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the Râmas (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year Dhâtṛi (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), he presented a solid temple (*prāsâda*), adorned with nine golden pinnacles (*kumbha*), and a beautiful large hall (*maṇṭapa*) to the temple of Hari, the lord of Maṅgalaśailla, and gave also the village of Maṅgalaśailla to the temple of Nṛisimha. Maṅgalaśailla is, of course, identical with Maṅgalagiri, where the inscription was found.

14. (V. 52.) In the Śaka year counted by the Brahman (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Īśvara (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having presented to the Brâhman the village of Appâpura, which he had formed by taking off a portion of the land in the *sîman* of the village of Rêṭûri, he gave, in aid of them, a large tank for the cultivation of paddy fields, etc. This tank is described in the next verse. Rêṭûri is the Returu of the map, 7 miles north by west of Bâpaṭla. One mile to the north-west of it the map shows Appapuram.

15. (V. 54.) In the Śaka year marked by the Brahman (9), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Īśvara (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having taken off some land in the *sîman* of Nâdiṇḍla and having founded Appâpura, which was supplied with a tank, he gave it to the Brâhman. Nâdiṇḍla, which apparently is connected with the name of the donor's family, is the modern Nâdenḍla.⁴ 9½ miles east-south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa. 3½ miles south-west of Nâdenḍla, 8 miles south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa, the map shows Appapuram.

16. (V. 55.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Râmas (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having taken off a suitable portion of land in the territory of Yêrchûri and having founded a village

¹ Prof. Kielhorn adds that in Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 current = Dhâtṛi the full-moon *tithi* of the second (*maṣa*) Śrâvâṇa commenced 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 11th August 1516, but he thinks it not at all probable that this day is intended.

² See above, p. 114, note 3.

³ See the translation.

⁴ For inscriptions at this village see above, Vol. IV. p. 37 f.

adorned with a tank and containing 10 *Kēsaripāṭi-puttis*,¹ he gave it to the temple of **Aubhaja-Nārasimha-Hari** at **Yērchūri**. This is the **Vēlēhūru**, **Yēlēhūru**, or **Ēlēhūr**, 12½ miles south-west of **Narasarāvupēṭa**, 4 miles north of **Kommālapāḍu Bungalow**, mentioned by **Mr. Sewell**, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 73. On the map the name of the village is missing, though its site is indicated.

16a. (V. 56.) To the temple of **Ananta-Gōpinātha** at **Rompicharla** he gave the village of **Gōpavara**. This is merely a repetition of v. 37.

17. (V. 57.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the **Vasus (8)**, the **fires (3)**, the **Vēdas (4)**, and the **earth (1)**, in the year **Dhātri** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month **Vaiśākha**, he gave the whole village of **Bhartapūṇḍi** in the *śīman* of **Vinikoṇḍa**, which he had marked with his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments, to the learned **Rāyana-Bhāskara** who belonged to the *gōtra* of **Vasishṭha**. The map shows **Bhartapudi** 5 miles north-east of **Bāpaṭla**, but the identification must remain doubtful. As the distance between this **Bhartapudi** and **Vinukoṇḍa** is about 52 miles, it could hardly be said to be in the *śīman* of **Vinikoṇḍa**.

18. (V. 58.) In the Śaka year contained in the **elephants (8)**, the **fires (3)**, the **Vēdas (4)**, and the **moon (1)**, in the year **Dhātri** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month **Śrāvana**, having taken off at **Yērchūri** in the *śīman* of **Vinikoṇḍa** a village called **Gōpapuram**, containing 10 *Kēsaripāṭi-puttis*² and adorned with a tank, he presented it to the **Brāhmaṇs**. **Yērchūri** we have met with already in v. 55; 1½ miles north-west of it the map shows **Gopapuram**.

19. (V. 59.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the **treasures (9)**, the **Rāmas (3)**, the aggregate of the pursuits of life³ (4), and the **earth (1)**, in the year **Īśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month **Kārttika**, he gave the whole village of **Annavaṛa** in the *śīman* of **Vinikoṇḍa**, marked by his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments to the learned **Dēcha**⁴ of the *gōtra* of **Kaṇḍinya**. **Annavaṛam** is a very common name, which makes a strict identification impossible. The map shows an **Annavaṛam** **Kandrike** 5 miles west of **Narasarāvupēṭa**, 20 miles north-east of **Vinukoṇḍa**, another **Annavaṛam** (**Annawarum**) 25½ miles south by west of **Vinukoṇḍa**, and a third **Annavaṛam** 17 miles south-east of **Narasarāvupēṭa**, 35 miles east of **Vinukoṇḍa**.

The list of **Nāḍiṇḍa-Appa**'s donations concludes with a verse (60) in praise of **Sālva-Timma**, and the last verse of the inscription (61) records that **Sālva-Timma** assigned the village of **Koṇḍakāvūri** to the temple of **Trikūṭēśvara-Niṭaladriś**, *i.e.* **Trikūṭēśvara-Śiva**, the lord of the whole world, as long as the moon and the sun and the stars endure. **Koṇḍakāvūri** is the modern **Koṇḍakāvūru**, 8 miles south of **Narasarāvupēṭa**.

The second inscription,⁵ also in **Telugu** characters, is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying in the temple of **Kōṇḍarāmasvāmin** at **Kāzā**, 9 miles north-east of **Guṇṭūr**, in the **Kistna** district. It contains 258 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is ¾". With the exception of the last verse, beginning in l. 255, the whole text of the inscription is identical with that of the **Maṅgalagiri** inscription. Only the order of the verses differs, as shown by the following comparison: **Kāzā** 1—35=Maṅgalagiri 1—35; **K.** 36=M. 55; **K.** 37—40=M. 36—39; **K.** 41, 42=M. 45, 46; **K.** 43=M. 40; **K.** 44=M. 47; **K.** 45—47=M. 41—43; **K.** 48—54=M. 48—

¹ Regarding the term *putti* see *above*, Vol. III. p. 93, note 1. *Kēsaripāṭi-putti* seems to mean the *putti* (used in the village) of **Kēsaripāḍu**, which cannot be traced on the map.

² See the preceding note.

³ I have not found the word *varga* in any of the published lists of numerical words. The meaning of four is, of course, due to the *chaturvarga*.

⁴ [He is styled *ūra-Dēcha*, 'the *Dēcha* of (this) village.'—E. H.]

⁵ No. 255 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

54; K. 55=M. 44; K. 56=M. 57; K. 57=M. 59; K. 58=M. 58; K. 59=M. 60. M. 56, which is only a repetition of v. 37, occurs in K. once only. In neither case any principle seems to have been followed in arranging the verses. Under these circumstances I have thought it unnecessary to publish in full the text of this inscription; but I have given all the various readings which it presents in the notes on the text of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.

The last verse records that in the Śaka year to be counted by the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438), the minister Appa built a plastered hall (*maṇṭapa*) at the temple of Agastyêśa at Nallapâṭi. Nallapâṭi, the Nelapadu of the map, is 15 miles north of Guṇṭūr. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 75, there are several temples in that village. The map shows another Nallapadu 4 miles west of Guṇṭūr, but no remains of temples seem to exist at this place.

A.—Maṅgalagiri Pillar Inscription.

TEXT.¹

First Face.

- 1 शुभमस्तु ।[*] अव्यादादिवराहो वस्तरसामु-
- 2 इहन्महीं । निजांगसंगसंजातसांद्रखेदो-
- 3 दयामिव ।[१*] कल्याणमाकलयतादयमादि-²
- 4 पोत्री धात्रीमुदरह्य³ सरसां स रसातिरेकात् ।
- 5 संश्लेषसंभ्रमवशात्सहसा⁴ निगृह्य⁵ दंतेन
- 6 किंचिददुनोदधरं धरायाः⁶ ।[२*] उरसि निहितल-
- 7 ल्मीबाहुवल्लीयुगेन स्वकरयुगळमेकीकृत्य केली-
- 8 विनोदे । कुवलयदळदामानभ्रमंदारमा-⁷
- 9 लां दधदिव वितनोतु श्रीकळां काकुळेशः ।[३*] श्रीरा-
- 10 मः[*] श्रियमातनोतु जगतां वेदांतवेद्यो ह-
- 11 रि⁹ । ज्ञानानंतसदात्मकोपि मघवत्कार्याय मा-
- 12 यातनुः । यं दृष्ट्वा रिपवोपि रावणमुखाः का-
- 13 लावसाने दिवं याताः[*] श्रीहनुमद्विभीषणमु-
- 14 खा जाताः कृताधी¹⁰ भुवि ।[४*] प्रह्वेद्रादिशिरोम-
- 15 णिच्छविरविप्रातर्मयूखारुणं भूषावच-
- 16 ¹¹भिदश्मिरश्मिलहरीभृंगाळिशृंगारितं । मंजीर-
- 17 क्णितैर्मराळ्वनितामंजुस्वनैरंचितं वंदे
- 18 रामपदारविंदमनघं वंदारुकल्पद्रुमं ।[५*]

¹ From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

² K. °माधि°.

³ In K. the *anusvāra* of °संभ्रम° is written twice.

⁴ K. दरायाः, but perhaps corrected.

⁵ K. वेदांत°.

⁶ Read कृताधी, as correctly in K.

⁷ Read °सुदृह्य, as correctly in K.

⁸ Read निगृह्य.

⁹ Read °नहु°.

¹⁰ Read रिश्री°, as correctly in K.

¹¹ Read भिदश्मिरश्मि°.

- 19 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राज-
 20 न्यचूळिकारन्ननोराजितपदांबुजः ।[। ६*] श्रीकृष्णचित्ति-
 21 पालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कीर्त्तनां गृह्णा नानारत्न-
 22 विविचक्रुष्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः । अब्दिः¹
 23 केवलनीरपूरनिलयसंभाव्यते सज्जनै । रं-²
 24 भोधिर्जलधिः पयोधिरुदधिर्वां निधिर्वारिधिः ।[। ७*]
 25 आलानं रिपुदंतिनामरिपशौर्यपूषसमीका-
 26 ध्वरे वैरिस्त्रांतनिखातशंकुदितो दीपः प्रता-
 27 पांकुरः । पाताळाध्वरणी³ वराहवपुषो दं-
 28 द्रा विभियोन्नता श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपस्य भाति विजय-
 29 स्तंभः कळिंगांगणे ।[। ८*] महाप्रधान⁴ श्रीसाळ्वति-⁵
 30 म्मसचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायनृपतेस्साम्राज्य-
 31 मधितिष्ठति ।[। ९*] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मसचिवः⁶ कौडिन्यकुल-
 32 शेखरः । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्य-
 33 नंदनः⁷ ।[। १०*] विद्मो⁸ नैक⁹ विशेषं वितरणविभवैर्विद्वदग्रे-
 34 सराणां पद्मावाणीविलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः
 35 पद्मलाक्षीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्रासादहर्म्यैरतुल-
 36 परिकरैरश्वहस्त्यादियानैस्सम्यक्तेभ्यो विशेषं
 37 समरविजयतस्साळ्वतिम्मस्य¹⁰ नूनं ।[। ११*] पंकप्रवे-
 38 शपरिमार्जनलज्जया किं पंकेरुहालयम-
 39 पास्य भवन्मुखानं । पद्माधितिष्ठति सह स्रुषया
 40 च वाण्या चौहत्तमल्ल चतुरानन साळ्वतिं-¹¹
 41 म् ।[। १२*] सप्तांगोपेतशक्तिचितयचतुरपायै-
 42 कमंचोशसाळ्वे तिम्राख्ये कौडवीर्यां गजप-
 43 तिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटी-
 44 माटीकमाने परनृपतिखगाः क्षुत्पिपासाति-
 45 खिन्नाः शाकाब्दान् मार्गयन्ते गिरिपुरजलधि-
 46 क्ष्मासु गूढं प्रलीनाः ।[। १३*] १४३७ शकाब्दालु [।*] सुगू-

¹ Read अब्दिः.² Read सज्जनैरं.³ Read पातालाङ्कुरणी; in K. a small *anusvara* has been added afterwards.⁴ K. समहा^०; read महाप्रधानः.⁵ K. श्रीसाळ्वतिम्म^०.⁶ K. श्रीसाळ्वतिम्म^०.⁷ K. यामा । त्यनंदनः.⁸ In K. between the *d* and *m* of विद्मो the subscript sign for *t* has been inserted.⁹ The *anusvara* is very small, and has been inserted afterwards.¹⁰ K. °तिम्मस्य.¹¹ K. °तिम्म.

- 47 ढंप्रलोनाः अक्ष[र*]संज्ञ¹ ।।[*] साकुवांकशकवत्सरग-
 48 स्थाषाढशुभ्रहरिवासरसौरी² । साकुवतिम्मसचि-
 49 वेन गृहीतं कौडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ।। १४*] सा-
 50 कुवांक अक्षरसंज्ञ । १४३७ शकवर्षालु ।।[*] पु-
 51 चारामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधि का-
 52 व्यं चेह पपरत्र³ सौख्यजनकास्संतानकास्स-
 53 स तान् । आहत्तान् गणनातिवर्ति कृतवानासेतु-
 54 शीताचलं श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालमौळिसचिव[*] श्रीसा-
 55 कुवतिम्मप्रभुः ।। १५*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो ना-
 56 दिंडुकुलशेखरः । अस्ति तिम्रयमंचीशश्च⁴-
 57 यात्मविवेकधीः ।। १६*] कृष्णांबारुंधती ख्याता
 58 भर्तृवाक्यमरुंधती । अनसूयैव सर्व-
 59 च सानसूयेति गण्यते ॥ [१७*]

Second Face.

- 60 नादिंडुतिम्मयामात्यः ककुची
 61 कृष्णमांज्वया । तत्पुत्रावप्प-
 62 यामात्यगोपयामात्यशेखरौ ।। १८*]
 63 श्रीसाकुवतिम्मसचिवभागिनेयी कु-
 64 लोद्वही । नादिंडुयप्पयामा-
 65 त्यगोपयामात्यशेखरौ ।। १९*] अप्पो
 66 नादिंडुयप्पस्तावाप्यमूर्ति-
 67 प्रचेतसौ । पश्चिमोदन्वदीशानद-
 68 क्षिणोदन्वदीशरौ ।। २०*] श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपा-
 69 च तिम्रसचिवात्पल्लिकी⁵ चाम-
 70 र ।⁶ चत्रं⁷ यो विनिकौडगुत्तिकनक-
 71 क्ष्माभृत्पराद्यक्षतां⁸ । मत्तेभाश्च-
 72 पदातिसंकुलमहासेनाधिपत्यं
 73 महत्तद्राज्यैकधुरंधरत्वमग-
 74 मन्नादिंडुयप्पप्रभुः ।। २१*] जंभ-

¹ K. अक्षरसंज्ञ.⁴ K. तिम्रयं⁷ Read ०किकी.⁹ K. कचं; read कचं.² Read ०गडि; K ०सौरा.⁵ Read ०क्षिण, as correctly in K.⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.¹⁰ Read ०राध्यक्षतां, as correctly in K³ Read पपरत्र, as corrected in K.⁶ K. यामत्यगो.

- 75 द्विक्कुंभिकुंभद्वयसचिवशची-
 76 चारुवच्चम्येजकुंभव्यक्तव्याप्तानु-¹
 77 लिप्तप्रसृमरमसृणक्षोदकर्पू-
 78 रपूरः । यत्कीर्तिः² कार्तिकेदुं³ प-
 79 रिहसति निजैः 'खेतमाद्वैतवाटै-
 80 स्तोयं नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुम-
 81 णिरखिलस्तुत्यकीर्तिप्रतापः ।[। २२*] य-
 82 'ध्माटीघोटकोटीखरखुरदक्कित-
 83 क्ष्मातलोडूतधृक्कीपाक्कीपाता-⁴
 84 ऋक्कीकृतधरणितले खड्गयुग्यस्य
 85 बाहुः । जिह्वालाभोलभूभृ-
 86 झजगपतिरिव प्रेक्ष्यते युध्धरं-⁵
 87 गे सोयं नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभु-
 88 रवनिभराक्रांतबाहुप्रतिष्ठः ।[। २३*]
 89 गोपो नादिङ्गुगोपश्च तुल्यावि-
 90 ति कथं स्तुमः । एकसंतानवा-⁶
 91 न्पूर्वस्सप्तसंतानवान् परः ।[। २४*] ए-
 92 के चाद्याविता⁷ ये वितरणनिगमा-
 93 न् वेधमा सिंधुचंद्रप्राया जा-
 94 खं प्रपन्नाः कति च पशुदृषद्धारु-
 95 जात्यातिमूढाः । धत्ते चाद्याप-⁸
 96 यंस्तान्वितरणनिगमान् गोप-
 97 यार्यः⁹ करेभ्यं कल्पद्रुं कामधे-
 98 नुं हृदि वदनदृशोश्चंद्रचिंता-
 99 मणी च ।[। २५*] ¹⁰यद्वैरिच्छोणिपालप्रकर-
 100 पुरमहाचंद्रशालागृह्णांत[:*]-¹¹

¹ Read 'वक्षीज', as correctly in K.

² K. यत्कीर्ति.

³ Read कार्तिकेदुं.

⁴ Read 'खेतमा'.

⁵ Read डाटी.

⁶ Perhaps the actual reading is 'लोभुत', as in K.

⁷ Read युध्धरं; the *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁸ K. 'संतान'.

⁹ Read चाद्यापिता, as correctly in K.

¹⁰ Read चाद्याप, as correctly in K.

¹¹ Originally त्य had been engraved instead of य, but it seems to have been corrected.

¹² The रि has possibly been corrected out of ठि.

¹³ K. 'गृह्णांत'.

- 101 श्रीखंडस्तंभकुंभद्वजगपतिवृ-¹
 102 ढालोढदेहार्कवाहाः । मूर्च्छ-
 103 न्मोहा[.*] खलंतः² सपदि गतविषा
 104 वैनतेयेन सद्यो द्योमार्गं यां-³
 105 ति सोयं दिनमणिवितुतो भा-
 106 ति नादिङ्गुगोपः ॥ [२६*] श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपा-
 107 लमौळिसचिव[.*] श्रीसाळ्वतिस्मप्रभु-
 108 र्जामातर्यवरे धुरंधरवहे⁴ श्री-
 109 गोपमंत्रोश्चरे । ⁵प्राधत्ताखिलको-⁶
 110 डवोटिनगरोसाम्नाज्यरौरिय-⁷
 111 कां⁸ मत्तेभाश्चपदातिसैन्यकलितां⁹
 112 पल्लंकितां चामरे ।[२७*] श्रीकृष्णरा-
 113 यनरनाथशिरःप्रतानश्रीसाळ्व-¹⁰
 114 तिमसचिवेश्वरभागिनियः । ना-
 115 दिङ्गुगोपसचिवो नयतत्ववे-¹¹
 116 दी श्रीकोंडवोटिनगरैकधुरंधरो-
 117 [भृ]त् ।[२८*] राघवायगणिते शकव-
 118 [र्षे] राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्यां ।¹²
 119 वप्रगोपुरमयेर्नव[ह*]म्यैर्गो-¹³
 120 पमंत्रितिलकेन सपर्याः¹⁴ ॥ [२९*]

Third Face.

- 121 राघवाय १४४२ अक्षरमंत्र ।[१*] शाकाब्दे पु-
 122 रवेदवार्धिशशिभिर्गण्ये⁵ वृषे वत्सरे फाल्गुन्यां
 123 विधुवासरे शुभदिने श्रीकोंडवोटिपुरे । नादिं-
 124 ड्वान्वयगोपमंत्रितिलक[.*] श्रीसाळ्वतिस्मप्रभोजा-

¹ Read °भृशंभद्वजगपतिवृ, as correctly in K.

² The subscript sign which I have read *kh* is rather indistinct, and may be meant for something else ; in K., however, the reading ख is quite certain.

³ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ Read धुरंधरवरे.

⁵ Read प्राधत्ता°.

⁶ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁷ Read °ज्यधौरिय, as correctly in K.

⁸ Read तां, as in K., where तां seems to have been corrected out of कां.

⁹ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁰ K. °प्रधान°; read °प्रधान°.

¹¹ Read °तत्ववे-.

¹² The *anusvara* and the sign of punctuation stand at the beginning of the next line ; K. °ताचंपुर्यां.

¹³ K. °वहस्यै°.

¹⁴ Read सपर्या, as correctly in K.

¹⁵ K. °वार्दिश°.

- 125 माता रघुनायकस्य कृतवान् सम्यक्प्रतिष्ठावि-
 126 धिं ।[। ३०*] सुग्रीवलक्ष्मणविभीषणजांबवद्विश्वाम-
 127 युक्तभरतेन हनूमता च । सीतापतिं सप-
 128 रिवारक्रमंगदेन रामं च गोपसचिवोक्तं सु-
 129 प्रतिष्ठं ।[। ३१*] सीतारामसमन्विता सभरता चैषा
 130 ह्ययोध्या तता¹ शत्रुघ्नाधिकलक्ष्मणा विजय-
 131 ते श्रीकौंडवोटोपुरी । सुग्रीवो हनुमान्विभीष-²
 132 ण इह श्रीजांबवत्संगदी³ रामं सावरणं प्र-
 133 तिष्ठितमतान्नादिङ्गुगोपप्रभुः⁴ ।[। ३२*] श्रीकौंडवोटि-
 134 पुरिनायक रामचंद्रः⁵ किं चंद्रका⁶ समधि-
 135 गत्य शशः कर्ळकः । आयाति यावदिति साङ्गव-
 136 केतनत्वं धत्ते न चेत्कुत इदं गरुडध्वजस्य ।[। ३३*] हा-
 137 सप्तत्यधिकां नियोगकलनां कर्तुं बुधया-
 138 मिणीः⁷ । श्रीमत्साङ्गवराधवाय महितो ना-
 139 दिङ्गुगोपप्रभुः । प्रादादुद्भुवनामकं सु-
 140 फलितं सीमाचतुष्कान्वितं ।⁸ सर्वाक्रांततया⁹
 141 समस्तमासमाष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं¹⁰ ।[। ३४*] सालिवा-
 142 हनशकांकयुवादे सालिवाहनसमोप्य-
 143 यमंचो । साङ्गवतिम्भसचिवादुदवापत्की-
 144 डवोटिनगराधिपलक्ष्मीं ।[। ३५*] शाकादे नववङ्गिवा-
 145 धिवसुधागणेश्वरे वत्सरं सुचेत्रं विनिर्कोड-
 146 कुंतिसरितोर्मये¹¹ कियन्मात्रतः । कृत्वा ग्राम-
 147 वरं तटाककलितं चाप्पापुरास्थान्वितं ।¹² प्रा-
 148 दादंगडिगोपिनाथहरये नादिङ्गुयप्य-
 149 प्रभुः ।[। ३६*] अनंतगोपिनाथाय¹³ रीपिचर्चनिवा-
 150 सिने । प्रादाद्वीपवरं ग्रामं नादिङ्गुयप्य-

¹ Read तथा, as correctly in K.

² K. इनुमादि°.

³ Read श्रीजांबवत्संगदी or श्रीजांबवत्संगदी or श्रीजांबवत्संगदी.

⁴ Read °मधाम्ना°, as probably corrected in K.

⁵ K. पुरजा°; read °चंद्र.

⁶ Read चंद्रतां, as correctly in K.

⁷ Read मणीः, as correctly in K; the following sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

⁹ K. °क्रांततया.

¹⁰ Read °समसमा°, as correctly in K.

¹¹ Read °मैष्ये, as correctly in K.

¹² This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹³ K. अनंत°.

- 151 मंत्रिराट् ।[। ३७*] महेरेलपुरमाधविदेव्यै वप्रमि-¹
 152 द्रजलदींदुगशाके² । पैणिम³मदिशत्पू-³
 153 र्णै ग्राममावसुधमप्ययमंत्रो ।[। ३८*] ब्रह्मा-
 154 ग्निवेदशशिगण्यशकेश्वरेव्दे नादिङ्हुयप्पसचिवो वि-
 155 निकोंडदुर्गे । रामेश्वराय घनमंटपवप्र-
 156 सौधारम्यालय⁴ समतनोत्समतारसन्नः [।][। ३९*]
 157 ⁵शाकेशवक्त्रिनिगमेंदुगदातृवर्षे⁶ नादिङ्हुति-⁷
 158 म्मसचित्रात्मभवाप्ययार्यः । ओंकारनामस-
 159 रिदंतिकनंदिपाटिग्रामे शिवालयमनर्घ्य-
 160 मसावकार्षीत् ॥ [४०*] स्वच्छस्वच्छनखावळिच्छविशिखाके-
 161 ळोमराळोवृतं भूषोद्भासिभुजंगपुंगवल-
 162 लनाळामृणाशान्वितं⁸ । वैरित्रातशिरोमिळिंद-
 163 वनितासंदोहसंभ्रानितं ।⁹ वंदे दत्तमखा-
 164 रिपादकमलं बृंदारबृंदार्चितं ।[। ४१*] दत्तप्र-
 165 जापतेर्मूर्धा मेघमूर्धायते क्षणात्¹⁰ । यद्दीरकरुणा-
 166 वेशात्स वो वीरेश्वरोवतं¹¹ ।[। ४२*] शाकाव्दे निधिरामवेदध-
 167 रणोगण्येश्वरे वत्सरे आवस्थां विनिकोंडशीमनि¹² सु-
 168 दालितं¹³ शिलामंटपं । ग्रामे नूतुलपाटि-
 169 नामनि महावीरेश्वरायादिशत् लक्ष्मोनायकसा-¹⁴
 170 ऋवतिम्मविभवे¹⁵ नादिङ्हुयप्पप्रभुः ।[। ४३*] शाकाव्दे गग-
 171 नाद्विवेदधरणीगण्ये¹⁶ च संवत्सरे विख्याते बहु-
 172 दान्यनामनि¹⁷ महान्नादिङ्हुयप्पप्रभुः । क्रां-
 173 जागस्यमहेश्वराय विपुलं रम्यं महामं-
 174 टपं लक्ष्मोनायकसांस्वतिम्मविभवे पुण्याय क-

¹ The *gudi* has been added afterwards; the *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line; K. indistinct.

² Read °जलधींदु°, as correctly in K.

³ K. indistinct; read °इत्यरिपू-.

⁴ Read सौधारम्या°.

⁵ Read शाकेभव°, as correctly in K.

⁶ Read °गधाट°, as correctly in K.

⁷ K. °तिंम्भ°.

⁸ Read °मृणालान्वितं.

⁹ Read °संधानितं, as probably correctly in K. The sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

¹⁰ For the *aksharas* जाप° to क्षणा° something else seems to have been originally engraved.

¹¹ Read °वत्, as correctly in K.

¹² Read °डसौमनि, as correctly in K.

¹³ Read दालितं, as correctly in K.

¹⁴ Read °शङ्खली°.

¹⁵ K. °तिंम्भ°, or perhaps तिंम्°

¹⁶ Read नाद्विवेद°.

¹⁷ Read दान्य°, as correctly in K.; ना has been corrected from का.

- 175 त्वादिशत् ॥ [४४*] निधिशुचिनिगमच्छागस्थशाकेश्वराब्दे प्रभु-
 176 वरविनिकोडादोशनादिङ्गुय्यः । निजजनकजन-
 177 न्योर्नित्यवैकुण्ठसिद्धौ¹ करणिककरमेरान्² सर्वमान्या-
 178 नकार्षीत् । [४५*] शाकाब्दे निधिवज्जिवेदधरणोगस्थेश्वरे वत्स-
 179 रे आवस्थां विधुवासरे शुभदिने³ नादिङ्गुय्यप्र-
 180 मुः । प्रादाश्मन्नवराग्रहारमचलं सर्वर्षिसंपू-⁴
 181 रितं तद्गामाधिपचनकेशवरमानाथाय बो-
 182 धात्मने । [४६*] शाकाब्दे निधिवज्जिवेदधरणोगस्थेश्वरे वत्स-
 183 रे वैशाख्यां विनिकोडनामनि पुरे रम्यं महा-

Fourth Face.

- 184 मंठपं । प्रादादंगडिगोपिनाथ-
 185 हरये प्राकारमत्युन्नतं लक्ष्मीना-
 186 यकसाङ्गवतिश्रविभवे⁵ नादिङ्गुय-
 187 य्यप्रभुः । [४७*] महेरालपुरमाधवदेव्यै⁶ [व*]प्र-⁷
 188 मुन्नततरं प्रविधाय । नागवज्जिज-
 189 लधीदुग्गशाके वर्षे एनमदिताप्यय-⁸
 190 मञ्चो । [४८*] शाकाब्दे वसुवज्जिवेदशशिगे वर्षे
 191 च दात्राह्वये⁹ नादिङ्गुय्यपदातुकू-
 192 र्मखिलं कृत्वा स्वयं विप्रसात् । सं-¹⁰
 193 ध्यास्त्रानजपाङ्गिकादिविधये तभ्य-
 194 स्मटाक¹¹ महत्¹² शास्त्रारामवरेक्षुसा-
 195 धनमदात्रादिङ्गुय्यप्रभुः¹³ । [४९*] उ-
 196 ¹⁴त्पुञ्जोत्तोलवेज्जत्कमलवनमिळ्द्राजई-¹⁵
 197 सावतंसं क्रौञ्चारिक्रौचचक्रक्रम-
 198 गतिमिधुनक्रोडखिलामनोन्न¹⁶ । पा-
 199 रावारांककारं तटपुटघटितोत्ता-

¹ Read 'सिद्धौ'; K. illegible.

² The third क of this word is expressed by the old sign. K. seems to read 'ककर' by correction.

³ K. सुभ°.

⁴ Read सर्वर्षि°; K. illegible.

⁵ K. probably 'तिज'.

⁶ Read 'माधवि'.

⁷ K. वप्र°.

⁸ Read 'वर्षे एनमदिताप्यय-'; in K. probably corrected.

⁹ Read धात्रा°, as correctly in K.

¹⁰ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹¹ Read तेष्वस्मटाकं, as correctly in K.

¹² Read महत्ता°.

¹³ K. धनमदात्रा°.

¹⁴ Read रक्षणी°.

¹⁵ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁶ Read 'मिधुन', as correctly in K.

- 200 लतालं तटाकं कृत्वा नादिङ्गुयप्पप्र-
 201 भुरकततरां विप्रसादातुकूरोः¹ [॥ ५०*]
 202 शाकान्दे गजरामवादिमहिगे दात्ता-²
 203 ख्यवर्षे घनं प्रासादं नवहेमकुं-³
 204 भकलितं रम्यं महामंटपं । श्रीमन्म-⁴
 205 गळ्ळैलनाथहरये नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभु-⁵
 206 ग्रामं मंगळ्ळैलनामकमपि प्रादात्⁶
 207 नृसिंहाय च । [॥ ५१*] शाकान्दे ब्रह्मवज्जिनु-
 208 तिशशिगणिते चेखराख्ये वर्षे⁷ रेटूरिग्राम-⁸
 209 श्रीमन्मवयुतिकलनानिर्मिताप्पापुरा-
 210 ख्यं । दत्त्वा¹⁰ ग्रामं द्विजेभ्यस्तदुपकृतिकृते शा-
 211 लिसस्वादिसिद्धे¹¹ प्रादात्तादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुमणि-
 212 रुदधिप्रस्थमेकं तटाकं । [॥ ५२*] अप्पापुरे वार्दिसम-
 213 स्तटाक¹² पद्माकरोयं द्विजराजवासः । यन्ने¹³ वनं
 214 चाश्रुतशालिधाम श्रीशे पयःपूर्णत-
 215 या नदीक¹⁴ । [॥ ५३*] नादिङ्गुसीखि कियतीमव-
 216 युत्त भूमिमप्पापुरं च विरचा-¹⁵
 217 य्य तटाकयुक्तं¹⁶ [॥ ५४*] नादिङ्गुयप्पस-
 218 [चि]वीदित तद्विजेभ्यो¹⁷ ब्रह्माग्निवार्धि-
 219 शशिशाकगुणेश्वरेन्द्रे ॥ [५४*] शाकान्दे निधिरा-
 220 मवेदधरणीगणेश्वरे वत्सरे येर्चू-
 221 रादत्तयुत्त¹⁸ भूमिसुचितां प-
 222 द्माकरालं कृतं । ग्रामं केसरिपाटि-
 223 पुटिदशकप्रायं विधायादिशये-
 224 [चू]र्यैभळनारसिंहहरये ना-
 225 [दि]ङ्गुयप्पप्रभुः । [॥ ५५*] अनन्तगोपिना-

¹ Read °कूरो, as correctly in K.² Read °वार्धिमहिगे दात्ता-, as correctly in K.³ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁴ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁵ K. inserts a superfluous sign of punctuation after °प्रभु°.⁶ Read प्रादात्°.⁷ Read °ख्ये च वर्षे, as correctly in K.⁸ K. रेटूरि°.⁹ Read श्रीम°, as correctly in K.¹⁰ Read दत्त्वा.¹¹ K. °सिद्धे; read °विश्वे.¹² Read वार्धिसमस्तटाकः, as correctly in K.¹³ Read यन्ने.¹⁴ Read नदीकः, as correctly in K.¹⁵ Read विरचः, as correctly in K.¹⁶ K. °युक्तं।¹⁷ K. द्विजेभ्यो; read तद्विजेभ्यो.¹⁸ Read रावव°.¹⁹ Read पुटि°.

- 226 [था]य रींप्पिचर्लनिवासिने । प्रादानो-
 227 पवरं ग्रामं नादिंङ्गुप्यमन्त्रि-
 228 राट्¹ ।[। ५६*] शाकाब्दे वसुवज्जिवेदधरणीग-
 229 ख्ये च दाचन्दके² वैशाख्यां विनिकोडसो-
 230 मनि सुधो³ नादिंङ्गुप्यप्रभुः । वा-
 231 [सि]ष्ठाय च भर्तृपूडिमखिलं ग्रामं⁴
 232 खनामांकितं प्रादाद्रायण-⁵
 233 भास्कराय ⁶निधुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं [॥ ५७*]
 234 शाकाब्दे गजवज्जिवेदशशिगे⁷ वर्षे च दा-
 235 चाह्वय⁸ आवण्यां विनिकोडसोन्नि⁹
 236 कृतधोर्नादिंङ्गुप्यप्रभुः । येच-
 237 राववयुत्य गोपपुरमित्याख्यं [हि]-
 238 जेभ्यादिश¹⁰ ग्रामं केसरिपाटिपुटिन्श[क]-¹¹
 239 प्रायं तटाकोज्जलं¹² ॥ [५८*] शाकाब्दे निधिरा-¹³
 240 मवर्गधरणीगख्येखरे वत्सरे कार्तिक्यां¹⁴
 241 विनिकोडसोन्नि सुकृती नादिंङ्गुप्य-
 242 प्रभुः । प्रादाधन्नवराभिदं¹⁵ च सकलं
 243 ग्रामं खनामांकितं कौडिन्यान्व-
 244 ¹⁶ययूरदेचविदुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं¹⁷
 245 ।[। ५९*] यावज्जसुतात्रियंवकसुता-¹⁸
 246 ¹⁹श्रीसंज्ञपुत्रीपय[:*]पूरास्ते पुनते भु-
 247 वं च सकलां श्रीकोडवीटोपुरीं । या-
 248 वत्काव्यसुधांबुराशिलहरोहेलां
 249 विधत्ते कविस्तावत्सांभुवतिष्मकीर्तिजति-

¹ This verse is a repetition of v. 37, and occurs in K. once only.

² K. धाचन्दके ; read धाचन्दके.

⁴ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁶ Read विदुषे, as correctly in K. ⁷ K. वेधश.

⁹ K. कोडसोन्नि.

¹¹ Read पुटि ; in K. a very small ट् seems to have been added afterwards.

¹² Read कोज्जलं.

¹⁴ K. रे । का ; read कार्तिक्या.

¹⁶ K. perhaps देह.

¹⁸ In K. the वा of the first सुता appears to have been corrected from some other *akshara* ; ¹⁹ चिदावक, perhaps correct.

¹⁹ In K. the *visarga* was inserted afterwards ; read श्रीसुख.

³ Read सुधीर्ना, as correctly in K.

⁵ K. दात्रा.

⁸ K. धाचह्वय ; read धाचाह्वये.

¹⁰ K. जेभ्योदिश ; read जेभ्योदिशद्गामं.

¹³ K. निधिरा.

¹⁵ K. प्रादादन्न ; read प्रादादन्नवराभिधं.

¹⁷ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 250 का 'पुष्पत्वजसं भुवि ॥ [६०*] ²श्रीकृष्णक्षीणिपा-
 251 लप्रचुरतरमहाराज्यधीरेयनी-
 252 तिप्रागल्भ्यस्माक्वतिंमप्रभुवरति-
 253 लको राचयामात्यसूनुः । आचं-³
 254 द्रादित्यतारस्थिरतरमदिशत्को-⁴
 255 ड्कावूरिनामख्यातग्रामं⁵ चि-
 256 कूटेश्वरनिटलदृष्टे विश्वलोकेश्वरा-
 257 य ॥ [६१*] श्री श्री श्री जेयु⁶ ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Let there be prosperity !

(Verse 1.) May the primeval boar protect you, he who lifted the earth that was wet as if it (*were a woman that had fallen in love with him*⁷ and) were in violent perspiration on account of the touching of his body !

(V. 2.) Let this primeval boar devise what is propitious ! When he had lifted the wet earth from the flood of water, he held it with great force for fear lest it should slip down,⁸ and (*thereby*) hurt a little the lower part of it with his tusk (*like a lover who, when he has lifted his mistress in excess of passion, bewildered by the contact with her body, squeezes her with great force and inflicts a little wound to her lower lip with his tooth*).

(V. 3.) The lord of Kākula who, in love's wanton sports, interlacing his own (*blue*) hands with the tender (*white*) arms of Lakshmi clinging to his chest, wears, as it were, a garland of *mandāra* flowers⁹ entwined with strings of leaves of the blue water-lily, — may he exhibit the skill of fortune !

(V. 4.) The holy Rāma (*who is identical with*) Hari, who may be known from the Vêdānta;¹⁰ who, though his nature is knowledge, without end,¹¹ and existence, yet, in order to perform the duties of Maghavat,¹² wears an illusory body ; at whose sight even his enemies, such as Rāvaṇa and the rest, went to heaven¹³ at the end of their time, and others, such as Hanumat and Vibhīṣaṇa, felt perfect satisfaction on earth, — let him grant welfare to the worlds !

(V. 5.) I do homage to the sinless lotus-like foot of Rāma, the tree of desires to those who worship it, which is reddened by the splendour of the crest-jewels of Indra and the other

¹ Read पुष्पत्वजं.

² The following verse is not in K.

³ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ The subscript sign of the first *akṣara* of this line is very indistinct.

⁶ For the reading of K. see the text.

⁷ Both here and in the next verse the boar and the earth are represented as two lovers, and the words have to be taken in a double meaning.

⁸ Literally, 'on account of the unsteadiness of the contact.'

⁹ As Lakshmi is represented as being of white or golden colour, *mandāra* seems to be used here as a name of the white variety of *Calotropis Gigantea*, not of the scarlet-flowering *Erythrina Indica*.

¹⁰ Compare *Vêdānta-sūdy-dīmanā*. . . *Vishnavē* in l. 135 of the Pithāpuram inscription of Prithivīvara ; above, Vol. IV. p. 46.

¹¹ I have translated *ananta*, as this is the reading of both inscriptions. But I think it not unlikely that *ananta* is a mistake for *ananda*. *jñān-danā-sad* corresponding to the well known *sach-chid-dananda* which in such texts as the *Rāmātpantiya-Upanishad* is frequently applied to Rāma-Vishnu.

¹² *I.e.* Indra.

¹³ *I.e.* obtained salvation.

(gods) bowing (before him) as (the lotus is reddened) by the early rays of the sun ; which is embellished by the waves of light from the thunderbolt of the slayer of Vṛitra¹ as (the lotus is embellished) by flights of bees ; and which is distinguished by the tinkling of its anklets as (the lotus is distinguished) by the sweet sounds of the female flamingoes.

(V. 6.) There is (a king) called the glorious **Kṛishṇarāya**, the head-ornament of kings, whose lotus-like feet are illuminated by the crest-jewels of princes.

(V. 7.) Through the precious stones presented by the glorious king **Kṛishṇa** the houses of the learned and the poets have pavements sparkling with jewels of different kinds, and have (thus) become jewel-mines ;² veracious people (therefore) speak of the ocean which is (now) only a receptacle of floods of water (only in terms meaning water-receptacle, such) as *ambhódhih*, *juladhīh*, *payódhih*,³ *udadhīh*, *vārām nidhih*, *vāridhih*.

(V. 8.) In the court of **Kaliṅga** is seen the pillar of victory of the glorious king **Kṛishṇa**, (resembling) a stake for (tying) the elephants of his enemies, a post for (sacrificing) his foes in battle like cattle at a sacrifice, a shaft thrust into the hearts of his enemies, a lofty radiant shoot of splendour, the tusk of the boar-bodied (Vishṇu) rising from the lower regions by piercing the earth.

(V. 9.) The great chancellor, the glorious **Sālva-Timma**, the best of ministers, rules the empire of the glorious king **Kṛishṇarāya**.

(V. 10.) The glorious minister **Sālva-Timma**, the best of the family of **Kaundinya**, is the son of the minister **Rācha**, the son of the minister **Vēma**.

(V. 11.) We are not aware that the leaders of the learned differ in any way (from **Sālva-Timma**) as to their wealth (obtained) by donations, their sports with **Padmā**³ or **Vāṇī**,⁴ the number of their excellent jewels, the thousands of their fair-eyed women, their beautiful mansions and palaces, their unequalled attendants or their carriages for horses, elephants, etc. ; (but) verily, well we know how (in one thing) **Sālva-Timma** differs from them, for he is victorious in battle.

(V. 12.) Was it, because she was ashamed (of being obliged) to clean herself from the contact with the mud, that **Padmā** gave up the dwelling in the mud-born (lotus) and abides in the water-born (lotus) of thy face, together with her daughter-in-law **Vāṇī**,⁵ O **Sālva-Timma** ! (who on that account art both) **Chaubattamalla** (and) **Chaturānana** ?⁶

(V. 13.) When **Sālva** (or the hawk), surnamed **Timma**, the one chief minister on account of (his knowledge of) the four means and the three powers together with the seven constituents (of government),⁷ after having captured the swan-like kings appointed by **Gajapati** in **Koṇḍaviṭi**, is planning an attack, the hostile princes, secretly absconding, tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for the Śaka years in the mountains (7), the towns (3),⁸ the oceans (4) and the earth (1), (thus) resembling birds which, flying off unnoticed, tormented by hunger

¹ I.e. Indra.

² Or, occurs, *ratndkara* being a common term for ocean.

³ I.e. the goddess of riches.

⁴ I.e. the goddess of learning.

⁵ **Vāṇī** (**Sarasvatī**) is called here the daughter-in-law of **Padmā** (**Lakshmi**), because, as a rule, learning and wealth agree as little with each other as, according to Indian ideas, a mother-in-law with her daughter-in-law.

⁶ **Sarasvatī** is generally supposed to dwell in the mouth of **Chaturānana** (**Brahman**), while **Lakshmi** is the consort of **Vishṇu**. **Chaubattamalla**, therefore, seems to be used here as a name of **Vishṇu**, though I do not find it mentioned anywhere else. *Chaubhatta* seems to be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Chaturhastā* ; compare *Chaturbhūja*, a common name of **Vishṇu-Kṛishṇu**.

⁷ The four means (*upāya*) are *śīman*, *dāna*, *bhēda*, and *daṇḍa* ; the three powers (*śakti*) are *prabhāva*, *utthā*, and *mantra* ; the seven constituents of government (*aṅga*) are *śāstrin*, *amātya*, *sūhṛd*, *kōśa*, *rāshṭra*, *durga*, and *bala* ; compare *Amaraśīla*, II. 8, 17 ; 19 ; 20. The four numbers give the date 1437.

⁸ I have found *pura* with the value of 3 only in the list of numerical words given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. It occurs in the same meaning in v. 30 below. *Pura* in this sense refers to the three cities built by **Maya** and destroyed by **Śiva**.

and thirst, are looking for herbs and (*rain-giving*) clouds in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth.¹

(V. 14.) On Saturday, the Harivāsara of the bright half of the month Āshāḍha, to be counted in the Śaka year marked by Sāluva (Sāluvaṅka), the town of Koṇḍaviṭi, the excellent hill-fort,² was taken by the minister Sālva-Timma.³

(V. 15.) (*The procreation of*) a son, (*the planting of*) a grove, (*the construction of*) a tank, (*the consecration of*) a temple, the marriage (*of a girl*) to a Brāhmaṇa, (*the hoarding of*) a treasure, and (*the composition of*) a poem are the seven *samtānaka* acts which cause happiness in this world and in the next one; the glorious lord Sālva-Timma, the prime-minister of the glorious king Kṛishṇa, has so often performed them, from the Bridge to the snowy mountain, that one cannot count them.⁴

(V. 16.) There is, born in the lineage of Kauśika, the best of the family of Nādiṇḍla, an excellent minister, Timma, who has the true knowledge of him whose nature is intelligence.⁵

(V. 17.) Kṛishṇāmbā, renowned as Arundhati,⁶ because she does not oppose (*arundhati*) the command of her husband, is regarded as Anasūyā, because she is always free from spite (*anasūyā*).

(V. 18.) The minister Nādiṇḍla-Timma was married to Kṛishṇamāmbā; his sons were the excellent ministers Appa and Gōpa.

(V. 19.) The sister's sons of the glorious minister Sālva-Timma, who continued his family, were the excellent ministers Nādiṇḍla-Appa and (Nādiṇḍla-)Gōpa.

(V. 20.) Appa,⁷ who manifests himself in the waters and (*who bears the epithet*) Prachētas, and Nādiṇḍla-Appa, who is easily accessible⁸ and intelligent, are the lords, the one of the western, and the other of the southern ocean.

¹ In order to remove any doubt about the meaning of the words *giri-pura-jaladhi-kshmdru gūḍhaṁ prallindh* an explanation has been inserted at the end of the stanza: 1 437 Śak-ābaddh [1*] *su gūḍhaṁ prallindh aksha[ra*]-samjñā*, i.e. '1437 Śaka years; *su gūḍhaṁ prallindh* is a notation by letters.' We have therefore to take *s(u)* as 7, *g(d)* as 3, *ḡh(am)* as 4, and *p(re)* as 1. There is a slight irregularity in the last *akshara*. According to the established usage, in groups of consonants the last consonant only counts (compare Burnell, *South-Indian Palaeography*, 2nd ed., p. 79), whereas in this case *p* must have been intended to express the numeral, *r* having the value of 2. As the reading *prallindh* is supported by both inscriptions as well as by the Koṇḍaviṭu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), I have not ventured to alter the text, although the reading *prallinda* seems to me far better. In that case the meaning would be that the princes are searching for the Śaka years deeply hidden in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth, which, from an Indian point of view, would be an excellent pun, whereas in the text as it stands the words *gūḍhaṁ prallindh* are quite superfluous.

² With *naga-rājaṁ* compare the terms *durygdādāṁ śrveabhaumaḥ* and *giri-varaḥ* applied to a hill-fort in an inscription of the time of king Bukka; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 167. The neuter form of the word, though not in accordance with grammar, is warranted also by the Koṇḍaviṭu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

³ Here again, at the end of the stanza a gloss has been inserted, stating that *Sāluvaṅka* is a chronogram: *Sāluvaṅka akshara-samjñā* | 1437 Śaka-varshādih. It appears that *s(d)* is 7, *l(u)* 3, *v(dh)* 4, and *k(a)* 1. This again is not quite in accordance with the table given by Burnell, where *l* has the value of 9. The author of the inscription apparently looked upon *l* as equal to 9 or 1.

⁴ The seven *samtānas* or *samtatis* are mentioned also in v. 24 below, in v. 43 of the Gaṇapésavaram inscription of Gaṇapati, above, Vol. III. p. 88, in v. 9 of the Vānapalli plates and v. 17 of the Naḍupūru plates of Anna-Vēma, *ibid.* pp. 61 and 289; compare the notes of Dr. Hultzsch on the first two passages.

⁵ *I.e.* Rāma. With *chinmay-dīman* compare the epithets *jānu-danta-sad-dīmaḥ* and *bōdh-dīman* applied to Rāma in vv. 4 and 46.

⁶ This would be the literal meaning of the passage, but the author did not want to say that Kṛishṇāmbā really was called Arundhati. In the Koṇḍaviṭu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3) *sūnam* has therefore been substituted for *kṛyātd*.

⁷ *I.e.* Varuṇa.

⁸ *Appa-mārti*, as applied to Nādiṇḍla-Appa, seems to mean 'whose person is obtainable,' i.e. 'who is easily accessible.'

(V. 21.) It was the lord Nâdiṇḍla-Appa who obtained from the glorious king Kṛishṇa and the minister Timma (*the right to use*) a palanquin, two *chauris*¹ and a parasol, and the posts of superintendent of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti, and the city on the golden mountain (Mêru),² of commander-in-chief of a large army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and of sole governor of that kingdom.

(V. 22.) (*The man*) whose fame—a swelling smooth cloud of pulverized camphor, anointing, covering and spreading on, the beautiful rounded breasts of Śachi³ which resemble⁴ the two frontal globes of the elephant of the slayer of Jambhā⁵—derides the moon in the month Kārttika by asserting that it has not its equals in whiteness,⁶—that man is this excellent lord Nâdiṇḍla-Appa whose brilliant fame (*therefore*) is to be praised by all men.

(V. 23.) (*The man*) whose arm, when it brandishes a sword on the battle-field on the surface of the earth which he has made (*appear*) like the Pâtāla world⁷ by the clouds of dust whirled up from the ground crushed by the hard hoofs of millions of his war-horses, looks like the formidable licking lord of the serpents who supports the earth,—that man is this lord Nâdiṇḍla-Appa whose arm (*therefore*) is the support on which the weight of the earth rests.

(V. 24.) How can we praise Gôpa and Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa as being alike to each other? (*For*) the former has (*only*) one *samtāna*, while the latter has seven of them.⁸

(V. 25.) Some, (*although they were*) taught the rules of donation by the creator, are dull (*or cold*), such as the ocean and the moon, and some are exceedingly stupid, because they belong to the class of cattle, stone or wood; (*but*) the honourable Gôpa, teaching them the rules of donation, carries in his hand the ocean, in his heart the tree of desires and the cow of wishes, in his face the moon, and in his eye the stone of desires.

(V. 26.) Having their bodies licked by the lords of the serpents decorating the sandal-wood pillars in the large apartments on the top of the houses in the towns of the numerous kings hostile to *him*,⁹ becoming totally insensible and faltering, (*but*) having instantly lost their poison through (*the presence of*) Vainatêya,¹⁰ the horses of the sun are suddenly walking along the sky;—brilliant is he, this Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa who is praised by the sun.¹¹

(V. 27.) The glorious lord Sâḷva-Timma, the minister of the glorious Kṛishṇa, the first among kings, gave to his younger son-in-law, the glorious Gôpa, the best among governors and

¹ [Compare above, Vol. IV. No. 4, verse 3.—E. H.]

² [The city on the mythical mountain Mêru is Amarāvati, the residence of god Indra. Here this poetical term is applied to Amarāvati in the Kistna district.—E. H.]

³ The wife of Indra.

⁴ Literally, 'having for companions.'

⁵ *I.e.* Indra.

⁶ If my translation is correct, we should rather expect *nija-śētim-ādvaita-oddaiḥ* instead of *nijaiḥ śētim-ādvaita-oddaiḥ*, which, however, is supported also by the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

⁷ Pâtāla is the abode of the serpents.

⁸ As to the seven *samtānas* compare the note on v. 15. In the case of Gôpa, *i.e.* Kṛishṇa, *samtāna* seems to refer to the one celestial tree which Kṛishṇa, on the advice of his wife Satyabhāmā, carried off from Indra's heaven, though the name of this tree is generally given as Pārijāta. But the names of the five celestial trees are sometimes mixed up; compare *e.g.* v. 16 of the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma, above, Vol. III. p. 62, where the Pārijāta tree takes the place of the Kalpa tree, or v. 3 of the Bīṭraguṇṭa grant of Saṅgama II., *ibid.* p. 25, where Kalpa is used for the celestial trees in general; see also the note of Mr. H. Krishna Sastri on this passage. There is hardly any allusion to *Samtāna-Gôṣāla*, one of the names of Kṛishṇa, when worshipped as giver of progeny.

⁹ Snakes are supposed to be fond of sandal-wood. The towns of Gôpa's enemies were deserted by their inhabitants and therefore abounded in snakes. The houses were so high that their tops touched the sun.

¹⁰ *I.e.* Garuda. This bird must have been the device on Gôpa's banner (compare v. 33 below) which had been planted on the top of the palaces of his conquered enemies.

¹¹ The sun is grateful to Gôpa whose banner saved his horses.

an excellent minister, the post of governor of the whole empire of the city of **Koṇḍaviṭi**, together with an army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and (*the right to use*) a palanquin and two *chauris*.

(V. 28.) The sister's son of the prime-minister, the glorious **Sālva-Timma**, the chancellor (*pradhāna*) of the glorious **Kṛishṇarāya**, the first among kings,—the minister **Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa**, versed in the principles of policy, was the sole governor of the excellent city of **Koṇḍaviṭi**.

(V. 29.) In the **Śaka** year counted by **Rāghavāya** the excellent minister **Gōpa** showed his veneration for (*the god*) **Rāghava** in **Achalapuri** by (*erecting*) new buildings adorned with a wall and a gate-tower.¹

V. 30 records the setting-up of an image of **Raghunāyaka**.

(V. 31.) **Rāma**, the husband of **Sitā**,² with a circle³ consisting of **Sugrīva**, **Lakshmaṇa**, **Vibhīṣhaṇa**, **Jāmbavat**, **Bharata** together with **Śatrughna**, **Hanumat** and **Āṅgada**, were duly set up by the minister **Gōpa**.

(V. 32.) Possessed of **Sitā** and **Rāma**, **Bharata**, **Śatrughna** and **Lakshmaṇa**, this excellent city of **Koṇḍaviṭi** is flourishing (*like*) **Ayōdhyā**; (*but*) here are (*also*) **Sugrīva**, **Hanumat**, **Vibhīṣhaṇa**, **Jāmbavat** and **Āṅgada**, (*for*) the lord **Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa** set up **Rāma** with his circle.

(V. 33.) O **Rāmachandra**, glorious lord of the city **Koṇḍaviṭi**, dost thou, having become a moon (*chandra*), assume the ensign of the hawk (*sālva*), because thou thinkest that the hare comes in as a stain? If not, why (*dost thou assume*) this (*ensign*) of him who has the **Garuḍa** as his emblem?⁴

V. 34 records the grant of a village to **Sālva-Rāghava**.

(V. 35.) In the year **Yuvan**, marked as **Sālivāhana-Śaka**,⁵ the minister **Appa**, who is equal to **Sālivāhana**, obtained the regentship of the city of **Koṇḍaviṭi** from the minister **Sālva-Timma**.

¹ At the end of this verse we find, as before, the explanation of the chronogram '*Rāghavāya 1442 akshara-samjña*.' This time it shows nothing peculiar, *r(d)* being 2, *gh(a)* 4, *v(d)* 4, and *y(a)* 1.

² This seems to mean 'with **Sitā** on his lap.'

³ *Saparivedraka* is apparently the same as *śḍararaṇa* in the next verse. *Śḍararaṇa* seems to be a technical term for the circles formed by the statues of **Rāma**'s followers round the statue of their master. Thus we read in the *Rāmapūrvatāpanīya-Upanishad*, v. 43 ff., that **Rāma** is surrounded (*śḍrita*, vv. 55, 56) by five circles, called *śḍararaṇa* in **Nārāyaṇa**'s *Dāpikā*. The third of these circles is formed by the son of the wind (**Hanumat**), **Sugrīva**, **Bharata**, **Vibhīṣhaṇa**, **Lakshmaṇa**, **Āṅgada**, **Arimardana** (**Śatrughna**) and **Jāmbavat** (vv. 53, 54), exactly the same persons as those mentioned above. **Sitā** is not mentioned in the description of the *Upanishad*, though in the preceding verse 47 she is represented as sitting on **Rāma**'s lap; compare also v. 26. That the author had in view some arrangement of statues similar to that described in the inscription, and not, as the commentator thinks, of figures drawn in a diagram, is probable from the fact that in describing the position of the figures he uses the terms *udag-dakṣiṇayōḥ*, *agrataḥ* (v. 50), *paścimē* (v. 51), *dgnyāddikṣu* (v. 53), whereas in the description of the diagram (v. 58 ff.) he speaks only of *madhyē*, *atpādrīvē*, etc.

⁴ I.e. either **Vishṇu** or **Sālva-Timma**. I am not at all sure that my translation of this verse is correct. Its principal object apparently is a pun on the name of the god, **Sālva-Rāghava**, mentioned in the next verse; compare vv. 41, 42 which in a similar way praise **Śiva Virōṣvara** mentioned in v. 43. The name of the god is certainly connected in some way with that of **Sālva-Timma**, where, to judge from the analogy of such names as **Nādiṇḍla-Timma**, etc., the first part would seem to be properly a family name. Whether **Sālva** in this sense has anything to do with the tribal name of the **Sālvas** or **Sālvās**, must be left undecided; compare **Winternitz**, *Mantrapāṭha*, p. xlvii. On the other hand, in the titles *Gaṇḍa Kaṭṭāri Sālva*, borne e.g. by **Narasimharāya** of **Vijayanagara** and **Veṅkaṭa I.** of **Karnāṭa** (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 86, 131), and by the former king even with repetition of the last word (*Sālva-sālva*; *ibid.* p. 132), *sālva* is clearly only a *biruda*. According to **Dr. Hultzsch** it means 'the hawk,' and in this sense, and as a synonym of *Garuḍa*, it seems to have been used in the present case also.

⁵ As to the chronogram see the remarks on p. 112 above.

Vv. 36-40 record various grants.

(V. 41.) I worship the lotus-like foot of the destroyer of the sacrifice of Daksha,¹ which is revered by the hosts of the gods; which is covered by the brilliant rays of the lines of its exceedingly white nails, as (*a lotus is covered*) by ducks kept for pleasure; which is adorned with huge serpents glittering like ornaments, as (*a lotus is adorned*) with the floating fibres of its stalk; which is surrounded by the heads of the hosts of his enemies, as (*a lotus is surrounded*) by flights of female bees.

(V. 42.) Let that Virêśvara protect you whose deep compassion with heroes was the cause of Daksha-Prajâpati's head becoming quickly the head of a ram!²

Vv. 43-49 record various grants.

(V. 50.) Having made at Âtukûru a tank, where lines of swans meet in the clusters of the widely opened water-lilies floating on the waves; which is charming, because the curlews are (*seen there*) striding in circles and sporting in pairs, (*pressing each other*) with their throats, (*at the same time*) uttering sharp cries; which is the rival of the ocean; where a loud dabbling noise originates in the cavities of the banks, the lord Nâdiṇḍla-Appa presented it completely to the Brâhmanas.³

Vv. 51 and 52 record two grants.

(V. 53.) This tank at Appâpura, resembling the ocean, which, abounding in lotuses, was the abode of the kings of birds,⁴ became a forest, a field of rampant raddy, and in the hot season a stream, because (*even at that time*) it was full of water.

Vv. 54-59 record various grants.

(V. 60.) As long as the floods of the daughter of Jahnu, the daughter of Tryambaka and the holy daughter of Sahya are purifying the earth and the whole city of Koṇḍaviṭi,⁵ as long as a poet is sporting in the waves of the nectar-ocean of poetry, so long shall the creeper of Sâḷva-Timma's fame continually blossom on earth!

V. 61 records a grant by Sâḷva-Timma.

(L. 257.) Happiness! Happiness! May it cause happiness!

¹ *I.e.* Śiva.

² This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva, irritated because he had not been invited to the sacrifice of Daksha-Prajâpati, the father of his wife Sati, decapitated his father-in-law, but afterwards, out of pity, revived him and gave him the head of a ram.

³ I find it impossible to render the niceties of the text in my translation. The terms used are such as to convey the idea of an arena, where circles of kings (*râjahams-dvatamsa*) are assembled, where a wrestling (*mithuna-krôda-khêlâ*) takes place, where a champion (*âṅkakâra*) appears, and where loud applause (*uttâla-idla*) is heard.

⁴ *Doijardja* seems to be meant for *râjahamsa*.

⁵ The daughter of Jahnu is the Gaṅgâ. The daughter of Tryambaka is the Gôdâvarî which rises on mount Tryambaka; compare the verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaidyajitvana*, quoted by Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Sanscr. Bibl. Bodl.* p. 318a:

Yatr-âgatâ Tryambaka-pureatdch-cha Gôdâvarî Sindhumadêna yuktd |

tatr-âstî Gôdd-taṭa-madhya-dêlê Shatkhêṭak-âkhyam nagaram suramyam |

The Tryambaka forms part of the chain of mountains on the north-west side of the Peninsula which commonly are called Sahya; in the *Vâyupurâṇa*, I, 45, 104, the Gôdâvarî therefore appears in the list of rivers which rise on the Sahya. Here, however, the daughter of Sahya is the Kṛishṇâ, as shown by the corresponding verse in the Koṇḍaviṭu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), where *Kṛishṇavand* has been inserted instead of *Sahyapuri*. Rivers are frequently called the daughters of the mountains where they arise; even in the dry geographical description of the *Vâyupurâṇa* the rivers rising on mount Mahêndra are called his daughters (45, 106). The statement that the Kṛishṇâ purifies the city (*part*) of Koṇḍaviṭu is, of course, a poetical exaggeration, the distance between Koṇḍaviṭu and the river being more than twenty miles.

B.—Kāzā Pillar Inscription.

END OF THE TEXT.¹*Fourth Face.*

- 255 'याके वस्त्रनिवेदे-³
 256 दुग्धेगच्छेशमंटपं । नक्षपाटौ सु-
 257 धालिमं कृतवानप्यमंचिराट् ॥ [६०*] ओ
 258 ओ ओ जेयुनू' [॥*]

No. 13.—TWO GRANTS OF DANDIMAHADEVI.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E ; GÖRTINGEN.

The two grants of which at Dr. Hultzsch's request I give an account here from excellent impressions supplied to him by Mr. Venkayya, were preserved in the office of the Collector of Gañjām and will be deposited in the Madras Museum. There is no information as to where or by whom they were discovered. They have been briefly noticed already in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 32 f., Nos. 216 and 217;⁵ and I have for years been in possession of rubbings of them which formerly belonged to the late Sir A. Cunningham. The grants record donations by a lady named Daṇḍimahādēvi, whose ancestors are enumerated in both, in almost identical verses.

A.—DAṆḌIMAHĀDĒVĪ'S GRANT OF THE YEAR 180.

This is a single copper-plate which measures about 1' $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ " high, and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a seal, half of which sticks to the plate, while the other half projects beyond it. This seal rests on an expanded lotus flower the petals of which enclose it; it is circular and measures 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvi*, in characters resembling those on the first side of the plate; above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its hips; and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}$ and $\frac{7}{16}$ " on the first side of the plate, and between about $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{8}$ " on the second side. Both the general style of writing and the forms of individual letters shew that the two sides of the plate were written by different persons. The writer of the first side, who affects a monumental style of writing, apparently has taken some pride in his work and has done it fairly well; the writer of the second side, who writes in a current hand, has performed his task in a very slovenly manner and committed many blunders, some of which I am unable to correct. The characters on both sides belong to the northern part of Eastern India. They

¹ From an inked estampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.² Up to this, the text is practically identical with that of the preceding inscription.³ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁴ Read जेयुनु; after this comes a sign the meaning of which I do not know.⁵ The prince 'Indulālā' of Mr. Sewell's account, to whom is ascribed the feat of having rescued his brother's throne, owes his existence to the epithet *vyādha-bhōḡāndra-īlālā* in verse 6 of the two grants. Most of the princes who are really mentioned in the grants have been omitted by Mr. Sewell's informant.

may be classed together with those of *e.g.* the Naḍagām (in Gañjām) plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka-Saṁvat 979 (No. 357 of my *List of Inscr. of North. India*), the Bāmaṅghāti (in Orissa) plate of Raṇabhañja (*ibid.* No. 655), the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyādharaḥhañja (*ibid.* No. 658), the Paṭṇā, Katak and Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta I. and II. (*ibid.* Nos. 659, 660, 664 and 665), the Buguḍa (in Gañjām) plates of Mādhavavarman (*ibid.* No. 673), the Gañjām plates of Prithivivarman (*ibid.* No. 672), and even the Assam plates of Ratnapālavarman, Indrapālavarman and Balavarman (*ibid.* Nos. 711-714). To prove this with full details would lead me too far here, but I may invite the reader's attention at least to the forms of the *aksharas* *ṭa* and *ṭṭa* used in the present inscription (*e.g.* in the word *khēṭa* in line 30, and in *Ummaṭṭa*- at the end of line 5), the type of which is equally found in all the eastern inscriptions enumerated,¹ while it is absent from the records of other parts of Northern India. Of peculiar forms of letters on the first side of the plate I would point out that of the letter *n* (*e.g.* in *nivāsi*-, l. 3, and *ānandaṁ*-, l. 4), which has found no place yet in our palæographic Tables; it also occurs in the Naḍagām plates of Vajrahasta (above, Vol. IV. p. 189, and Plate, *e.g.* in *bhuvana-vinuta*-, l. 1). I may mention besides that in the word *charitārtha*- in line 12 the *r* of the *akshara* *rtha* clearly is written on, not above, the line. On the second side attention may be drawn, amongst other things, to the form of the letter *h* (*e.g.* in *māhiyasī mahim=ahi*- in line 20), which also is absent from our palæographic Tables, but occurs *e.g.* in the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyādharaḥhañja (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. Plate ix.); to the form of the subscript *ū*, *e.g.* in *chi[hna]-bhūtā*, l. 21, and *vabhūva*, l. 22, which is the form of *ū* constantly used in the Naḍagām plates; to the medial *ā* in *pathārha* (for *yathārham*), l. 28, in the *nā* of *Dānālavaḥ*, l. 40,² and in the *grā* of *-grāmā*, l. 41; to the fact that the letters *t*, *r* and *j* occasionally are turned the wrong way, as in *chiram*= and *sutā tasyā* in line 20, and *°dhirāja*-, l. 23; to the final *t* in *saṁvat*, l. 35, and *śrīmat*, l. 38; to the occurrence of the rare letter *jh* in *ajhēraṭa*- at the end of line 42;³ and to the apparently very modern forms—peculiar, so far as I can see, to Orissa—of the letters *p*, *ph* and *sh* in the corrupt passage *mā bhud=aphasanā saḥ para-datishu* in line 37. Nor would I omit to mention that in line 26 the first *akshara* of the word which I have transcribed by *[sth?]ānāntari[k]ān*= is denoted by a strange sign which bears no resemblance at all to the ordinary sign for *sth*.⁴ But what in this inscription—a record which from its general appearance could hardly pretend to any great antiquity—seems to me most remarkable, is the employment of **numerical symbols**⁵ in the date of it (in lines 35 and 36), which I have transcribed by *saṁvat 100 80 Mārgaśīrsha-vadi 5 (?)*. In this respect, I can compare with the present grant only the Bāmaṅghāti (in Orissa) plate of Raṇabhañja, in which the year of the date is similarly denoted by numerical symbols (for 200, 80 and 8).⁶ It is noteworthy that both these grants come from the same part of India, where

¹ In some of these inscriptions it is difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ṭ* and *ṭṭ*, and there are some in which no difference at all is made between the two.

² The same sign for *nā* is used in line 39, in the word transcribed by *[pū?]nā[kō]*. The medial *d* is occasionally written in the same manner in the Kudopali plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 258, Plate), in the *aksharas* *gā*, *āgā*, *ṭṭā*, *dhā* and *śā* (and also in *nō*).

³ The sign for *jh*, here employed, resembles the sign for the same letter used in the Assam plates of Vallabhadēva, above, Vol. V. p. 185, l. 41, in the phrase *sa-jhāṭa-viṭapa*. A similar sign for *jh* also occurs in line 11 of the Kudopali plates, above, Vol. IV. p. 258, where the actual reading, as I now see, is *sa-jhāṭa-viṭap-dranya* (for *sa-jhāṭa-viṭap-dranyaḥ*), not *sa-[vā?]ṭṭa-viṭap-dranya*.

⁴ The sign employed by the writer is perhaps really meant for *thā*, not *sthā*.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 4, I have given the latest known copper-plate inscriptions with numerical symbols, the time of which can be fixed with certainty, and have stated that they are all anterior to A.D. 800. The only stone inscriptions with numerical symbols which are later than A.D. 800, so far as I know, are Nos. 501, 545 and 560 of my *List of Inscr. of North. India*.

⁶ See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XL. Part I. Plate ii. last line; and Prof. Bühler's *Ind. Palæographie*, Plate LX. col. xviii., where (probably only in consequence of the numerical symbols) Raṇabhañja's plate is assigned to the 9th century A.D.

such symbols therefore would seem to have been longer in practical use than in other parts of the country. As regards the individual signs employed in this inscription, the symbol for 100 is something between *lva* and *lu*, just as the symbol for 200 in the Bāmanghātī plate is *lū*; and that for 80 is nearly identical in both plates. The exact form of the symbol—if it be intended as such—for the number of the *tithi* of the date I have not been able to trace elsewhere, and I am very doubtful whether I have correctly taken it to denote '5.'¹—Excepting the description of the boundaries in lines 42 and 43, where some local dialect appears to be used, the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The first part of the grant up to line 22, which gives the genealogy of Daṇḍimahādēvi, is in verse, but includes a short prose passage in line 3. The formal part of the grant, from line 22 to the end, is in prose, except that in lines 36-39 it contains some benedictive and imprecatory verses or fragments of verses—here, as in some cognate inscriptions, given very corruptly—as well as a verse which records the name of the composer of the *praśasti*, i.e., as I take it, of the genealogical account. In respect of orthography the only general remarks called for are, that the letter *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the writer of the second side (like some Telugu writers) has found some difficulty in distinguishing between the vowels *i* and *ī*. The second side of the grant, as I have intimated already, has been written so carelessly that it would be impossible here to point out all orthographical mistakes. On the first side it may suffice to call attention to the use of the *akshara tsa* instead of *chchha* in the word *saptatsada* (for *saptachchhada*) in line 2, which finds its counterpart in the common *samvachchhaa* (for *samvatsara*).—I regret that in the formal part of the grant there are several words or phrases regarding the exact reading and interpretation of which I am uncertain. They are the words transcribed by *pa[vā?]ka-*, l. 27, *gōku[ta]-*, l. 29, *=lēkhari-pravēsanās[t]iṣṭā*, l. 31, and *[pū?]nā[kā]*, l. 39. I also am unable to interpret the greater part of lines 42 and 43, which, as stated already, are not in Sanskrit.

The inscription is one of the *Paraṃabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvari Daṇḍimahādēvi* (l. 24), whose ancestors are enumerated in verses 2-9. There was a king named *Ummattasimha* (l. 5), from whose family sprang *Maṅgapāḍa* (l. 7) and other kings. In their family there was the king *Lōnabhāra* (l. 9); his son was *Kusumabhāra* (l. 13); after him ruled his younger brother *Lalitabhāra* (l. 13); he was succeeded by his son *Śāntikara* (l. 15), and he again by his younger brother *Śubhākara* (l. 18). When the last of these princes died, his queen² ascended the throne, and afterwards her daughter *Daṇḍimahādēvi* (l. 20) 'ruled the earth for a long time.' This queen, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), from 'the camp of victory'—appropriately compared in verse 1 with the commencement of autumn (the season of war)—at *Guhēśvarapātaka* (l. 3), issues the following order to the present and future functionaries in the *Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala* (l. 24), viz. the *Mahāsūmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāsikas*, *Sthānāntarikas*³ and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites;⁴ and to the people, headed by the . . .⁵ *Sāmantas* and *Sāmaṇājins*,⁶ who dwell in the eastern division of the *Varaḍākhaṇḍa-vishaya* (l. 26):—

"Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, on the occasion of a *saṃkrānti* (l. 34), by means of a copper-charter

¹ The doubtful sign seems to me to bear some kind of resemblance to the symbol for 5 in the Chikkulla plates, above, Vol. IV. p. 197, l. 26, Plate.

² Her name is not given, but from the epithets applied to her in verse 9 we may suspect that it was Gaurī.

³ I do not remember having met this term before; *sthānādāhikagṇika* occurs above, Vol. III. p. 320, l. 11 of the text, and *sthānādāhikṛita* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 179, l. 14.

⁴ Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 10, *chāḍa-bhaṭa-vallabhajṭiṣṭā*; instead of *vallabha* we have *rdjavallabha* above, Vol. III. p. 342, l. 6; p. 347, l. 7; and elsewhere.

⁵ See below, p. 138, note 25.

⁶ The term *sāmaṇājī[n]* occurs above, Vol. IV. p. 258, l. 14; instead of it we have *sāmaṇājika*, *ibid.* p. 200, l. 11; and *sāmaṇājika*, above, Vol. III. p. 352, l. 27 (where the published text has *sāma[n*]i-asika*).

with pouring out of water given, in the way of a perpetual endowment and free from taxes,¹ the village of Villa (l. 29) which belongs to this *vishaya*— with the *uparikara*, with the *uddēsa*,² with³ its weavers, *gōkūṭas* (?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets³ (?), landing-places (or steps on the river-side), ferry-places⁴ etc. and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered⁵ . . . , in accordance with the maxim called *bhūmichchhidra* and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure—to the door-keeper Dhavala (l. 34), the son of Vās[u ?] . . . and grandson of Apratiḍāghōsha, an immigrant from Viṅgipāṭaka (?), belonging to the Viśvāmitra *gōtra*, with the *pravara* Dēvarāta and *anupravara* Audala, and student of the Kaṇva-śākhā. Wherefore, out of respect for what is right, you should preserve this our gift ! ”

This order is followed (in line 35) by the date, the 5th (?) of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha of the year 180; and (in lines 36-38) by benedictive and imprecatory verses. Lines 38-40 repeat that this is a charter of Daṇḍimahādēvi; give the name of the author of the *prastāvi*, the poet Jambhala, son of the great poet Jayātman (?); and record the names of certain officials, viz. the Rānaka Dāpālava who was the *dūtaka* (?) of the grant, the Mahākshapāṭalika Nṛ[simha ?], the Mahāsāṃdhivigrahin Ugrāditya, and the Mahāpratihāra (?) Prahāsa.

Line 41 adds that a quarter (?) of the village of Villa on the occasion of a *saṃkrānti* was given by Dhavala to the Brāhman; lines 42 and 43, in which the names of the villages of Hōṇḍala and Khairapaṭa occur, apparently state the boundaries of the village granted; and the inscription ends with the name of the engraver, Sambhaka.

Beyond saying that, judged by the writing, this inscription could hardly be older than the 13th century A.D., I do not venture at present to express any opinion regarding its age. I do not know to what era the year 180 of its date and the year 288 of the date of Raṇabhaṇja's grant should be referred, and can only trust that other inscriptions, similarly dated, will be obtained from the same part of the country, which may both help us to fix definitely the dates of these grants and throw more light on the general question of the employment of numerical symbols in Eastern India.

The place Guhēśvarapāṭaka from which the grant was issued, the villages mentioned in it, and the *vishaya* in which they were situated, I have not found on the maps. The name Kōṅgōḍa⁶ of the *maṇḍala* to which the *vishayas* of both the grants A and B belonged I have from the first ventured to identify with the name Kong-u-t'o (Kong-yu-t'o) of Hsien Tsiang (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 206), and I am assured by Professor S. Lévi that from a linguistic point of view this identification is in every respect unobjectionable. As stated by

¹ The phrases *akaratoḍa* and *akarākṛitya* are very common in grants from the same part of India.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 254, I have translated *uddēsa* by 'with all their localities,' but *uddēsa* has probably a more specific meaning. *Sōparikaraḥ soddēsaḥ* (which apparently is the proper reading also in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 125, l. 4 from the bottom) may be equivalent to the *sōdraṅgaḥ sōparikaraḥ* of other inscriptions.

³ In the phrase which commences here the reading of the word *gōkūṭas* appears to be certain, but its meaning is not apparent. For some expressions (the exact meaning of which is uncertain), in which the word *prakṛiti* occurs, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 183, note 82. For the general import of the phrase here used I would compare above, Vol. V. p. 112, lines 65 and 66, where the village-artisans are stated to be included in the grant; also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 58, l. 52, and above, Vol. IV. p. 296, "We (also) gave the oil-mongers and the five (*classes* of) artisans as (*his*) slaves." For taxes on looms etc. see *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. I. pp. 88, 89, 103, 155 etc.

⁴ Compare above, Vol. V. p. 52, last line of the text ("ferry-boats" etc.).

⁵ The phrase commencing with *-lākhaṇ(?)*—I am unable to explain. It recalls, of course, such well-known expressions as *achāḍābhāṭaprasāsa*, *achāḍābhāṭaprasādiya*, *akimchitpragrāhya*, *akastaprasāhāntya*, etc.

⁶ According to the grant B the Kōṅgōḍa-maṇḍala (or-maṇḍalaka) was in Dakṣiṇa-Kōḍa. — For a village or town named *Kaṅgōḍa* see above, Vol. III. p. 42.

Mr. Beal, Sir A. Cunningham supposed Kong-u-t'o (hitherto transcribed by Kōnyōdha) to be Gañjām, and Mr. Fergusson took it as nearly certain that the small kingdom of Kong-u-t'o was 'somewhere between Kuttack and Aska' (in the Gañjām district). Inasmuch as both our grants come from Gañjām, either statement would tend to support my identification. On the maps I have searched in vain for a name like Kōngōda. In Hinen Tsiang's account of the kingdom of Kong-u-t'o there is one point to which, in concluding these remarks, I may draw attention. The written characters of the people of that kingdom, he says, 'are the same as those of Mid-India.' In other words, they belonged to the northern alphabet, just as is the case with the characters of the grants here edited, grants which otherwise one would rather have classed with the southern inscriptions.

TEXT.¹

First Side.

- 1 Ōm² [||*] Svasti³ vyastajal-ābhra-vibhrama-haraiḥ⁴ śvêtā[tpa]tr-⁵ōtkarair=
6 avathīya-śrutichāmarais=va(cha) 7 bha(ha)sita-vyākōśa-kā-
- 2 śōdayair=uddāmair=mmada-saurabhais=cha karīṇām=ākshipta-saptatsa(chchha)d-⁸āmōdaiḥ
sannihitām sad=aiva śara-
- 3 d-ārambha-śriyam=vi(bi)bhrataḥ || [1*] Śrīmad-Guhēśvarapāṭṭa(ṭa)ka-nivāsi-⁹
vijayaskandhāvārāt || Sarvv-āśā-pa-
- 4 ripūraṇ-ādihika-ruchir=yas=tāpam=astan=nayann=ānandaṇ=kṛitavān(ñ)=janasya manasi
10 prāptam=pratishtṭha(shṭhā)ñ=chiram [1*]
- 5 saddṛishṭi-pratirōdhi yēna cha tamō nirmmūlam=ū(u)nmūlitam
śrīmān=indur=iv=āvanīpatir=abbūd=Ummaṭṭa-
- 6 siṅgh-āhvayaḥ¹¹ || [2*] Tad-vamśād=abhavann=anindita-guṇā muktāmayaḥ
sadgatāḥ¹² sad-vṛittāḥ sukha-
- 7 si(śi)talāḥ kshitiḥbhrītaḥ¹³ śrī-Madgapād-¹⁴ādayaḥ | yē nītā hṛiday-ōgra-tāpa-
sa(sa)manē dē-
- 8 v-āṅganābhiḥ svayaṇ=kaṇṭhāślēsha-sukha[m?]¹⁵ sthiti-praṇayinō hār-ābhirāmāḥ
kṛitāḥ || [3*] Ta-
- 9 d-vamśē=bhavad=ūrijita[h*]¹⁶ kṛita-vu(bu)dha-prīti[h]¹⁶ pratit-ōdayō dēvaḥ
śatruvadhū-mukhēndu-taraṇi[h]¹⁷ śrī-Lō-
- 10 nabhārō¹⁸ nṛipaḥ [1*] yasy=ākramya gurupratāpa-śikhinaḥ prithvībhṛita[h]¹⁹
prōdva(ddha)tān dūram sarvva-
- 11 digantarēshu tarasā²⁰ svairam=prasasruḥ karāḥ²¹ || [4*] ²²Tasy=ātmajaḥ
praṇata-pārthiva-chakra-chūdā-
- 12 nirvvyāja-rōpita-padaś=charitārtha-nāmā [1*] vistāri-saurabha-guṇ-ōdaya-pūrit-āśas=
tasmā-²³

¹ From impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.² Metre of verses 1-4: Śārdūlavikrīḍ ta.³ B has *svêtātpatr-*; read *svêtātpatr-*.⁴ B has *hasita-*.⁵ B has *°pātaka-vasita-vi°*; I should have expected *°pātāk-dvāsita-vi°*.⁶ B has only *prātam chiram*.⁷ B has *sadātāḥ*; read *saṅgatāḥ* (or *saṅgatāḥ*). B omits *sad-vṛittāḥ*.⁸ B has *sthitiḥbhrītaḥ*.⁹ B has *=urjitaḥ*.¹⁰ The sign of *visarga* was originally omitted, but seems to have been inserted afterwards; B has *-stītiḥ*.¹¹ This sign of *visarga* also was originally omitted.¹² This sign of *visarga* also was originally omitted.¹³ B has *kard*.¹⁴ Instead of *tasmā* B has *śrīmda*, which is a better reading.¹⁵ Denoted by a symbol.¹⁶ The grant B has *-vibhrama-dharaiḥ*.¹⁷ B has *astiya-*; read *asītya-*.¹⁸ B has *saptachchhad-*.¹⁹ B has *sih-dhvaya*; read *siṃh-dhvayaḥ*.²⁰ B has *tarshd*.²¹ B has *śrīmadagapād-*; read *śrī-Maṅgapād-(?)*.²² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

- 13 d=abhût=**Kusumabhâra** iti kshitîśaḥ || [5*] Abhṛita¹ Lali[ta*]bhâraḥ kshma-
bharam=bhûri-têjâs=tad=ann
14 tad=annjanmâ vyûḍha-bhögindra-lîlaḥ | anayad=amalimânam yad=yaśaḥpûram=
uchai(chchai)r=api ripu-rama-
15 nînam=añjan-ônmiśram=aśraḥ² || [6*] ³Tasmin=nṛipê divam=upêyushi tat-
tanûjaḥ śâst=âvanêr=ajanê(ni) Śâ-
16 ntikar-âbhivâ(dhâ)naḥ [i*] yên=ôddhṛitêshv=akhila-durimada-kaṇṭakêśhva(shu)
rêmê ⁴yavô(thâ)-sva(su)kham=apâsta-bhiyâ janêna || [7*] Tasya
17 prasa(śa)sya-charit-â[r*]jita-bhûri-kâ(kî)rtti[r*]=vviśvambharâ-vibhur=abhûd = a n u j a s =
tatô=pi [i*] śrêyôbhir=êka-padam=ity=a-
18 khilaiḥ śri(śri)t-âtmâ yaḥ śrî-**Subhâkara** iti prathitô yavô(thâ)rtham || [8*]
Tasya tripishṭapa-jusha[h]⁵ paramêśvara-
19 sya dêvî samasta-janatâ-ma(na)ta-padêpadmâ⁶ [i*] siṅghâsanam⁷ śasîkar-
âmala-kâ(kî)rtti-gaurî Gaur=îva gaurava-

Second Side.

- 20 ⁸padam chiram=adhyarôhataḥ⁹ || [9*] Tatô¹⁰ Daṇḍimâhâdêvi¹¹ sutâ tasyâ¹²
mahî(hî)yaśi [i*] mahim=ahî(hî)-
21 nasâ(yâ)¹³ matyâ chê(chi)ra-kâlam=apâlayata¹⁴ || [10*]
¹⁵Avichchhâ[nn]âyatiprâ[s]au vamsê[ka]ra-mahibhṛitâm [i*] chi[hna]-bhûtâ pa-
22 tâk=êva yâ va(ba)bhûva vibhûshaṇam || (l) lâvany-âmṛita-niḥsyanda.¹⁶
sundaram dadhatî vapuḥ l(l)[11*] Paramamâ-
23 hêsvari¹⁷ mâtâpitṛi-pâdânudhyâtâ paramabha[tt]ârikâ mâ(ma)hârâjâdhirâja-
paramêśva-
24 ri(rî) śrîmad-Daṇḍimâhâdêvi¹⁸ kusalini [19] Kô[m]gôda-mê(ma)ṇḍê(ṇḍa)lê
vartamâ[na*]-bhavishyan-mâ(ma)hâ-
25 ²⁰sâmantam-mâhâraja-râjaputr-ântaraṅga-kumârâmaty-ôparikarikâ.²¹vishaya p a t i - t a -
26 ²²dâtyukuka-dapdâvâsika-[sth?]²³ânântari[k]ân=anyân=[châ?]²⁴ râjaprasâdina(nô)
bha[ta]-châṭa-valla[bha*]jâtinâ²⁴ Varadâ-
27 khaṇḍa-vishayê pu(pû)rvva-khaṇḍê pa[vâ?]²⁵ka.²⁶sâmanṭa-sâmaṇḍâji-pramukha-
nivâsinô ja-

¹ Metre : Mâlinî; B omits the first two words of this verse.

² Read =aśra, which is the reading of B.

³ Metre of verses 7-9: Vasantatilakâ.

⁴ B has yathâ-suddham=.

⁵ This sign of visarga was originally omitted.

⁶ Read -pâdapadmâ.

⁷ B has siḥḥsanam; read siṅghâsanam.

⁸ Above the aksharas mâhâdêvi sutâ tasyâ of this line 10 aksharas are engraved in small letters. So far as I can make them out, they are sâmantasya mudamalapaja; I do not understand their meaning.

⁹ B has =adhyarôt (or °rôta); read =adhyarôhat.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 10 and 11: Ślôka (Anushtubh). Verse 11 contains six Pâdas.

¹¹ B has Daṇḍimâhâdêvi; read Daṇḍimâhâdêvi.

¹² B has tasya.

¹³ B has =ahînasâ.

¹⁴ Read =apâlayat.

¹⁵ Read avichchhinn-dyati-prâptau (?) vamsîkara-mahibhṛitâm.

¹⁶ Read =niḥsyanda.

¹⁷ Read hêsvari.

¹⁸ Read -Daṇḍimâhâdêvi kusalini.

¹⁹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the following name the sign of anusvâra is very faint in the impressions; in the grant B the name is written Kôṅgôda.

²⁰ Read sâmanṭa-mahârâja.

²¹ Read -ôparika.

²² The second akshara of this line, transcribed by *tys*, is really *tyâ* with the sign of *a* below it; of the 10th akshara, transcribed by *sthâ*, the sign for *sth* seems to be no proper letter at all. Read dâtyukuka-dâpâdâvâsika. In B *sthâpântarikâ* is quite clear.

²³ Read =anyâni=châ.

²⁴ Read °jâtîyân; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 10, and note 9.

²⁵ Read pradhâna(?) or râṇaka(?). For the following sâmaṇḍâji compare *ibid.* p. 258, l. 14, and note 16.

First Side

2 स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः
 4 स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः
 6 स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः
 8 स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः
 10 स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः
 12 स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः
 14 स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः
 16 स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः
 18 स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः स्मिदायं नृपलक्ष्मिः

J. F. FLEET.

SCALE 1/60

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY DR. HULTZSCH.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

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- 28 napadāna¹ pa(ya)thārha[m*] mānayati vō(bō)dhayatī(ti) ²pramajñāpayati [I*]
³Viyitam=asu bhavāra-
- 29 tadashasamana-Villa-grāma[h*]⁴ sya(sō)parikara[h*] sōthēshaḥ⁵ sa-tamtravāya-
 gōku[ta].⁶saundī-⁷
- 30 k-ādi-prakutitah sa-khēṭa-ghaṭa(ṭṭa)-nadi(di)tarasthān-ādi(di)-gulmakah sarvva-
 pīḍā-va-
- 31 rjitō=lēkhari-pravēsanās[t]iyā⁸ bh[ū]michhīdr-āpivāna-⁹nyāyēn=ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-
 sama-kālām ma(mā)tāpitrō-
- 32 r=ātmanah sarvva-sa[t*]tvānā[n=cha] puky(ny)-ā[bh]ivri[d*]dhayē Viṅgināṭaka-¹⁰
 vin[i]rgatāya Viśvāmītra-gōtrāya Dēva-
- 33 rāta-pravarāya Audal-ēta¹¹ anupravarāya Kaṇḍa(nva)sākh-[ā]ddhyāyī¹²
 Apratidāghōsha-pantrāya Vās[u?]-
- 34 ¹³ . . . -putrāya pratihāra-Dhavalāya saṅkrāntiyām hast-ōdakēn=āsm[ā]bhis=
 tāmvrāsāsa[n]ikṛity=ākshapanivī-dha-¹⁴
- 35 rmēṇ=ākaratvēna pratiyā(pā)ditasad=¹⁵ēsh=āsma-dati=ddharma-gauravād=bhavadbhīh
 pariphalaniyā¹⁶ [I*] Samvat¹⁷ 100
- 36 80 Mārgasīrsha-vadi 5(?) [I*] ¹⁸Vahubhir=vasuddhā [da*]ttā | rājāna¹⁹ Sagar-
 ādibhīh [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhumiḥ tasya tasya
- 37 tadā pālāḥ [I*] Mā²⁰ bhud=aphasanā saḥ para-datishu pā[tth]ivā [I*] Sva-datā
 para-datam=vā yō harē vasuddharā [I*] sa viśṭhāyā
- 38 kṛimir=bhutvā pitribhi saha pachyatēḥ |(II) ²¹Śrīmat Daṇḍimahādēvyā
 tāvachhāsanam=ast=īdām | Prasasti²² samasta-
- 39 vachasā kavīn=ēha mā(ma)hākavēḥ [I*] kṛitā Jambhala-nāmn=ēyam=ātma-jēnam²³
 Jayatmanah [I*] ²⁴[Pū?]nā[kō]=pi rānaka-śrī-

¹ Read -nivāsi-janapadānī=cha (?).

² Read samājñāḍ.

³ Read Viḍitam=astu bhavātām=stād-vishaya-sambaddha-.

⁴ Of the name of the village (read by me Villa-) the consonant of the first *akṣhara* has a somewhat odd form, and the second *akṣhara* might possibly be *lga*; below, in line 41, the name is written either *Vila-* or *Vēla-*.

⁵ Read sōddēśah.

⁶ B has distinctly *gōkuṭa*; in the present inscription the sign transcribed by *ṭa* differs somewhat from the sign for *ṭa* which elsewhere is used here.

⁷ Read -saundīk-ādi-prakṛitīkah.

⁸ B has -lēkhantī-pravēśatay[d]. I do not find a similar term (containing *lēkhantī*) elsewhere, and am unable to suggest a suitable emendation.

⁹ Read bhūmichchīdr-ābhīdhāna-.

¹⁰ Read Viṅgipātaka-(?) or Veṅgipātaka-(?).

¹¹ Read °rāy=Audal-ēty-anu°.

¹² Read -ddhyāyīn, and compare above, Vol. IV. p. 258, l. 16 of the text. With the following name which is clear in the impression, compare *Kōṭighōsha* and *Vallabhaghōsha*, above, Vol. III. p. 344, l. 42 of the text.

¹³ Here one *akṣhara* is mutilated and illegible in the impression.

¹⁴ Read tāmvrāsāntikṛity=ākshapanivī-dha-.

¹⁵ Read °ditar=tad=ēsh=dsmad-dattir=.

¹⁶ Read °dbhīh paripdantīd.

¹⁷ Read samvat; compare my introductory remarks.

¹⁸ I consider it unnecessary to correct all the numerous mistakes in the following verses; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 23 ff., and p. 259, l. 22 ff.

¹⁹ Read *rājānaḥ*, which actually occurs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 49, l. 13. Instead of it, we have *rājāna* also above, Vol. III. p. 19, l. 24, and Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 24; *rājānai* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 276, l. 19; and *rājāna* above, Vol. IV. p. 259, l. 21.

²⁰ Intended for *mā bhūd=aphala-sāṅk vāḥ para-dattishu* (instead of the ordinary *para-datt=ēti*) *pārthivād*; compare e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 46, l. 47. The second half of the verse, commencing with *svaddant*, is omitted here.

²¹ Read *śrīmat-Daṇḍimahādēvyā=tāvach=chhāsanam* (?) or *tāmra-īsanam* (?).

²² Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).— Read *prastītiḥ*; for the following *samasta*-, which is quite clear in the impressions, I cannot suggest a suitable emendation.

²³ Read °jēna Jayatmanah (?).

²⁴ The engraving is quite clear here, but I can read with confidence only the second *akṣhara* (nā).— Read *ādātakō* (?).

- 40 Dāpālavaḥ māhakāshapaṭala¹ śrī-Nṛī² | mā(ma)hāsandhivigrahi(hī) śrī(śry)-
Ugrāditya[h*] || māpratira³ āri-P[r]ahāsaḥ [||*]
41 *Vila-grāmā⁴ chat[v]ār[ō?]⁵ bhāgā[h*] | tan-maddhē(dhyē) Dhavalēna
vrā(brā)hmaṇānā[dēsha ?]⁶ bhāga[h*] saṅkrāntya[m*] hast-ōdakēna
datain⁷ [||*]
42 *U[tta]ra-parvvata-śikhara sādḍhi tivaḍisīgādi pōchādīgādi hōṇḍimasigagādi
sādḍhi ajhēraṭa-
43 [ga]kagādi sādḍhi Hōṇḍala-grāma sādḍhi Khairapaṭa-grāma sādḍhi cha[tu]-
sim-ōpalakshita⁹ [||*] Utkāmpna¹⁰ Sambhakēna [||*]

B.— UNDATED GRANT OF DAṆḌIMAHĀDĒVĪ.

This is another single copper-plate which measures 10½" broad by from 8½" to 8¾" high and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a circular seal, 2½" in diameter, in the same manner as in the grant A. This seal bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvī*, in the characters of the inscription;¹¹ above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its tail, and on each side of the bull what may be either an elephant-goat or a lampstand; and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ⅓". The characters furnish another specimen of the northern alphabet peculiar to Eastern India; they closely resemble those of the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyādharaḥaṇḍa, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. Plate ix. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Lines 1 to (the middle of) 20 are substantially identical with lines 1 to (the middle of) 21 of the grant A. The remainder of the text, which contains the formal part of the grant, is in prose, except that it includes a benedictive and imprecatory verse in lines 35-37. In respect of orthography, what strikes one most is the promiscuous employment of the three sibilants: *s* is often used for *ś*, and *ś* nearly as often for *s* (e.g. in *śalila*, l. 33, and *śakalam*, l. 36); *sh* for *ś* in *śhāsana-darshanād*, l. 34; *ś* for *sh* in *puruṣai* (for *purushaiḥ*), l. 37; and *s* for *sh* in *manuṣya*, l. 36. The consonant *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and medial *ū* by the sign for *u*. Besides it may be noted that *t* is used for *d* in *bhumichchhitr*, l. 29, and *Autalya*, l. 39; and that *upējushi*, l. 14, is written for *upēyushi*; *āpivirdhayē*, l. 33, for *ābhiviriddhayē*¹²; and *udārḥita*, l. 36, for *udāhṛita*. In general, the formal part of this grant is less faulty than that of the grant A; its phraseology is about the same.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvarī Daṇḍimahādēvī* (l. 21), the names of whose ancestors are given exactly as in the grant A. From 'the camp of victory' at Guhēśvarapāṭaka (l. 3) this queen issues the following order to the

¹ Read *mahākshapaṭalikaḥ*.

² Here part of the name (perhaps *śimhaḥ*) has been omitted.

³ Read *mahāpratīkḍraḥ* (?) *śrī*—

⁴ The reading of the name here may be either *Vila*- or *Vāla*-; compare above, l. 29, where the name apparently is written *Villa*-.

⁵ Read *-grāmaṣya*.

⁶ Read *°ṇāṇām=ēka*-(?).

⁷ Read *dattāḥ*.

⁸ The passage which begins here I do not understand. It apparently gives the boundaries of the village, but is not in Sanskrit. The word *saddhi* (or *saddhī*), which occurs in it five times, is written in another (unpublished) Gañjām grant both *śandhi* and *sandhi*; compare *śmā-sandhayāḥ* above, Vol. III. p. 223, l. 16.

⁹ Read *chatuṣṭm-ōpalakṣitāḥ*; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 13.

¹⁰ Read *utkīrṇam*. (The Gañjām grant mentioned above, note 8, has the extraordinary word *udagīrtam* for *utkīrṇam*).

¹¹ According to Mr. Sewell's informant the legend is "Śrī Mahā Sōmandīhasvāmī in Telugu characters." This statement is purely imaginary.

¹² In line 30 this word is written correctly.

various functionaries, as they may be present from time to time, in the **Kôṅgôda-maṇḍalaka** in **Dakṣhiṇa-Kôśalâ** (l. 22), viz. the *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārâjas*, *Râjaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumârāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapâśikas*, *Sthânāntarikas*¹ and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites; and also to the *Mahāmahattaras*, *Bṛihadbhôgins*,² *Pustakapâlas*,
and other officials in the **Arttaṇi-vishaya** (l. 25):—

“Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, on the occasion of the *uttarâyana*³ (l. 32), with pouring out of water given, free from taxes, the village of **[Ga]rasāmbhâ** which belongs to this *vishaya*— with the *uparikara*, with the *uddêśa*, with its weavers, *gôkutas*(?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets (?), landing-places (or steps on the river-side), ferry-places etc. and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered, in accordance with the maxim called *bhûmichchhidra* and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure—to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Purushôttama, of the *Kâśyapa gôtra*, with the *pravaras* *Kâśyapa*, *Avatsâra* and *Naidhruva*, a member of the *Vâjasanêya charaṇa* and student of the *Kâṇva śâkhâ* (of that *Vêda*). Wherefore, seeing this order, out of respect for what is right and out of respect for ourselves, nobody should cause any obstruction!”

This order is followed (in lines 35-38) by a benedictive and imprecatory verse; by the names of the writer, the *Mahâkshapaṭalika* Bhôgaḍa, and of the engraver, the copper-smith **[Kaṇṭha?]**kaka; and by the statement that the village granted is (given as) contained within its well-known four boundary lines.

Lines 38 and 39 add that half of the village was given by the grantee *Parushôttama* to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* *Ravika*, of the *Kausika gôtra*, with the *pravaras* *Andalya*, *Viśvāmītra* and *Dêvarâta*.

The inscription is not dated. Regarding the localities mentioned in it I can only refer the reader to my remarks on the grant A; the village granted by the present inscription, and the *vishaya* in which it was situated, I have not been able to identify.

TEXT.⁴

First Side.

19⁵Tatô⁶ Daṇḍimahâ[dê*]vi sntâ tasya⁷ mahîyasî [i*]
20 mahîm=ahînasâ(yâ) matyâ chira-kâlam=apâlayata⁸ || [10*] Para[ma*]mâhêśvari
mâta(tâ)pitṛi-pâdânnudhyâtâ parama-
21 bhaṭṭarikâ mahârâjâdhira(râ)ja-paramêśva(śva)rî śrîmad-Daṇḍi(ṇḍi)mahâdêvi
kuśalî(li)nî || tha⁹ || Dakṣhiṇa-Kô-
22 śalâyâm Kôṅgôda-maṇḍalakê yathâkâl-âdhyâsinô

¹ For this term and some others in what follows see the notes on the preceding grant.

² I do not remember having met with the terms *bṛihadbhôgin* and *pustakapâla* in other grants; with *bṛihadbhôgin* one may compare the ordinary *bhôgapati*. I am not able to explain the term *[ku]ṭakôlasa-* of the text.

³ I take *uttarâyana* (like the expression *uttarâyana-nimittâ* of several Eastern Chalukya grants) to be used in the sense of *uttarâyana-samkrînta*, ‘on the occasion of the sun’s entering upon his northern course.’

⁴ From impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

⁵ Except for some various readings the most important of which have been given above under A, the preceding portion of the text is the same as in A, and need not therefore be published.

⁶ Metre: Ślôka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁷ Read *tasyâ*, which is the reading of A.

⁸ Read =*apâlayat*.

⁹ The same *akṣhara tha*, between two signs of punctuation, is used at the end of Vidyâdharabhaṇja’s plates mentioned above. Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 140, note 45, and Prof. Bühler’s *Ind. Palæographie*, p. 85. There should have been no sign of punctuation after *kuśalînt*.

No. 14.—PLATES OF THE TIME OF SASANKARAJA ;

GUPTA-SAMVAT 300.

By E. HULITZSCH, PH.D.

These plates were received in February 1900 from Mr. H. D. Taylor, I.C.S., Acting Collector of Gañjām, in whose office they had been lying unclaimed. It is not known where they come from. They will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

These are three copper-plates, the first of which bears writing on one side only, and the other two on both sides. But the second side of the third plate is so much worn that I have not been able to read the whole of it. The plates measure $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the writing. On the left side of each plate a hole is bored for passing through a ring, which is $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and which was cut by Mr. Venkayya on receipt of the plates. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an elliptical seal, which measures 1" by $1\frac{3}{8}$ ". In the depression of the seal are, in relief, a couchant bull facing the proper right, a vertical line across the breadth of the seal, and at the bottom the legend *Śrī-Sainyabhītaś[y*]a*.

The alphabet is the 'acute-angled type with nail-heads,' which forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nāgarī alphabet.¹ Two signs of interpunctuation are used, viz. a single horizontal line (ll. 1, 24, 27) which corresponds to the single vertical line of other records, and the usual double vertical line.—As regards orthography, I would note that the *upadhmanīya* occurs twice (ll. 5 and 17) and that *b* is throughout represented by the sign for *v*. In *sañhāra* (l. 16) the guttural nasal stands for the *anusvāra*; in *nṛi(tri)bhuvana* (l. 17) the vowel *ri* takes the place of the syllable *ri*; and in *sañhāta* (l. 5) *h* is an error for *gh*. The group *ddy* is simplified into *dy* in *udyōtita* (l. 15), while *t* is doubled before *r* in *śatattrayś* (l. 2), *mītāpitrōḥ* (l. 21) and *gōttra* (l. 22). The *anusvāra* is generally changed into the corresponding nasal before consonants of the five first classes. Two cases of wrong *sañdhī* are *paradattām=vā* (l. 27) and *°dāt=mahārāja°* (l. 8).—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The bulk of it is in prose; lines 24 to 29 contain four imprecatory verses; and after them there seems to have been a fifth verse of which I can read only the last word (l. 31). The Sanskrit of the prose portion is not very correct. Thus in line 8 f. the words *priya-tanayō mahārājā(ja)-Yaśōbhītaḥ* ought to stand in the genitive case and the following pronoun *tasya* ought to be omitted; in line 11 four words have to be transposed; line 16 contains a compound in which two superfluous synonyms are included; and in line 21 f. we find *arddhēna* and *°purassarēna* for *arthē* and *°purassaram*.

The inscription is dated in the Gupta year three hundred (l. 2), i.e. in Gupta-Samvat 300 = A.D. 619-20, and during the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅkarāja* (l. 3). This king is probably identical with Śaśāṅka, the king of *Karṇasuvarṇa*, who, according to Hsien Tsiang,² murdered Rājyavardhana, the elder brother and predecessor of the great king Harsha of Thāpēsar. In Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* the slaying of Rājyavardhana is attributed to the king of Gauda who, according to one manuscript of the *Śriharshacharita*, was called Narēndragupta,³ but who, according to the commentator on the *Harshacharita*,⁴ was named Śaśāṅka. The translators of the *Harshacharita* very ingeniously find an allusion to king Śaśāṅka in the word *śaśāṅka-maṇḍalam*.⁵ If the Śaśāṅka of the *Si-yu-ki* and of the *Harshacharita* is

¹ See Professor Buhler's *Indische Paläographie*, § 23.

² Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 210.

³ *Ep Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 70.

⁴ Bombay 1892, p. 195.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 199, and Cowell and Thomas' translation, p. x and p. 275.

really identical with the Śaśāṅkarāja of this inscription, it follows that he must have continued to reign at least 13 years after the murder of Rājyavardhana and the accession of Harsha.

As, at the beginning of the inscription, Śaśāṅkarāja is mentioned as the *Mahārājādhirāja* ruling the earth, he must be understood to have been the sovereign of the prince who issued the grant. This was the *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja II.* (l. 17 f.) of the *Śilōdbhava* family (l. 10), the son of *Yasōbhita* (l. 9) and grandson of *Mādhavarāja I.* (l. 8). He was a worshipper of Śiva (ll. 14-17) and, to judge from the legend on the seal of his grant, bore the surname *Sainyabhita*. The only other inscription of the same dynasty, which has been published, are the Buguḍa plates of *Mādhavarman*, surnamed *Sainyabhita*,¹ of the family of *Śailōdbhava*.² As the alphabet of these plates is considerably more modern than that of the subjoined inscription, it follows that *Yasōbhita*'s son *Sainyabhita Mādhavarman* of the Buguḍa plates was a remote descendant of *Yasōbhita*'s son *Sainyabhita Mādhavarāja II.*, the contemporary and subordinate of Śaśāṅkarāja.

At an eclipse of the sun (l. 23) *Mādhavarāja II.* granted to a *Brāhmaṇa* the village of *Chhavalakkhaya* (l. 18 f.) in the *Kṛishṇagiri-vishaya*. He issued his order 'from the victorious *Kōṅgēda*' (l. 8) on the bank of the *Śālimā* river (l. 7). None of these local names can be traced on the map at present. *Kṛishṇagiri*, the head-quarters of the *vishaya*, might be identical with its synonym *Nilagiri*, which is a name of *Jagannātha* (Puri) in Orissa.³ *Kōṅgēda* is mentioned in the form *Kaiṅgōda* as the residence of *Mādhavarman* in the Buguḍa plates (l. 29), and the *Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala* occurs in the two grants of *Dapḍimahādēvi*. Professor Kielhorn identifies *Kōṅgōda* with the *Kong-u-t'o* of *Hsien Tsiang*.⁴

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 ओ⁶ स्वस्ति । चतुर्दधिसलिलवीचीमेखलानिलीनायां सदीपा-⁷
- 2 गरपत्तनवत्या वसुन्धरायां गौमाद्धे⁸ वर्षशतत्रये वर्त्तमाने
- 3 महाराजाधिराजाश्चोशशाङ्करान्ये⁹ शासति गगणतल-
- 4 विनि[:*]स्तभगीरथावतारिताया हिमवद्भिरेरुपरि
- 5 पतना[द*]नेकशिलासंज्ञातविभिन्नवह्निपातालात्तर्ज्जलौघै¹⁰
- 6 सुरसरित इव विविधतरुवरकुसुमसञ्चक्रोभयतटा-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 न्तविनिपतितजलाशयायाः श[1]लिमासरितः ¹¹कुला[प]कण्ठा-
- 8 ¹²हेजयकोङ्केदात्महाराजमहासामन्तश्रीमाधवराजस्य प्रियतनयो
- 9 महाराज(1)यशोभीतस्तस्यापि प्रियसूनुः स्वगुण[म]रोचिनिकर-
- 10 ¹³प्रबोधितशिलोद्भवकुलकमलो विकोशनीलोत्पल-

¹ In taking *Sainyabhita* (verse 9 of the Buguḍa plates) as a surname of *Mādhavarman* (v. 12 of the same plates) I differ from Professor Kielhorn, who understands *Mādhavarman* to have been the son of *Sainyabhita*.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 41 f.

³ See my *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, No. I. p. 59, note 3, and p. 69, No. 291.

⁴ See page 136 above.

⁵ From the original copper-plates.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read सदीपगिरिपत्तनवत्या.

⁸ Read गौमाद्धे.

⁹ Read °राजश्रीशशाङ्कराजे.

¹⁰ Read °संज्ञातविभिन्नवह्निपातान्तर्ज्जलौघायाः(P).

¹¹ Read कुलोप°.

¹² Read °हेजयकोङ्केदात्महाराजे.

¹³ Read प्रबोधित.

i.

ॐ श्री-वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ॥ १ ॥
 २ गीतगोविन्दस्य श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥ २ ॥
 पद ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥
 ४ वेदि ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥
 ६ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥

ii a.

१ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥
 ८ ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥
 १० ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥
 १२ ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥

ii b.

१४ ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥
 १६ ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥
 १८ ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥
 २० ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥

iii a.

22 22
24 24
26 26

22 22
24 24
26 26

iii b.

28 28
30 30

28 28
30 30

- 11 प्रतिस्पर्द्धि(नी)खड्गधारानिशितनिश्शेषप्रतिहतगिपु-¹
 12 वली² दीनानाथकृपणवनीपकोपभुज्यमानविभवः स्वभु-
 13 जपरिघयुगलोपार्जितनृपश्री[:*] कमलविमलरुथर-³

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 14 तनुर्जगन्म[ण्ड*]लमण्डनश्रुतशीर्यधैर्यगुणान्वितो महावृषभपर्यङ्क-
 15 'ककुधोपधानविन्यस्तवाहीर्वालचन्द्रोद्योतितजटाकलापैकदे-
 16 शस्य भगवतस्थित्युत्तिप्रलयसृष्टिसङ्कारकारणस्य⁴
 17 'नृभुवनगुरो'पादभक्तः परमब्रह्मण्यो⁵ महाराजमहासा-
 18 मन्तश्रीमाधवराजः कुशली कृष्णगिरिविषयसंवद्वच्छवल-⁶
 19 क्लयग्रामे 'वर्त्तमानभविष्यकुमारामाल्योपरिकतदायुक्तकानन्याश्च'⁷
 20 यथार्ह⁸ पूजयति मानयति च [i*] विदितमस्तु भवतामयं ग्रामो-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 21 आभिरर्द्धेण¹² मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये सलिलधारापुर-
 22 'स्मरेणाचन्द्रार्कसमकालीनाक्षयनीये'¹³ भरद्वाजसगोक्षायाङ्गि-
 23 रसवार्हस्यत्यप्रवराय¹⁴ ऋम्पस्वामिने सूर्योपरागे प्रतिपादित[:*] ॥
 24 उक्तञ्च स्मृतिशास्त्रे । 'वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [i*]
 25 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमितस्य¹⁵ तस्य तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा-
 26 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [i*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
 27 वसे[त्*] ॥ स्वदत्ता¹⁶ परदत्ताम्वा (i) यो हरेत वसुध्वरा[म् i*] स विष्ठायां

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 28 [कृमि]र्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥ मा ¹⁹भुतफलशङ्का व[:] परदत्ते-
 29 [ति] पार्थिव[r:*] ॥ स्वदाना[त्*] फलमानन्त्य²⁰ (ii) परद[त्तानुपालने] ॥ . . .
 30
 31 [प्र]यच्छति ॥

¹ निश्चित ought to stand before खड्गधारा, and प्रतिहत before निश्शेष.

² Read 'वली.

³ Read 'ककुधोपधानविन्यस्तवाहीर्वालचन्द्रोद्योतित'.

⁴ Read विभुवन.

⁵ Read 'भविष्यत्कु'.

⁶ Read 'र्ये.

⁷ Read बार्हस्यत्य.

⁸ Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा.

⁹ Read कश्चि.

¹⁰ Read 'ब्रह्मण्यो.

¹¹ Read 'न्यांश्च.

¹² Read 'स्मरमा'.

¹³ Read वहु'.

¹⁴ Read भूदफल'.

¹⁵ Read संहार.

¹⁶ Read सवङ्ग.

¹⁷ Read यथार्ह.

¹⁸ Read 'लीनोक्षयणीयो.

¹⁹ Read भूनिस्सस्य.

²⁰ Read 'नन्त्यं.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om*. Hail! While the Gupta year three hundred was current (and) while the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Śaśāṅkarāja*, was ruling over the earth surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with islands, mountains and cities,—from the victorious *Kōṅgēda* near the bank of the *Śālimā* river, on both of whose banks, covered with the flowers of various excellent trees, pools of water have formed, (and which therefore) resembles the river of the gods (*Gaṅgā*), which issued from the sky, which was brought down by *Bhagīratha*, (and) the streams of whose water are split and dashed outside by many masses of rock at (her) fall on the top of the Snowy Mountain,—the dear son of the *Mahārāja Yaśōbhita*, (who was) the dear son of the *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta*, the glorious *Mādhavarāja* (I.),—the very pious *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta*, the glorious *Mādhavarāja* (II.), who has caused to bloom the lotus—the *Śīlodbhava* family, by the mass of rays—his virtues; who has repulsed the armies of all the enemies by the sharp edge of (his) sword which rivals an unfolded¹ flower of the blue lotus; whose wealth is being enjoyed by the distressed, helpless, poor, and mendicants; who has acquired the prosperity of a prince by the pair of his bar-like arms; whose body is as spotless and as brilliant as a lotus; who possesses the virtues of learning, courage and constancy which adorn the whole world; (and) who is devoted to the feet of the blessed lord of the three worlds (*viz.* *Śiva*) who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction,² whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull (*viz.* *Nandi*) as on the pillow of a couch, (and) whose matted hair is illuminated in one place by the crescent of the moon,—being in good health, suitably worships and honours princes, ministers, officers, their subordinates, and others who are present or shall be present at the village of *Chhavalakkhaya* which belongs to the *Kṛishṇagiri-vishaya*, (and informs them as follows):—

(L. 20.) “Let it be known to you (*that*), for the sake of (*our*) father and mother and for the increase of (*our*) own merit, with libations of water, at an eclipse of the sun, we have given this village, to last for the same time as the moon and the sun, to *Chharampasvāmin* who belongs to the *gōtra* of *Bharadvāja* (and) has the *pravara*s of *Āṅgīrasa* and *Bārhaspatya*.”

(L. 24.) And it is said in the Law-book (*Smṛitiśāstra*):³ [Here follow four of the customary verses, and perhaps a fifth verse which is obliterated.]

No. 15.—TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS AT AMARAVATI.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

These two inscriptions (Nos. 269 and 270 of 1897) are engraved on the four sides of a pillar at the southern entrance to the central shrine of the *Amarēśvara* temple at *Amarāvati* in the *Sattenapalli tāluka* of the *Kistna* district. The alphabet is *Telugu*, and the languages are *Sanskrit* and *Telugu*.

A.—Inscription of Kēta II.;

Śaka-Samvat 1104.

This inscription contains 52 *Sanskrit* verses. There are passages in *Telugu* prose in lines 108 to 127, 131 to 149, and 170 to 187.

The inscription opens with the mention of the city of *Śrī-Dhānyakataka*, which contains the *Śiva* temple called *Amarēśvara*, and close to which is ‘a very lofty *Chaitya*’ of god *Buddha*

¹ This meaning of *vikōśa* is not given in the dictionaries.

² The words *śṛishṭi* and *samhāra* are mere repetitions of *utpatti* and *pralaya*.

³ In the *Bugūḍa* plates (l. 44 f.) the same four verses are stated to be quotations from the Law of *Manu*.

(v. 1 f.). Dhānyakaṭaka is the old name of the present Amarāvati;¹ the temple of Amarēśvara is the one in which the inscription is preserved; and the *Chaitya* of Buddha is the famous Amarāvati Stūpa, which at the time of the inscription must have been still in good preservation. In that city, the inscription continues, was a royal family which claimed descent from the feet of the Creator (v. 3 f.), i.e. which belonged to the Śūdra caste. Four generations are mentioned, viz. Bhīma I. (v. 6), Kēta I. (v. 24), Bhīma II. (v. 28) whose wife was Sabbamādēvi (v. 32), and Kēta II. (v. 33). Nothing of historical importance is related of any of these princes in the 43 Sanskrit verses with which the inscription opens. The first passage in Telugu (l. 108 ff.) gives a list of the *birudas*² of Kēta II. He was styled the *Muhāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*,—in which the word *Kōṭa*, 'the fort,' perhaps refers to the fort of Dharanikōṭa³ near Amarāvati.—'the lord of the district of six-thousand (villages) on the southern (bank) of the Kṛishṇavennā river, obtained through the favour of the glorious Triṇayana-Pallava,'⁴ and 'the lord of Śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka, the best of cities.' Two further generations of the same family are known from the Yenamadala inscription of Gaṇapāmbā,⁵ which mentions Kēta (identical with Kēta II.), his son Rudra, and the latter's son Bēta who became the husband of the Kākatiya princess Gaṇapāmbā.

The grants recorded in the inscription were all made on Thursday, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha in Śaka-Samvat 1104.⁶ The grants are five in number. The 1st, 2nd and 5th are specified both in Sanskrit verse and Telugu prose, while the 3rd and 4th are only worded in Telugu:—(1) Kēta II. granted to Buddha the village of Kranteru in the district of Kaṇḍravāḍi, and the villages of Mēḍukonḍūru and Doṅkipaṇṇu in the district of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi (v. 44 and ll. 121 to 124); (2) Kēta II. granted to Buddha 110 sheep, the milk of which had to be used for ghee to feed two perpetual lamps (v. 46 and the subsequent Telugu passage); (3) Gasavi-Sūramadēvi, one of the king's concubines, gave to Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp (l. 141 ff.); (4) a similar gift was made by Prōlamadēvi, apparently another of the king's favourites (l. 145 ff.); and (5) Kēta II. himself granted to Brāhmaṇas the following villages for the merit of his mother Sabbamādēvi,⁷ of his father Bhimarāja,⁸ of his elder brother Chōḍerāja,⁹ and for his own merit:—Kōkallu (v. 48) in the district of Goṇḍanātavāḍi (l. 173); Giṅḍipāḍu, Challagarā and Tādivāya (v. 49) in the same district (l. 176); Ammalapūṇḍi (v. 50) in the same district (l. 179 f.); Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapāḍu (v. 51) in the same district (l. 182); Sattenapalli, Chintapalli (v. 51), Kēteṇipalli and Erraṅṇaṭṭa (l. 184 f.) in the district of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi (l. 183 f.); and Oṅkadona (v. 51) in the district of Doḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi (l. 185). The names of these villages were changed, respectively, into Sabbāmbikāpuraṃ (l. 174) after the name of his mother; Bhīmāvuraṃ (l. 177 f.) after that of his father; Chōḍāvuraṃ (l. 180 f.) after that of his elder brother; and Jagamechchugaṇḍapuram (l. 185 f.) after one of his own surnames.

¹ See above, p. 85 and note 4. The village of Viripara (*loc. cit.*) is perhaps the modern Vipparla (No. 95 on the Madras Survey Map of the Sattenapalli taluka), 12 miles west of Amarāvati.

² Four of these are not Telugu, but Kanarese, viz. *Kaliyaḷa-mogada-kai*, *Bēḍvarig-iva-kai*, *Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa* and *Nanni-mārtanḍa*.

³ See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 64.

⁴ The same *biruda* occurs in the Yenamadala inscription; above, Vol. III. p. 95.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 94.

⁶ This date is given five times: v. 44, ll. 119 to 121, v. 46, l. 133 f., and v. 47. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks:—"The date is incorrect. It would correspond, for Ś. 1104 current, to Saturday, the 16th January A.D. 1182; for Ś. 1104 expired, to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1183, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise; and for Ś. 1105 expired, to Tuesday, the 24th January A.D. 1184. I am of opinion that the year intended is Ś. 1104 expired, and that either the week-day or the *tithi* has been quoted incorrectly."

⁷ Identical with Sabbamādēvi (v. 32).

⁸ Identical with Bhīma II. (v. 28).

⁹ The same person is mentioned in No. 257 of 1897 as '(his) elder brother Kōta-Chōḍarāja' (*anna Gōḷa-Chōḍarāja*).

It appears from the foregoing abstract that the majority of the villages were granted to Brāhmaṇas, but that, in spite of that, and though Kêta II. and his predecessors were worshippers of Śiva-Amarēśvara,¹ he granted three villages and two lamps to Buddha, and two further lamps were granted to Buddha by two of the inmates of his harem. This proves what is already suggested by the second verse of the inscription, that at the time of Kêta II. the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telugu country and was tolerated and supported by the Hindû rulers of Amarāvati. I hope I am not unjust to Kêta II. if I suggest that his gifts to Buddha were a case of '*Cherchez la femme!*' The two *dêvīs* of his who granted lamps to Buddha may have been Buddhist *upāsikās* and may have induced him to join them in making donations to their own god, though he professed the Śaiva creed. It may have been to atone for his apostasy that he subsequently granted a large number of villages to Brāhmaṇas, as recorded in the inscription.

The villages granted by Kêta II. belonged to four different districts:—Kaṇḍravāḍi, Dodḍikaṇḍravāḍi, Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi, and Goṇḍanātavāḍi. Kaṇḍravāḍi is evidently the same as the Kaṇḍeruvāḍi-vishaya of the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions,² which also mention an Uttara-Kaṇḍeruvāḍi-vishaya.³ Dodḍikaṇḍravāḍi is perhaps meant for Dodḍakaṇḍravāḍi, i.e. 'the great Kaṇḍravāḍi.' The district of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tāluka of the Kistna district; for, the villages of Mēḍukonḍūru, Doṇkiparṇu, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli and Erragunṭa⁴ are identical with the modern Medikondur, Dokiparru, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli and Yerraguntapadu.⁵ Goṇḍanātavāḍi is identical with the Konnātavāḍi-vishaya which was ruled over by Kêta II. according to the Yenamadala inscription.⁶ It corresponds to the western portion of the Sattenapalli tāluka; for, the villages of Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā, Tādivāya, Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapāḍu⁷ are identical with the modern Gunjapalli, Challagaregi, Taduvaya, Kuntamaddi and Vuppalapadu.⁸

The date of the present inscription was probably the very day of the accession of Kêta II. to the throne.⁹ Two other inscriptions of the Amarēśvara temple (Nos. 257 and 264 of 1897) are dated on the very same day. From the first of them we learn that Sabbā (or Sabbamā), the mother of Kêta II., was the sister of Goṅka,¹⁰ who is probably identical with Goṅka III. of Velanāḍu.¹¹ Later inscriptions of Kêta II. at Amarāvati and Peddacherukūru are dated in Śaka-Samvat 1119, 1122 and 1131.¹²

TEXT.¹³

East Face.¹⁴

- 1 श्री¹⁵ [॥*] अस्मि श्रीधा[न्य]कटकं [पुरं सुरपुरा]हरं । यन्मामरेख-
- 2 रश्मभुरमरेखरपूजितः ॥ [१*] बुद्धी देव[स्म]-

¹ See verse 3 and l. 113 f.

² *Ibid.* p. 127.

³ Nos. 188, 186, 148, 22 and 154 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tāluka.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 102, v. 11.

⁵ Nos. 19, 20, 21, 18 and 51 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tāluka.

⁶ See below, p. 155, note 2.

⁷ No. 257 of 1897, ll. 29 to 33 :—

मूपावरयुतसत्कुलवर्जिता गौकचित्तौशश्रिनी भगिनी गुणव्या ।

सन्नाह्या कमलचक्रा सुटं श्रीसखामवत्प्रियतमा पुरवीत्तमस्य ॥

¹¹ See above, Vol. IV. pp. 35, 37 and 38.

¹² Nos. 261, 251 and 244 of 1897.

¹³ From an inked estampage, prepared in 1897 by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

¹⁴ All the verses of this face, with the exception of verse 2, are found also on the east face of No. 262 of 1897.

¹⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 सान्निध्यो यत्र धात्रा प्रपूजितः । चै-
 4 त्यमत्युन्नतं यत्र नानाचित्रसु-
 5 चित्रितं ॥ [२*] अस्ति तत्र स्थिरैश्वर्यं राज्ञामाज्ञावतां
 6 कुलं । अमरेश्वरदेवेन रक्षितं रक्षकं नृणां ॥ [३*] जातं सु-
 7 रेंद्रदैत्येन्द्रमुनीन्द्रगणवन्दितात् । श्रेयसां^१
 8 भूयसां दातुर्दातुर्थ्यश्चरणद्वयात् ॥ [४*] क्षो-
 9 णीक्षेमंकरा भूपा यत्र शत्रुभयंकराः ।
 10 शंकरास्माधुवृत्तानां शंकरस्य तु किंकराः ॥ [५*]
 11 तत्रामरेशसंकाशो भीमो नाम नृपोभवत् ।
 12 विश्वे विश्वंभराधीशा यत्पदांबुजषट्पदाः ॥ [६*]
 13 उर्व्वीपतिषु सर्व्वेषु सदृक्षो यस्य नेक्षितः ।
 14 प्रजानां पालने सम्यग्दिषामुन्मूलने तधा^२ ॥ [७*]
 15 चक्रे पवित्रचारित्र्यो भक्त्या शक्त्या च भव्यया ।
 16 यस्मुरेशान्नरेशांश्च वरदान्करदानपि ॥ [८*] यो
 17 भूरिभक्तिसुप्रीतशर्व्वस्वमनोरथान् ।
 18 कृतवान्मित्रसंघस्य कृतवाञ्छञ्चुसंहतेः ॥ [९*]
 19 विस्मापितजना यस्य विस्मारितरणांतरा ।
 20 वीरपूरितजंभारिपुरा रणपरंपरा ॥ [१०*]
 21 यस्य क्ष्माचक्रशक्रस्य चक्रिचक्रसमीजसा ।
 22 चक्रेण विक्रम्य दिशां चक्रं चक्रे भृशं वशं ॥ [११*]
 23 क्षिप्रं विपक्षवक्षांसि पाटयंतोतिपाट-
 24 वात् । नृसिंहनखरेभ्योपि प्रखरा यच्छरा बभुः ॥ [१२*]
 25 कांत्या पूर्णा^३ रणे तूर्ण^४ यदनुप्रेरितैश्चरैः^५ ।
 26 अर्द्धचंद्रैर्व्यलयंतं^६ वक्त्रचंद्रा विरोधिनां ॥ [१३*]
 27 महामहीध्रानारोह्यद्रुणे विद्रुता द्विषः [१*]
 28 तोक्ष्यैः[] चुण्णाः पुनश्चस्त्रैर्द्या भयातिशयादिव ॥ [१४*]
 29 यद्गटोद्गटदोर्दंडचंडायुधविखंडिताः [१*]
 30 अखंडविक्रमाश्चाक्रमाक्रामन्नरयः पुरं [॥] [१५*]
 31 पांसुव्राते समुध्वूते^७ यदयैस्समरोध्वतेः^८ [१*]

^१ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^२ No. 262 of 1897 reads तथा.

^३ No. 262 of 1897 reads तैश्चरैः.


^४ Read समुध्वूते.

^५ Read पूरणां.

^६ Read तूर्ण.

^७ No. 262 of 1897 reads अर्द्धचंद्रैः.

^८ Read रोहितैः.

- 32 व्योमव्यापिनि सक्लेशं समुस्सप्ताश्वसप्तयः ॥ [१६*]
 33 नमयन्ती भुवं भीमाः पदन्यासेन यज्ञजाः ।
 34 द्विजानां रणे चक्रुर्द्विगलानां च पीडनं ॥ [१७*]
 35 चलयद्भी रणारंभे च लामचलैस्सह ।
 36 यद्वलैश्च शौर्याणां चालनं लीलया कृत ॥ [१८*]
 37 प्राकारैः पातितैस्सम्यक्परिखाः परिपूर्य्य यः ।
 38 प्रध्वंस¹ रिपुदुर्गाणां प्रागभावसमं व्यधात् ॥ [१९*]
 39 दूरस्था अपि वीरस्य यस्य भ्राजिष्णुतेजसः ।
 40 आज्ञां कुर्वति सर्वे स्म भूभृतः प्राभृतप्रभाः² ॥ [२०*]
 41 येन धर्मप्रधानेन कारुण्योपेतचेतसा । पु-
 42 चा इव परित्राताश्च वशरणागताः ॥ [२१*]
 43 चरित्रेण पवित्रेण विद्यया निरवद्यया ।
 44 भूषितास्तोषिता येन भूसुरा भासुरान्वयाः ॥ [२२*]
 45 विवेकेनारिषडुर्गमरिवर्गं भुजौजसा । जि-
 46 त्वार्जितचतुर्वर्गीं नृपवर्गीं रराज यः ॥ [२३*] * 

North Face.

- 47 ◎ तस्य प्रशस्यचारित्रि[ख्या]तः
 48 केतनृपस्मृतः । पटुर्हीनार्तिहर[णे]
 49 रणे वितरणे च यः ॥ [२४*] युद्धे यद्धे-
 50 तिभिन्नारिकिरीटमणिभिः[*] श्रिता । घना-
 51 हतोत्तमलोहस्फुलिंगैरिव भूर-
 52 भात् ॥ [२५*] बहुशोभिमुखप्राप्तं
 53 स्फुटाभ्यागमपर्व्वसु । राजमं-³
 54 डलमग्रासि सम्यग्यद्वाहुराहु-
 55 णा ॥ [२६*] सर्व्वसर्व्व[स]हाधीशगर्व्वपर्व्व-
 56 तपाटने । पटुः प्रथोयान्⁴ प्रथितो
 57 यत्प्रतापपविर्भूवि⁵ ॥ [२७*] तस्यासीद्भी-
 58 मभूमीशस्तनयो विनयोन्नतः ।
 59 यश्शोभाश्चतुर्भूपानां भानां
 60 भानुरिवाह्वरत् ॥ [२८*] दूरपाता दृढा-

¹ No. 262 of 1897 reads प्रध्वंसं.

² No. 262 of 1897 reads °प्रदाः.

³ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ Read प्रथोयान्.

⁵ Read °पविर्भूवि.

- 61 घाता भीषणा रुक्मभूषणाः । अ-
 62 मोघा यस्य बाणौघा रेजिरे स-
 63 मराजिरे ॥ [२८*] विक्रमादक्रियंतो-
 64 चैर्येन नानाधराधराः । वस्तुश-
 65 त्रुधरित्रीशकुलाकुलगुहागृहाः ॥ [३०*]
 66 कृताः पुण्यवता येन सर्वसंप-
 67 त्समन्विताः । विबुधा भूमिविबु-
 68 धा विबुधा इव विष्णुना ॥ [३१*] त-
 69 झार्था सव्वमादेवी ख्याता-
 70 भूङ्गुवि वीरसूः । वंश्याशौ-
 71 र्योन्नता यस्याः पित्रोः[*] श्वश्रु-
 72 रयोरपि ॥ [३२*] तस्मात्तस्यां समु-
 73 झूतः केतभूपः प्रतापवान् ।
 74 सद्गुणैरुपमानानां योका-
 75 र्षीदुपमेयतां ॥ [३३*] नेता सम्य-
 76 कप्रजानां यो जेता युद्धेषु
 77 विद्विषां । दातार्यिभ्योर्यितार्या-
 78 नां चाता [च] शरणार्थिनां ॥ [३४*] यः[.]
 79 प्रह्वीकृतभूपालो भूपाल-
 80 नयपंडितः । पंडितस्तुत-
 81 सदृत्त[*] सदृत्तजनवत्सलः ॥ [३५*] येन
 82 ध्वस्तविभूतीनामरातीनाम-
 83 भून्मुखं । अंतस्संतापसप्ता-
 84 र्चिर्द्धमेनेव मलीमसं ॥ [३६*] वा-
 85 णैः किरणदेशीयैर्ध्वीतदेश्यान्नि-
 86 पुद्विपान् । तिग्मांशुकल्या भिंद¹
 87 ति यद्गटा[स्त्र]मरोद्गटाः ॥ [३७*] चित्तस्थ-
 88 शिवमौळींदुसुधार्द्रा इव यद्गिर[ः ।]
 89 मधुरा नित्यमानंदममंदं तन्व-
 90 ते सतां ॥ [३८*] प्रतिथामं प्रतिपुरं प्र-
 91 त्योक्तः प्रतिचत्वरं । प्रतितोर्थं प्रति-

¹ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 92 सभं यस्यौदार्यं प्रशस्यते ॥ [३८*]
 93 चित्रैस्त्रालयैर्यस्य पृथिव्यां [प्र]-
 94 थितं यशः । बुभुक्षु[भिक्षुसं]-
 95 घातप्रभूतप्रोतिहेतु[भि]: [॥ ४०*] [ॐ]

West Face.

- 96 ॐ अनंतप्राणिसुप्रोतिकारिभिर्भूरिवा-¹
 97 रिभिः । तडागैस्सागराभोगैर्यो विभूषि-
 98 तभूतलः ॥ [४१*] आरामान्योतनोत्तारान्-
 99 रोभिश्शोभितांतरान् । उत्फुल्लकंजकिंज-
 100 ल्कपुंजपिंजरितांतरैः ॥ [४२*] देवालयै-
 101 स्सुधाशुभ्रैस्सुवर्णकलशांकितैः² । पता-
 102 काचुंबितांभोदैर्यद्भ्यो नीत उन्नतिं ॥ [४३*]
 103 शाकाब्दे युगखंडुरूपगणिते माघे
 104 दशम्यां तिथौ शुक्लायां गुरुवासरे
 105 गुणनिधिसंप्राप्तराज्योन्नतिः । श्रीम-
 106 क्तेतनृपस्समस्तगुरवे ग्रामान्वरेणान्व-
 107 ह्नसंप्रादात्सुगतेश्वराय विपुल-
 108 श्रीर्धर्मसंवृद्धये ॥ [४४*] ॐ ॐ ॐ स्वस्ति चतुस्समु-
 109 द्रमुद्रितनिखिलवसुंधरापरिपालकश्री-
 110 मक्षिणयनपल्लवप्रसादासादितक्रिणवेणा-³
 111 नदीदक्षिणषट्सहस्रावनीवल्लभ भयलीभ-
 112 दुर्लभ चोडचाकुव्यसामंतमदानेक[प]-
 113 मृगेंद्र विभवामरेंद्र श्रीमदमरेश्वरदेव-
 114 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परबलसाधक
 115 श्रीधान्यकटकपुरवराधीश्वर प्रतापलंके-
 116 श्वर कलिगळमोगदकै वेडूरिगीवकै गंडरगं-
 117 ड गंडभेरुंड जगमेच्चुगंड नन्निमार्त्त-⁴
 118 ड नामादिसमस्तप्रशस्तिसहितं श्रीमन्महा-
 119 मंडलेश्वर कोटकेतराजुलु शकवर्षमुलु
 120 ११०४ गुर्नेटि माघ शुद्ध १० गुरुवारसु-

¹ Read ॐभिर्भूरि०.

² Read ०सुवर्ण०.

³ Read लक्षवेणा.

⁴ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 121 न श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकु संकमुलोनगा सर्वा-
 122 यमुलतोनाचंद्रार्कमुगानिच्चिन ऊड्लु कंड-
 123 वाडिलोनि क्रंतं०१० कौडपडुमटिलोनि मेडु-
 124 कौडूरुनु डोंकिप०००नु [॥*] ई ध[र्म]म नडप-
 125 निवार पंचमहापातकमुलु सेसिनवा-
 126 रु वारणासि व्रच्चिनवार तम पेह कोडुकु क-
 127 पालमुनं गुडिचिनवार [॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
 128 वा यो हरेत वसुंहरां । षट्तिं वर्षस-
 129 हस्त्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [४५*] ◎ ◎ ◎
 130 ◎ वेदाग्रेंदुमिते शाके माघे शुक्ले गुरोर्दिने । दशम्या^१
 131 केतभूपालो दीपौ बुद्धाय दत्तवान् ॥ [४६*] स्वस्ति सम-
 132 स्तप्रशस्तिसहितं श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर कोटकेतरा-
 133 जुलु शकवर्षमुलु ११०४ गुनेटि माघ शुद्ध १०
 134 गुरुवारमुनं दमकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीमद्भु-
 135 वदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिदीपमुलु रेंटिकिनै इच्चिन इ-
 136 न्यएड्लु ११० [१*] वीनिलोन दामकभ्रमरेबोयुंडु [एं]भदेनु गो-
 137 ठियलं जेकोनि आचंद्रार्कमुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन
 138 नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वीयंगलवांडु ॥ ऊटुकूरि के-
 139 तेबोयुंडु एंभडेनु^२ गोठियलं जेकोनि आचंद्रार्कमु-
 140 गां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वी-
 141 यंगलवांडु ॥ ◎ भोगस्त्रीललोनं गसविसूरमदेवुलु द-
 142 नकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिदीपमु-
 143 नकिच्चिन इन्यएड्लु ५५ [१*] वीनिं जेकोनि सब्बकमारबोयुंडु
 आचंद्रा-
 144 र्कमुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वीयं-^३
 145 गलवांडु ॥ भंडावुं प्रोलमदेवुलु दनकु धर्मात्यमुगा
 146 श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिदीपमुनकिच्चिन इन्यएड्लु ५५ [१*]
 147 विनिं^४ जेकोनि चेंब००० कोमनबोनि कोडुकु माचेनबोयुंडु
 148 आचंद्रार्कमुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु
 149 सेसि नेयि वीयंगलवांडु ॥ ◎ ◎ ◎ श्री श्री श्री [॥*]

^१ The *anusodra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^२ The *anusodra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^३ Read एंभदेनु.

^४ Read वीनिं.

South Face.¹

- 150 शक[ान्दे] वार्द्धि[ता]रा[पथ]शशिवसुधासन्नि[ति]
 151 मा[घ]मा[से] शुक्ले प[ञ्चे] दशम्यां त्रि[दि]वपरिवृढा-
 152 चार्थ्य[वां]रे वरेण्ये । सोयं संप्राप्तराज्यस्सकल-
 153 गुणनिधिः केतविश्वभरेशो ग्रामान् विज्ञातसीमा-
 154 न् प्रथितगुणगणान्² प्राददाद्वाङ्मणेभ्यः ॥ [४७*]
 155 ग्रामं [को]कल्लुनामानं प्रशस्यं सस्यसंप-
 156 दा । विहङ्गो द्विजवर्येभ्यो जनन्या[ः]* अयसेद-
 157 दात् ॥ [४८*] गिंजिपाडुं चल्लगरां ताडिवायं³
 158 च शोभनान् । ग्रामान्द्विजत्रा⁴ कृतवान्भूय-
 159 से अयसे पितुः ॥ [४९*] सम्यगन्मलपू[डि]* च ग्रामं⁵
 160 भूमिगुणान्वितं । विप्रसात्कृतवान्भ्रातु-
 161 र्ज्यायसे⁶ अयसे मुदा ॥ [५०*] सत्तेनपत्तिं प्रा
 162 दिशदुप्पलपाडुं⁷ च चिंतपत्तीं च तधा⁸ ।
 163 भोकदीनकुंठिमही धर्मार्थं स्वस्य स
 164 द्विजेभ्यो ग्रामान् ॥ [५१*] ब्रीहिवातैस्सुजातै-
 165 रलघुफलभरैश्शालिसस्यैः प्रशस्यैरुद्गा-
 166 [टै]स्सुप्ररुटैस्तिलयवच[ण]कैर्मृद्ग-
 167 मापैस्सपोषैः । धान्यैश्चान्यैसमृद्धा⁹
 168 दिशि दिशि लसिताशोभनैश्शाकवाटैश्शोभं-
 169 तां श्रीसमेतास्सकलजनदृशामुत्स-
 170 वाश्शब्देते ॥ [५२*] ◎ स्वस्ति समस्तप्रशस्तिसहितं
 171 श्रीमन्महामंडलेखर कोटकेतराजुलु त-
 172 म तस्मि स[ब्ब]मदेवुलकु धर्मार्थमुगा श्रीम-
 173 द्वाङ्मणो[त्त]मुलकुं गौडनातवाडिलोनिच्चिन यू-
 174 र् कोकल्लु दीनि पेरु सव्वांविकापुरमु [ः]* तम तं-
 175 द्वि भीमराजुनकु धर्मार्थमुगा श्रीमद्वाङ्म-
 176 णोत्तमुलकुं गौडनातवाडिलोनिच्चिन यू[ड्लु]

¹ Verses 47 to 52 are found also on the south face of No. 264 of 1897.

² No. 264 of 1897 reads प्रथितपुण्यगुणान्.

³ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ No. 264 of 1897 reads °दुप्पलपाडुं.

⁶ No. 264 of 1897 reads °ज्यायसा.

⁷ See Pāṇini, V. 4, 55.

⁸ Read °ज्यायसः.

⁹ No. 264 of 1897 reads तथा.

- 177 गिंजिपाडु चङ्गगरा ताडिवाय इवि भीमा-
 178 वरमुलु [*] तमन्न चोडिराजुनकु धर्माख्यमु-
 179 गा श्रीमद्वाङ्मणोत्तमुलकुं गोंडुनातवा-
 180 डिलोनिच्चिन यूरु अम्मलपूडि दीनि पेरु चो-
 181 डावुरमु [*] तनकु धर्माख्यमुगा श्रीमद्वा-
 182 ञ्मणोत्तमुलकुं गोंडुनातवाडिलोनिच्चिन
 183 यूडुलु कुंटिमहि उप्पलपाडु कोंडपडु-
 184 मटिलो सत्तेनपल्लि चिंत्तपल्लि केतेपल्लि ए००००¹
 185 टलु दोडुकिंङ्गवाडि अंदु श्रीकदीन इवि ज-
 186 गमेच्चुगंडपुरमुलु [*] इय्यहारमु-
 187 लु सर्व्वक(1)रपरिहारमुगा मन्निच्चित्तिमि ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Om. (Verse 1.) "There is a city (named) *Śrī-Dhānyakāṭaka*, which is superior to the city of the gods, (and) where (the temple of) *Śaṁbhu* (*Śiva*) (named) *Amarēśvara* is worshipped by the lord of gods (*Indra*);

(V. 2.) "Where god *Buddha*, worshipped by the Creator, is quite close, (and) where (there is) a very lofty *Chaitya*, well decorated with various sculptures.

(V. 3.) "In that (city) there is a family of powerful kings, enjoying uninterrupted prosperity, protected by the god *Amarēśvara*, (and) protecting men;

(V. 4.) "Which (family) was born from the pair of feet—worshipped by the crowds of lords of gods, lords of demons, and lords of sages,—of the Creator, the bestower of great bliss."

In this family was born *Bhima* (I.) (v. 6). His son was *Kēta* (I.) (v. 24). His son was *Bhima* (II.) (v. 28), whose wife was *Sabbamādēvi* (v. 32). Their son was *Kēta* (II.) (v. 33), a worshipper of *Śiva* (v. 38). He built alms-houses (*satṭhālaya*, v. 40) and constructed tanks (*taḍḍaga*, v. 41), gardens (*ārāma*, v. 42), and temples (*dēvūlaya*, v. 43).

(V. 44.) "In the *Śāka* year reckoned by the *Yugas* (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and *rūpa* (1),—(i.e. 1104),—in (the month of) *Māgha*, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*), on a *Thursday*,—the glorious king *Kēta*, a treasury of virtues, possessing great prosperity, having been raised to the kingdom,² gave, for the increase of (his) merit, many excellent villages to the preceptor of all (*men*), the lord *Sugata* (*Buddha*).

(Line 108.) "Hail! The glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the lord of the district of six-thousand (villages) (*Ṣaṭṣahasr-āvanī*) on the southern (bank) of the *Kṛishṇaveṇṇā* river, obtained through the favour of the glorious *Trinayana-Pallava*, the protector of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans; inaccessible to fear and greed; the lion to the rutting elephants—the *Chōḍa* and *Chālūkyā Sāmantas*; resembling the lord of gods (*Indra*) in power; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of the holy god *Amarēśvara*; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lord of *Śrī-Dhānyakāṭaka*,

¹ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² This seems to imply that the date of the grant was that of the king's accession to the throne. A similar statement occurs in verse 47.

the best of cities; resembling the lord of Laṅkā (Rāvaṇa) in valour; he whose hand closes with¹ heroes; he whose hand gives to suppliants; the hero of heroes; the double-headed eagle (*Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa*); the hero praised by the world (*Jagamechchugūṇḍa*); and the sun of truth,— in the Śāka year 1104, on the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha, on a Thursday,— gave to the holy god Buddha the (*following*) villages, together with all revenue including tolls, for as long as the moon and the sun shall last:— Kranteru in (*the district of*) Kaṇḍravāḍi, and Mēḍukonḍūru and Ḍonkiparṛu in (*the district of*) Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi. Those who do not keep up this charity, will have committed the five great sins, will have destroyed Vāraṇāsi, (*and*) will have eaten from the skull of their eldest son.” Here follows an imprecatory verse (45).

(V. 46.) “In the Śāka (*year*) measured by the *Vēdas* (4), the directions (10), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* 1104),— on the tenth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha, on a Thursday,— king Kēta gave two lamps to Buddha.

(L. 131.) “Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*,— in the Śāka year 1104, on the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha, on a Thursday,— gave for his own merit to the holy god Buddha 110 sheep² for two perpetual lamps. Having received fifty-five sheep among these, Dāmaka-Amare-Bōya with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna*³ of ghee as long as the moon and the sun shall last. Having received (*the remaining*) fifty-five sheep, Kēte-Bōya of Ūṭukūru⁴ with his sons and further descendants has to supply *etc.*

(L. 141.) “*Gasavi-Sūrama-dēvi*, (*one*) among the concubines (*of the king*), gave for her own merit to the holy god Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these, Sabbaka-Māre-Bōya has to supply *etc.*

(L. 145.) “*Prōlamadēvi*, (*who was in charge*) of the treasury, gave for her own merit to the holy god Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these, Māchena-Bōya, the son of Kommana-Bōya of Chembarti, has to supply *etc.*

(V. 47.) “In the Śāka year measured by the oceans (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and the earth (1),— (*i.e.* 1104),— on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, on an excellent Thursday,— that treasury of all virtues, king Kēta, who had obtained the kingdom, gave villages whose boundaries were well known, (*and*) whose numerous advantages were famous, to Brāhmaṇas.”

He granted to Brāhmaṇas the village of Kōkallu for the merit of his mother (v. 48); Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā and Tāḍivāya for the merit of his father (v. 49); Ammalapūṇḍi for the merit of his elder brother (v. 50); and Sattenapalli, Uppalapāḍu, Chintapalli, Oṅkadona and Kuṇṭimaddi for his own merit (v. 51).

(L. 170.) “Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*, gave, for the merit of his mother Sabbamadēvi, to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the village of Kōkallu in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi, (*changing*) its name (*into*) Sabbāmbikāpuram. For the merit of his father Bhimarāja, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the villages of Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā (*and*) Tāḍivāya in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi, (*changing*) their (*names into*) Bhimāvuram. For the merit of his elder brother Chōḍerāja, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the village of Ammalapūṇḍi in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi, (*changing*) its name (*into*) Chōḍāvuram. For his own merit, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the villages of Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapāḍu in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi; Sattenapalli, Chintapalli, Kētepalli and Erraguṇṭa

¹ See Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s.v. *moge* 5.

² In modern Telugu *eḍḍu*, the plural of *eḍḍu*, means ‘bullocks’; but *inpa-eḍḍu* (ll. 135 f., 143 and 146) or *inup-eḍḍu* (below, p. 158, l. 218) must be synonymous with *goriyalu*, ‘sheep,’ in ll. 136 f. and 139.

³ According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this measure is the sixteenth part of a *tāmu*.

⁴ This is perhaps the modern Vutukur, No. 76 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tāluka.

in (*the district of*) **Koṇḍapaḍumati**; and **Oṅkadona** in (*the district of*) **Dodḍikaṇḍravādi**, (*changing*) their (*names into*) **Jagamechchuganḍapuram**.¹ We have exempted these *agrahāras* from all taxes."

B.— Inscription of Bayyamāmbā;

Śaka-Samvat 1156.

This inscription is engraved on the south face of the pillar, below the end of the inscription of Kēta II. It consists of 12 Sanskrit verses and a passage in Telugu prose (ll. 215 to 220).

This is another grant to god **Buddha** at **Śrī-Dhānyaghāṭi** (*i.e.* Amarāvati), made on **Thursday**, the **eleventh tithi** of the **bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha** in **Śaka-Samvat 1156** (expired), the cyclic year **Jaya**. According to Prof. Kielhorn, "the date corresponds to **Thursday**, the **11th May A.D. 1234**, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise." The donor was **Bayyamāmbā** (v. 11) or **Kōṭa-Bayyalamahādēvi** (l. 216), the daughter of the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rudradēva-Mahārāja** (l. 215 f.), the son of **Budda** (v. 5) and grandson of **Durga** (v. 4), who belonged to the **Chaturthakula** (*i.e.* the **Śūdra** caste) and resided at **Maḍapalli** in the district of **Nāthavādi** (l. 215) or **Nāthavāṭi**² (vv. 1 to 3). From the word **Kōṭa**³ which is prefixed to the name of Bayyalamahādēvi in l. 216, it may be concluded that she was married to one of the chiefs of Amarāvati. Verse 12, which is mutilated, contains the name of **Manma-Gēta**, *i.e.* 'the grandson⁴ Kēta.' This seems to refer to **Kēta II.** of Amarāvati, the grandson of **Kēta I.** Very probably Bayyamāmbā was one of the wives of **Kēta II.**

TEXT.

South Face (continued).

- 188 श्री⁵ [॥*] अस्ति स्वस्तियुतो देशो नाथवाटीति विश्रुतः । पूगपुद्गागवकुळ-
 189 निचुळाळिमनोहरः । [१*] तत्र श्रीमत्पुरवरं मडपल्लिपुरं परं ।
 190 परैरभेद्यमुद्योतविद्योतितदिगंतरं⁶ । [२*] धातुस्समष्टजगतां⁷ क-
 191 र्त्तस्वरणपंकजात् । जातं विशिष्टं तत्रास्ति चतुर्थकुलमत्तमं⁸ । [३*] त-
 192 च्चाभवत् पृथुयशाः⁹ परिमातदोषो ह्यंभोजबंधुरिव नन्दि-
 193 तसर्व्ववर्गः । ¹⁰श्रीय्यादिवर्त्यगुणगर्व्वितभृत्यवर्गो दुर्गचित्तो-
 194 [श ३*]ति सुप्रथितः प्रथिव्यां¹¹ ॥ [४*] तस्यासीत्तनयः प्रभूतविनय-
 195 . . हितश्रीयुतो ¹²नानासद्विजमुख्यपोषणरतश्चान-
 196 . . गाश्रयः । प्रत्यर्थिप्रबलप्रवृद्धनरकच्छेदो विधेयस्स[दा]
 197 [जा*]तो विष्णुरिधापरो ¹³गुणनिधिर्बुद्धमावलम्बः ॥ [५*] [त]-
 198 [स्य](र) पत्नो मुपमांवा पुरारिचरणानुजे । जातकौतुकसा-
 199 कृतव्रितिः¹⁴ पतिपरायणा ॥ [६*] मुपमाबुद्धदंपत्योर्जातो

¹ This name was derived from his surname Jagamechchuganḍa; see l. 117.

² Regarding these two geographical names see p. 159 below.

³ See p. 147 above.

⁴ See Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, s. v. *manamadu*.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read °मुद्योत°.

⁷ Read °मस्त°.

⁸ Read °मुलमं°.

⁹ Read परिष्ठुत°.

¹⁰ Read श्रीय्यादि°.

¹¹ Read पृथिव्यां°.

¹² Read °सद्विज°.

¹³ जि of जिधि is entered above the line.

¹⁴ Read °व्रिति°.

- 200 रु[द्र]नरेखरः । विश्वविश्वंभराधीशो योसौ धर्म इवापरः[.] ॥ ७*]
 201 तस्य पत्नी मैलमांबा धर्मकीर्तिरिति श्रुता । विश्रुतश्रु[त]-
 202 संपन्नविद्विचिन्तामणिः[*]¹ स्वयं ॥ [८*] अजीजनत्सुतान्² अ-
 203 द्यौ विष्टपे शिष्टसन्तान³ । लोकपालप्रतीकाशान् या म-
 204 हिंन्नेव भूयसी ॥ [९*] चातुर्यैदार्थ्यभूमिस्त्रिभु-
 205 वनविवरख्यातसौ[भाग्य*]भाग्या या च श्रीकीर्त्तिमुक्तिः[*]⁴ सकल-
 206 गुणिगणानंदसंदोहदात्री । ⁵इष्टापूर्त्तादिकर्मप्रतिप-
 207 दमुदिताखर्वगीर्वाणगर्वा सर्वोर्वीवक्रवालस्फुर[दु]रु⁶
 208 महिमाक्रांतलोकावकाशा ॥ [१०*] तत्पुत्री बय्यमांबा प्र-
 209 धितगुणगणा सत्कलापूर्ववर्त्ता⁷ (।) ⁸[शि]ष्टार्त्ताप्राप्तकीर्त्तिः[*] स्वयमपि
 विदु-
 210 षामग्रणीरग्रगण्या । वि[द्वि][त*]पद्माकराणां तरणिरु[चि]रसौ या च
 211 सौजन्यसिंधोरुल्लासा[येदु]रेखा निखिलज[न]नुतालंक्रि[ति]र्भूत-¹⁰
 212 धायाः ॥ [११*] शाकाब्दे तर्कबाणचित्तिरशिगणिते¹¹ वत्सरेस्त्रिंज-
 याख्ये ज्ये-
 213 षे मा[सी]न्यवारे मुररिपुदिवसे शुक्लपक्षे प्रश[स्ते] । प्रादा[तु]¹² श्री-
 214 [धान्यघा]टीस्थितिकृतरुचये ¹³बुधदेवाय भूम्ने सा [दे]वी मन्मगेत-
 215 [॥ १२*] श्रीमन्म(म)हामंडलिखर
 नाथवा[डि] रु-
 216 द्रदेवमहाराजुल कूतु¹⁴ कोटबय्यलमहादेविभ्रमं-¹⁵
 217 गारु [द]नुकु¹⁶ धर्मार्थमुगा ¹⁶श्रीमद्बुधदेवरकुनाचंद्रा-
 218 कर्मखंडदीपमुनकुनिचिन¹⁷ इनुपेडु ५५ [।*] वीनिं जेकी[नि]
 219 गुंतिभनेबोयुंडु [द]न पुत्रानुपवृत्तिकमु नित्य
 220 [मा]नेंडु नेयि पोयंग[ल*]वांडु ॥ श्री¹⁸ [॥*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Om. In the district (*dēśa*) of **Nāthavāṭi**, in the town of **Maḍspalli**, in the **Chaturthakula** which was produced from the foot of the Creator, was born **Durga** (vv. 1 to 4). His son was **Budda**, whose wife **Muppamāmbā** was devoted to Śiva (v. 5 f.). Their son **Rudra** married **Mailamāmbā** and had by her eight sons (vv. 7 to 9) and a daughter, **Bayyamāmbā** (v. 11).

¹ Read °विद्विन्ता°.⁴ Read °मूर्तिः.⁷ Read प्रथित°.¹⁰ Read °खंक्रति°.¹³ Read प्रादास्त्री°.¹⁴ Read अन्म°; the *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.¹⁶ Read श्रीमद्बुध°.² Read °तानद्यौ.⁵ Read इष्टा°.⁸ Read °पुण्यवर्त्ता.¹¹ Read °अशि°.¹⁷ Read बुध°.¹⁸ Read °निश्चिन.³ Read °सन्तानान्.⁶ Read अक्रवाल.⁹ Read शिष्टार्त्ता°.¹⁵ Read दनकु.¹⁸ Expressed by a symbol,

(V. 12.) "In the **Sāka** year reckoned by *tarka* (6), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1),—(i.e. 1156),—in this (*cyclic*) year called **Jaya**, in the month **Jyēshtha**, on a **Thursday**, on the day of **Mura's enemy** (Vishnu),¹ in the auspicious **bright** fortnight,—this queen [the wife of] **Manma-Gēta** gave, for the sake of (*her*) prosperity, [a lamp] to god **Buddha** who is pleased to reside at **Śrī-Dhānyaghāṭi**.

(L. 215.) "**Kōṭa-Bayyalamahādēvi-amma**, the daughter of the glorious **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rudradēva-Mahārāja** of **Nāthavāḍi**, gave for her own merit to the holy lord **Buddha** 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and the sun. Having received these, **Guṇṭi-Ane-Bōya** with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna* of ghee. *Om.*"

POSTSCRIPT.

In connection with the preceding inscription of Bayyamāmbā, I publish below a short Telugu inscription of her father on a pillar of the ruined *Kanakadurgā-maṇḍapa* at the foot of the Indrakīla hill at **Bezvāḍa** (No. 279 of 1892). It records the gift of a lamp to the **Mallēśvara** temple at Bezvāḍa by the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rudradēvarāja** of **Maḍapalla** in **Nātavāḍi**, the son of **Buddarāja**, who was the brother-in-law of the **Kākatiya** king **Gaṇapati**.² The date of the grant was **Thursday**, the 15th *tithi* of the **bright** fortnight of **Vaiśākha** in **Śaka-Samvat 1123** (expired), the cyclic year **Durmukhi**, which is a mistake for **Durmati**. According to Prof. Kielhorn, "the date corresponds to **Thursday, the 19th April A.D. 1201**, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise."

The town of Maḍapalla and the district of Nātavāḍi are identical with **Maḍapalli** and the district of **Nāthavāḍi** or **Nāthavāṭi** in the inscription of Bayyamāmbā.³ Mr. Ramayya identifies Maḍapalla or Maḍapalli with a village near Madhira, a station on the Nizam's State Railway, and Nātavāḍi with the district of **Nat[ri]paṭi** in the Chikkulla plates.⁴ As, however, **Lendulūra**, whence the Chikkulla plates were issued, is the modern **Dendulūra** near Ellore, Maḍapalla or Maḍapalli might as well be the same as the village of 'Madapulli' which is mentioned in the *Postal Directory of the Madras Circle*, p. 746, as being situated near Ellore.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्री⁶ स्वस्ति [१*] शकवर्षवुलु⁷ ११२३ [ड]गु दुर्मुखिसंवत्सर वै-
- 2 शाख शुभ⁸ १५ गुरुवारमुन स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहा-
- 3 शब्दमहामंघलेखर⁹ मडपल्लपुरवराधीश्वर चाकुव-
- 4 राज्यमूलस्तंभायमान शिष्टे[ष्ट]निदान श्रीम[त्*]त्रिभुवना-
- 5 धीश्वरपादाराधक परबलसाधक नामादिसमस्तप्रश-
- 6 स्तिसहिंत¹⁰ श्रीमन्महामंडलेखर नातवाडि रुद्रदेवराजु-
- 7 लु समस्तप्रशस्तिसहितुलै[न] काकतियगणपतिदेव[म]-
- 8 हाराजुल मळ्ळंदि तम तंङ्गि बुहराजुलकु सुक्तिगानु

¹ I.e. the eleventh *tithi*.

² See above, Vol. III. p. 95; Vol. V. p. 142 f.; and Vol. VI. p. 39.

³ See p. 157 above.

⁴ From an inked estampage.

⁵ Read शुभ.

⁶ See above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v f.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read मंडलेखर.

⁹ Read °वर्षवुलु.

¹⁰ Read °सहित.

- 9 बेजवाड मल्लेश्वरश्रीमहादेवरकु आ[चं]द्रार्कस्थायि-¹
 10 [ग]ा एत्तिन अखं[ड]दी[प]मुनकिच्चिन मेक[लु] ५५ [।*] वीनिं
 जेकी[नि] को-
 11 [ड]सूरवीयुंडु तन पुत्रपौत्रानुक्रममुन नित्य नं-²
 12 धिमानेडु नेयि नडपंगलवांडु ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail! On Thursday, the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of **Vaiśākha** in the **Śaka** year 1123, the **Durmukhi-saṃvatsara**,—Hail! the glorious **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara** **Budradēvarāja** of **Nātavādi**, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara** who has obtained the five great sounds; the lord of **Maḍapalla**, the best of cities; the chief pillar, as it were, of the **Chālukya** kingdom; the end of (*i.e.* fulfilling) the desires of holy men; the worshipper of the feet of the holy lord of the three worlds; and the destroyer of hostile armies, gave— for the salvation of his father **Buddarāja**, the brother-in-law of **Kākatiya-Gaṇapatidēva-Mahārāja** who was possessed of all glory,— 55 goats for lighting a perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun shall last, before the god **Mahādēva** of the **Mallēśvara** (*temple*) at **Bejavāda**. Having received these, **Koṇḍa-Sāre-Bōya** with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna*, (stamped with) a *Nandi*, of ghee.

No. 16.—SOME RECORDS OF THE RASHTRAKUTA KINGS OF MALKHED.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This is the first of some papers which will deal with some selected records of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** kings of **Mālkheḍ**. The records have been chosen, partly because of the general historical interest that attaches to them, and partly in order to illustrate the development of the alphabet of the **Kanarese** country during the ninth century A.D.³ As regards the latter point, I cannot undertake to deal fully with all the palæographic details: to do so, would be beyond my particular sphere of work, and would occupy time which I prefer to devote to other matters of wider interest; and I must leave that line of inquiry to be dealt with, in its minute particulars, by anyone who is more concerned than I am with the special illustration of Indian palæography. I shall notice a few details that may seem of particular interest. But, for the most part, I shall only deal, on somewhat broad lines, with certain characters which furnish leading tests in determining the sequence and approximate dates of undated genuine records which belong to the period in question or may fall within about half a century before it, and in arriving at some conclusion as to the order in which certain spurious records were fabricated and the periods to which they are really to be referred.

A.—Hatti-Mattūr inscription of the time of **Kṛishṇa I.**

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1882.

¹ The *r* of *rkk* is indistinct.

² The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line; read नंदि°.

³ See some remarks on pages 74, 77, above.

for *Perumbālaiyūr* and in *aliāmai* (l. 14) for *aliyāmai*, which is an archaic form of the negative gerund *aliyāmal*. The final *n* of *kiḷavan* (l. 9) is doubled before the following vowel. The Tamil form *mugamaṇḍagam* (l. 14) instead of the Sanskrit *mukhamanḍapa* has been already noticed in the Ukkal inscription of Kṛishṇa III.¹

The inscription is dated in the **third year** of the reign of **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman**, whom I have identified with the father of the Gaṅga-Pallava king **Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman** and placed in the **ninth century** of the Christian era.² This is the earliest known inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Five other records of his at Śaduppēri, Viriñchipuram and Tiruvallam are dated between his 9th and 62nd years.³ Since the publication of the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman,⁴ two inscriptions of his grandfather **Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman**⁵ and four inscriptions of his own reign⁶ were copied at Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district. The Śadaiyar temple at Tiruchcheṇṇambūṇḍi near Kōvilāḍi (between Tanjore and Trichinopoly) contains three inscriptions of the same king.⁷ Two of these mention **Mārambāvai**, "who was the great queen of **Nandippōttaraiyar** of the **Pallavatiḷa[ka ?]** family."⁸ The same queen is referred to in an inscription at Niyamam in the Tanjore tāluka (No. 16 of 1899), which is unfortunately mutilated, but seems to belong to the reign of the early Chōḷa king **Rājakēsarivarman**. One feels tempted to conclude from this that Rājakēsarivarman put an end to the rule of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that certain chiefs who claimed connection with the Pallava dynasty were first subordinate to Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman and afterwards to his conqueror, the Chōḷa king.

The inscription records that the *maṇḍapa* in front of the cave temple was built by a certain **Aḍavi** with the permission of a Gaṅga chief named **Nērguṭṭi**, who must have been subordinate to Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Aḍavi was the headman of a village near **Perumbālaiyūr** in **Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam**. This district owes its name to **Ūṟṟukkāḍu**, a village in the Conjeeveram tāluka, and **Perumbālaiyūr** is perhaps the same as **Pālaiyūr** which is mentioned in the **Kaśākūḍi** plates.⁹

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō Viśai-
- 2 [ya-Na]n[d]i[vi]kki[ra]ma]-
- 3 parumaṟku yā-
- 4 ṇḍu m[ū]ṇṟā-
- 5 vadu [Ū]ṟṟukkā-
- 6 t[ṭu-k]kōṭṭa[t]tu-
- 7 [Pp]erumbālai-
- 8 ūr=¹¹Ttiruppālai-
- 9 yūr kiḷavaṇṇ=Aḍa-
- 10 vi śri-Gaṅgaraiyar
- 11 Nērguṭṭi Perumāṇā-
- 12 rkku viṇṇappaṇ=jeydu

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 12, note 15; *maṇḍagam* occurs twice in the Kūram plates, *ibid.* Vol. I. No. 151, text lines 61 and 74.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 181 f.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 108, 124 and 125, and Vol. III. Nos. 42 and 43.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. No. 23.

⁵ No. 51 of 1898: 10th year; and No. 61: [2]1st year. An inscription at Kūram (No. 35 of 1900) is dated in the 12th year.

⁶ No. 63 of 1898: 16th year; No. 81: 25th year; No. 83: 26th year; and No. 82: date lost. Two inscriptions at Kūram (Nos. 33 and 37 of 1900) are dated in the 17th and [21]st years.

⁷ No. 303 of 1901: 18th year; and Nos. 300 and 301: 22nd year.

⁸ *Pallaratiḷa-kulatt Nandippōttaraiyar mahādēviyār=āṇa aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍaṇ Mārambāvaiyār.*

See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 345.

¹⁰ From two inked estampages.

¹¹ Read ^obālaiyūr=.

- 13 Aḍavi taṇ=rāyār Naṅga[ṇ]i Naṅgaiyārkk=āga=chche-
 14 yda mugamaṇḍagam [l*] id=aḷiāmai=¹kkāttāṇ=a-
 15 ḍi eṇ muḍi mē-
 16 la [ll*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the **third year** (*of the reign*) of king **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman**,—Aḍavi, the headman of **Tiruppālaiyūr** (*near*) **Perumbalaiyūr** in **Ūrṟukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam**, having made a request to (*i.e.* having obtained the sanction of) the glorious **Gaṅga king Nērguṭṭi Perumāṇ**,—(*this*) Aḍavi made the *maṇḍapa* in front (*of the shrine*) for (*the merit of*) his mother Naṅga[ṇ]i Naṅgai.

(L. 14.) The feet of him who protects this (*gift*) without destroying (*it*); (*shall be*) on my head.²

No. 33.—RANGANATHA INSCRIPTION OF GOPPANA;
 SAKA-SAMVAT 1293.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

In the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*, a modern Tamil work which professes to be based on a Sanskrit poem in 3,000 verses by Tṛitīya-Brahmatantrasvatantrasvāmin, we are told that, when the Musalmāns³ had captured Tiruchchirāppalli (Trichinopoly), the authorities of the Raṅganātha temple on the island of Śrīraṅgam near Trichinopoly secretly removed the image of Aḷagiyaṁavāḷaṇ (Vishṇu) to Tirumalai (Tirupati).⁴ Subsequently a certain Gōpaṇarāyar is stated to have brought the image from Tirumalai to Śiṅgapuram near Śēñji, and thence back to Śrīraṅgam, where he reconsecrated the god and his two wives (Lakshmi and the Earth).⁵ On this occasion he was praised by the Vaishṇava preceptor Vēdāntadēsika in the following verse: ⁶—

आनीयानीलशृङ्गद्युतिरचितजगद्रञ्जनादञ्जनादे-
 श्चक्षुरामाराध्य कंचित्समयमथ निहत्योद्धनुष्कान्⁷ तुरुष्कान् ।
 लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्नङ्गनाथं⁸
 सम्यङ्कर्त्तुं सपर्यामकृत भुवि यशःप्रापणो गोपणार्थः ॥

Mr. Venkayya has drawn my attention to another Tamil work, entitled *Kōyīlōḷugu*, *i.e.* "Benefactions to the Temple," which registers the donations made to the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam from the earliest times. The authorities on which the statements of this book are based are not mentioned by the author. Among other facts it chronicles the same events which have been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, with fuller details. It states that in Śaka-Samvat 1149 expired,⁹ the Akshaya-samvatsara, the Muḥammadans (*Tulukkars*) occupied the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. When news reached the temple authorities at Śrīraṅgam that the enemies had passed Saṁayapuram (9 miles north-north-east of Trichinopoly), they removed the image of Aḷagiyaṁavāḷa-Perumāl to Tirunārāyaṇapuram (Mēlukōṭe in the Mysore State)

¹ Read =aḷiydmai=.

² *Turushka-Yavan-Adigaḷ*.

³ Madras edition of Kaliyuga 4990, the Virōdhi-samvatsara, p. 124 f.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 127 f.

⁵ Read °नाथं.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 92 and note 1.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁸ This must be an error for 1249.

⁹ Read °तुष्कान्.

by way of Jētishkuḍi, Tirumāliruñjōlai, Kōlikkūḍu (Calicut) and Puṅgaṇūr (in the North Arcot district). The image was kept for "many days" at Mēlukōṭe and then removed to Tirumalai (Tirupati in the North Arcot district), where it was worshipped for "a long time." In the meanwhile the Muḥammadans had conquered the Pāṇḍya country and, through the influence of Vidyāranya, the kingdom of Āṇaikkondi (Vijayanagara) had been established. Its king, Harihararāyar (II.), reconquered the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. One of his officers, Gōpaṇa-Uḍaiyār, who resided at Śēñji, took the above-mentioned image from Tirumalai to Śīṅgapuram (near Śēñji),¹ where it was duly worshipped. He advanced with a strong force and defeated the Muḥammadans completely. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, the Paridhāvi-saṁvatsara, on the 17th solar day of the month Vaigāśi, he brought back the image of Perumāḷ to Śrīraṅgam and reconsecrated the god and his two consorts. He engraved on the outer portion of the east side of the temple wall (built by) Dharmavarman² the same verse which has been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, and which reads here as follows:—

अनीयानीलशृङ्गद्युतिरचितजगद्रञ्जनादञ्जनादे-
 श्चेज्जामाराध्य कंचित्समयमथ निहत्योद्धनुष्कांस्तुलुष्कान् ।
 लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्नङ्गनाथं
 सम्यग्वर्या सपर्या³ कुरुत निजयशोदर्पणो गोपणार्यः ॥

The *Kōyilolugu* further states that Gōpaṇa-Uḍaiyār granted fifty-two villages to the Raṅga-nātha temple, and that both his sovereign, Harihararāyar (II.), and Viruppaṇa-Uḍaiyār, the son of the latter, performed the *tulāpurusha* ceremony at the same temple.⁴

The verse quoted above and another, similar verse make up the subjoined *Grantha* inscription (No. 55 of 1892), which is engraved on the east wall of the second *prākāra* of the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. The two verses are preceded by a chronogram representing Śaka-Saṁvat 1293⁵ (= A.D. 1371-72). This date implies that the *Guruparamparāprabhāva* either must be wrong in making Gōpaṇarāyar a contemporary of Vēdāntadēśika, or— what is more probable— that the alleged birthday of Vēdāntadēśika in Kaliyuga 4370, the Śukla-saṁvatsara⁶ (= A.D. 1269-70), is a pure invention. Gōpaṇarāyar is referred to in the inscription as Goppa-nārya (verse 1) and Gōpaṇa (v. 2). His residence (*rājadhāni*, v. 2) was Cheñchi (v. 1), which is the Sanskrit form of the Tamil Śēñji, *vulgo* Gingee, in the South Arcot district.⁷ Añjanādri⁸ (v. 1) and Vṛishabhagiri (v. 2) are two names of Tirumalai, the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district.

Goppaṇa or Goppaṇṇa is known as an officer of Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyār or Kampaṇṇa-Uḍaiyār, the son of Vīra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyār, from an inscription at Achcharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901)

¹ See above, Vol. III. p. 226.

² This mythical king is reported to have built large portions of the Raṅganātha temple round the central shrine, which existed from times immemorial.

³ Read चयामङ्गत.

⁴ It is interesting to note that this Tamil work refers to the donations of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, which are described in one of the Raṅganātha inscriptions (above, Vol. III. p. 7 ff.). The king is said to have defeated the Chēra, the Chōla and Vallā[ta]dēva (i.e. the Hoysala king) and to have assumed the title *Emmaṇḍalan-gōṇḍa-Perumāḷ*, i.e. "the king who conquered every country." Having covered a large portion of the temple with gold, he assumed the further title *Pon-mēynda-Perumāḷ*, i.e. "the king who covered (the temple) with gold," and set up an image of Viṣṇu called after this surname. His gifts of gold and jewels are also enumerated. He is said to have spent altogether 18 *lakshas* of gold coins (*pon*) in covering the temple with gold, and the same amount in gifts.

⁵ The same year is quoted in the *Kōyilolugu*; see above.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 94.

⁷ Above, Vol. III. p. 226.

⁸ Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s. v.

and from three inscriptions at Kāñchi.¹ Aiyappa, the son of Appa Goppappa, is mentioned in another Kāñchi inscription of Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar, the son of Bukkana-Udaiyar (No. 33 of 1890). The same inscription shows that Goppappa was a Brāhmaṇa, as it states that he belonged to the *Āpastamba-sūtra* and *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*.

It appears from the last paragraph that Goppappa's sovereign, **Kampana-Udaiyar**, was the son of **Bukkana-Udaiyar** or **Vira-Bokkana-Udaiyar**. I feel no hesitation in identifying this Bukkana-Udaiyar with king **Bukka I. of Vijayanagara**, whose name appears as 'Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru of Vijayanagara' in a Kanarese inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1293, the Virōdhikṛit year, at Bhatkal.² and in identifying Kampana-Udaiyar with Chikka-Kampanna-Oḍeyaru, the son of Bukka I.³ The word *Chikka* or *Kumāra*, which is prefixed to the name of Kampana-Udaiyar in some of his inscriptions, is evidently employed to distinguish him from his uncle Kampana.⁴ In the pedigree of the first Vijayanagara dynasty Kampana-Udaiyar will henceforth appear as **Kampana II.**, and his uncle as Kampana I. Mr. Taylor⁵ calls Kampana-Udaiyar the "general or agent" of Bukkarāya of Vijayanagara and states that he repaired the temple at Śrīraṅgam in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293—the date of the subjoined inscription—and that he expelled the Muḥammadan invaders from the Pāṇḍya country. Here we have a grain of truth among heaps of chaff. The existence, in the fourteenth century, of a dynasty of **Musalmān chiefs of Madhurā** is testified to by chronicles and coins,⁶ and Kampana-Udaiyar's conquest of the Pāṇḍya country is corroborated by an inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1287, the Viśvāvasu year, at Tiruppukkuḷi (No. 18 of 1899), which states that, "having taken possession of the kingdom of Rājagambhira, he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne."⁷ Rājagambhira is known to have been a surname of the Pāṇḍya king Jātāvarman *alias* Kulasēkhara,⁸ whose Tiruppūvaṇam plates are dated, according to Professor Kielhorn, in A.D. 1214.⁹ Hence 'the kingdom of Rājagambhira' seems to denote the Pāṇḍya kingdom, and it may be accepted as a historical fact that Kampana II., the son of Bukka I. of Vijayanagara, expelled the Muḥammadans from Madhurā. Two inscriptions at Tiruppullāṇi¹⁰ show him in possession of a portion of the Rāmnād Zamindārī in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293 and 1296. The fact that he claimed to be 'conducting the rule of the earth' proves that he did not remain a subordinate of his father, but considered himself an independent ruler. His prime-minister (*mahāpradhāni*) **Sōmappa** is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Mēlpādi (No. 89 of 1889) and Achcharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901). To return to **Goppappa**, he seems to have taken part

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 86-88. When publishing these three inscriptions (*op. cit.* p. 117 f.), I represented Kampana-Udaiyar as the son of Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar on the strength of a Tirumalai inscription (*ibid.* No. 72). But, in the light of other records, I believe now that, in l. 2 f. of this record, *śrī-Vīra-Kampana-Udaiyar Kumāra-śrī-Kampana-Udaiyar kumḍrar śrī-Ommaṇa-Udaiyar* has to be translated by "Ommanā-Udaiyar, the son of Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar (*alias*) Kumāra-Kampana-Udaiyar."

² Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 1. An inscription of Vira-Bokkana-Udaiyar at Vēppūr (No. 20 of 1890) is dated in the Rākṣasa year (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1297); another at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam (*Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892) in the Nala year (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1298); and one at Achcharapākkam (No. 255 of 1901) in Śaka-Saṃvat 1298, the Nala year. See also Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 90, Ml. 23 and 76; Vol. IV., Ch. 113 and 117.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; Vol. IV., Yl. 64 and Gu. 32.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 36.

⁵ *Catalogue*, Vol. III. p. 438 f.

⁶ See *e.g.* Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 42; Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 222 f.; Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India*, p. 32 f. and p. 66 f.; and the late Mr. Rodgers' valuable paper in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 49 ff. No complete reading has yet been published of a silver coin which was figured on Tufnell's Plate vi. No. 2, and of which I possess a specimen; the obverse reads *Aḥsan Shāh* 738 (of the Hijra, *i.e.* A.D. 1337-38), and the reverse *Al-Husainiyyu*.

⁷ *Irāyagambhira-irāḍyam kai-kkoṇḍu sti(ethi)ra-simḥsanattil pr[i](pri)thivi-irāḍyam paṇṇi arulā-n[i]ṇra*. This passage and its bearing were first pointed out by Mr. Venkayya in one of the two *Annual Reports* which he drew up during my absence on furlough.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 289.

⁹ See page 301 above.

¹⁰ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 301 f.

in his master's wars against the Musalmán chiefs of Madhurá, as the Raṅganátha inscription alludes to his conquest of the Tulushkas.

The subjoined list of inscriptions of **Kampana II.** shows that his influence extended from Mysore in the north to Râmnâd in the south, and that he was in power **between A.D. 1361-62 and A.D. 1374.** The Tirumalai inscription of his son **Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar**¹ is dated on the 11th December A.D. 1374.² Of his father **Bukka I.** we have inscriptions of still later date, viz. A.D. 1375-76 and 1376-77.³ To Professor Kielhorn my best thanks are due for the calculation of those among the following dates which contain astronomical details.

1.—No. 250 of 1901; at Achecharapâkkam. Kampanṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkanā-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 12[83], Plava.

2.—No. 89 of 1889; at Mēlpāḍi. Vira-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Plava.

3.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 86; at Kāñchī. Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvāvasu.

4.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 87; at Kāñchī. Vira-Kumāra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvādi (i.e. Viśvāvasu).

5.—No. 18 of 1899; at Tiruppukkūli. Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bukkanā-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1287, Viśvāvasu. *Śakābdam āyirattu-irunūrru-ēṇbattu-ēḷiṇ mēl śellāniṇṇa varttamā[na]-Viśvāvasu-saṁvatsarattu Vriśchika-nā[ya]ru pūrvva-pakshattu shashṭi(shṭhi)yum Ariṭṭamum perra Budan-kiḷamai-nāḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1287 expired = Viśvāvasu the date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 19th November A.D. 1365**, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

6.—No. 163 of 1892; at Bhussanahalli. Vira-Kumāra-Kampanṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vira-Buk[k]aṇṇ-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-Saṁvat 12[8]8, Parābhava.

7.—No. 21 of 1890; at Vēppūr. Vira-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. *Parāba[va]-varusham Aśvika-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshshattu pañchamiyum Nā[ya]rru-kkiḷamaiyum perra Pūsattu nāḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date, as recorded above, is quite irregular. All that I can suggest regarding it is, that the [in Tamil] strange word for the solar month, *Aśvika*, may be intended for *Ani*, and that *Pūsattu* may be a mistake for *Pūrattu* (Pūrva-Phalguni). If these two alterations were adopted, the date would regularly correspond to **Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 1366**, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Phalguni**, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

8.—No. 33 of 1890; at Kāñchī. Vi[ra]-Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Bukkanā-Uḍaiya[r]. *Śakābdam 12[8]8 l mēl Parābha[va]-saṁvatsarattu Kumbha-nā[ya]rru pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum V[i]yāḷa-kk[i]ḷamaiyum perra Pu[na]rpūsattu [nā]ḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 11th February A.D. 1367**, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

¹ See above, p. 324, note 1. In a local chronicle this name has been misspelt or misread 'Embana Udeiyār; ' see Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III. p. 82. Another son of Vira-Kampanṇa-Oḍeyaru, named Nañjanṇa-Oḍeyaru, is mentioned in an inscription at Dodḍa-Kaulande (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Nj. 108), which is dated *Saka-varusha samda 1296 neva Ananda-saṁvatsarada Vaisāka-su 15 Gu[rudra]* sōmagrahanadallī. Professor Kielhorn considers this date worthless, because "in Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ananda the full-moon *tithi* of Vaisākha ended 23 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of *Wednesday, the 26th April A. D. 1374*, and there was no lunar eclipse on that day."

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 3, No. 135.

³ See above, p. 324, note 2.

9.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannâmalai. Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vîra-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar. Plavaṅga.

10.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; at Tagadûru. Chikka-Kampanṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vîra-Bukkann-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-Saṁvat 1290, Kîlaka.

11.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 88; at Kâñchî. Vîra-Kampanṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Kîlaka-varushattu Makara-nāyaru apara-pashakshattu¹ saptamiyu[m*] Śevvāy-kkîlalaïmaiyum² perra [T]ér-nāl.³*

"This date is in every respect irregular, and intrinsically wrong, because the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Rôhiṇî on a 7th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Makara."—F. K.

12.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yl. 64; at Mâmballî. Kampanṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vîra-Bukkann-Oḍeyaru. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4470, Saumya.

13.—No. 293 of 1895; from Kâraṇai near Kaḍambattûr, now in the Madras Museum. Vîra-Kampana-[U][ḍaiyar*], the son of Vî Uḍaiyar. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 447[2*], Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, Virôdhikrit. [*Kali**]yuga-varusham nâlāyirattu-n[ā]nūrru-[e]lu[ba]ttu ngiya Śakābūdam āyirattu-irunūrru-t[on]nūrr[u]-mān sellāni[ṇ*]ra Virôdhikrit-varshattu [M]ithuna apara-pakshattu [pañcha]miyum Budan-kilamai ra Avittattu nāl.

"For Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4472 expired = Śaka-Saṁvat 1293 expired = Virôdhakrit the date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 4th June A.D. 1371**, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 13 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishthâ**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

14.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 301; at Tiruppullâni. Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1293.

15.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 32; at Guṇḍlupête. Chikka-Kampanṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vîra-Bukkann-Oḍeyaru. *Śaka-varusha 1294 saṁda varttamāna-Paridhâvi-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śu 2 Â.⁴*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1294 expired = Paridhâvin the second *tithi* of the bright half of the month Chaitra commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday, the 7th March A.D. 1372.**"—F. K.

16.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 302; at Tiruppullâni. Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1296.

17.—No. 28 of 1890; at Kâñchî. Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vîra-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar. *Ānanda-va[r*]sham Āḍi-māda[m] 10 [tēdi] Āshāḍa-bagūla-chatu[r*]ddasī Śukravāramum perra n[āl].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the Karkāṭa-saṁkrānti took place 9 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th June A.D. 1374, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭa or Āḍi. The 10th day of the month of Āḍi therefore was **Friday, the 7th July A.D. 1374**; but the *tithi* which ended on this day, 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th (not the 14th) *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Āshāḍha. In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the number of the *tithi* has been wrongly quoted in the original date."—F. K.

18.—No. 185 of 1894; at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam. Vîra-Kumâra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. *Ānanda-[va]rushattu Kaṇ[n]i-nāyarra a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu [da]śa[miyu]m [V]el[ī]i-kkîlalaïmayum perra [Puṇar]pū[śa]ttu n[āl].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the 10th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Kanyâ commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday, the 1st September A.D. 1374**, when

¹ Read *-pakshattu*.

² Read *-kkîlalaïmayum*.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 138, No. 9.

⁴ I.e. *Ādityavārada*.

the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* and according to *Garga* during the whole day.— Since on Saturday, the 2nd September A.D. 1374, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 1 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** for 7 h. 13 m. or 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise, I have some doubts whether that day is not really the intended day, and whether therefore Friday has not been wrongly quoted in the original date instead of Saturday. Supposing the weekday to have been given correctly, I should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*.— F. K.

From a Kanarese inscription at Penakonḍa (No. 339 of 1901), which was first noticed by Mr. Sewell,¹ we learn that **Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru** (i.e. Bukka I.) had another son, named **Vira-Virupanna-Oḍeyaru** (I.), by his queen **Jommādēvi**. While Bukka I. was ruling the territory of the **Hoysala** kings at **Hosapaṭṭana**, and while his son **Virupanna I.** was governing the province (*rājya*) of **Penugonḍe**, which had been entrusted to him by his father,²—the minister (*mahāpradhāna*) **Ananta[ra]sa-Oḍeyaru** built the fort of **Penugonḍe** in Śaka-Saṁvat 1276, the *Jaya-saṁvatsara*, on Tuesday, the 1st (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of **Chaitra**,³ i.e. on the 25th March A.D. 1354.

A copper-plate grant at **Narasīpura** mentions a third son of Bukka I., named **Mallinātha** or **Mallapp-Oḍeyaru**, whose son was **Nārāyaṇadēv-Oḍeyaru**.⁴ It is dated on Sunday, the 29th July A.D. 1397.⁵

The successor of **Bukka I.** on the throne of **Vijayanagara** was his son by **Gauri**,⁶ **Harihara II.**, whose name is given as **Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru** in Kanarese inscriptions (Nos. 3, 4, 6-8 of the following list). As will appear from Nos. 2, 5 and 9 of the same list, the Tamil form of his name was **Hariyana**- or **Ariyanna-Uḍaiyar**.

1.—No. 57 of 1900; at **Puttūr** near **Āraṇi**. **Harihara-Uḍaiya[r*]**. Śakābdam 1299 n mēl sellāṁpṛa Piṅgala-varuṣham Āḍi-mādam [30] tēdi Tīṅgal-kilāmai.

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1299 expired = Piṅgala the **Karkaṭa-saṁkrānti** took place 3 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 28th June A.D. 1377, which was the first day of the month of **Karkaṭa** or **Āḍi**. The 30th day of the month of **Āḍi** therefore was **Monday**, the 27th July A.D. 1377."— F. K.

2.—Mr. **Venkayya** in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at **Tiruvannāmalai**. **Ariyanna-Uḍaiyar**. Śaka 1299, Piṅgala.

3.—No. 126 of 1901; at **Bārūkūr**. **Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru**. Śaṁvaruṣa? 1301 nye(ne)ya K[ā*]layukta-saṁvatsarada [d]vitiya-Jy[ē*]shṭa-su 15 Śukravāradalu sūmōparāga-puṁṇ[y]akāladalu.

"Śaka-Saṁvat 1301 current = **Kālayukta** : **Friday**, the 11th June A.D. 1378 (the full-moon day of the second **Jyāishṭha**); a total eclipse of the moon from 12 h. 1 m. to 15 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India."— F. K.

4.—No. 155 of 1901; at **Bārūkūr**. **Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru**, the son of **Vira-Bukkanna-Oḍeyaru**. Śaka-varuṣha 130[1] neya ma(va)rttamāna-Kālayuktākshi-saṁvachhsa(tsa)rada Mārggasira-su 1 Sōmarārad-aṁḍu.

¹ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 119.

² Śrīman-mahāmāṇḍalēvara ari-ṛāya-vibhāḍa bhḍshege-tappuva-ṛāyara-gaṁḍa Hīṁdardga-suraṭṭāṇa pūrva-paichima-samudr-ādhipati śrī-Vīra-Bukkanna-Vodeyaru Hoisāl-ānvaya-mahāpālara mēdint-maṇḍalavanu ni[ja]-bhūja-maṇḍana-ḍgi pḍlisu[ta] Hosapaṭṭanadali sukha-saṁkathā-vinōḍadiṁ rojgam geyyutta tanna paṭṭad-arasi Jomm[ā]dēviyara kāmḍa śrī-Vīra-Virupanna-Vodeyarig[e] Penugom-ḍeya rājyavanu koṭṭu ā paṭṭanadali sukhadiṁ rājyava pḍlisutta.

³ Śaka-varuṣha 1276 neya *Jaya-saṁvachhsa(tsa)rada Chaitra-su* [1] Maṁ[galavāradalu*]. Professor **Kielhorn** kindly informs me that "in Śaka-Saṁvat 1276 expired = **Jaya** the first *tithi* of the bright half of **Chaitra** commenced 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th March A. D. 1354."

⁴ Mr **Rice's Ep Carn.** Vol. III, TN. 64.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 331, No. 40.

⁶ See above, Vol. III. p. 115 and note 12.

⁷ Read *Śaka-varuṣha*.

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 *current* = Kālayukta. The date is incorrect; it would correspond to Sunday, the 21st November A.D. 1378, when the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīra ended 21 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure for the *tithi* were 2, the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 22nd November A.D. 1378."—F. K.

5.—No. 32 of 1890; at Kāñchī. Vira-Hariyapa-Uḍaiyar. *Śakābdam 1300 ṇ mēl śellāniṇṇa K[ā]layukta-varshattu Mārga[ī]-mā[sa]m 2 tēdi pūrbva(rva)-pakshattu sapta-[miyu]=Nāyarru-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa Sadayattu ṇāl.*

"This date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1300 expired = Kālayukta the Dhanuṣ-saṃkrānti took place 18 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November A.D. 1378. The second day of the month of Dhanuṣ or *Mārga[ī]* therefore was Monday, the 29th November A.D. 1378, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatras* were Uttara-Bhadrpadā and Rōvatī. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 5 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 12 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise of the 27th November A.D. 1378, but that day, as stated already, was a Saturday, and was the last day of the month of Vriśchika (Kārttigai)."—F. K.

6.—No. 59 of 1901; at Kāntāvara. Vira-Hariyappa-O[ḍe]yaru. *Sa(śa)ka-varuśa(sha) 1301 nevi(ya) Siddhā(ḍhā)rtthi-saṃvatsarada ¹Vaiśākha-su 1 Sōmavā[ra*]da[lu].*

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 expired = Siddhārthin: **Monday, the 18th April A.D. 1379**; the first *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended 6 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

7.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 64; at Homma. Harihara II. or Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru of Vijayanagara. *Śaka-varuśa 1302 neya Raudri-saṃvatsarada Śrāvana-su 5 Ādirāḍalu.*

"The date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1302 expired = Raudra the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvana ended 14 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 7th July A.D. 1380."—F. K.

8.—No. 174 of 1901; at Bārūkūr. Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru. *Śaka-varuśa(sha) 1304 Duṃḍubhi-saṃ[va]tsarada ¹Vaiśākha-su 15 Sō.²*

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1304 expired = Duṃḍubhi: **Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1382**; the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha ended 9 h. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

9.—No. 31 of 1890; at Kāñchī. Hariyapa-Uḍaiyar. *Śakābdam 1307 mēl śe[l*]lān[i]ṇṇa Krōdhana-varshom Āni-mādam [12 tēdi] amāvāsaiyum Guru[v]āram Mṛigaśīrshattu³ ṇāl.*

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1307 expired = Krōdhana the Mithuna-saṃkrānti took place 14 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th May A.D. 1385. The 12th day of the month of Mithuna or Āṇi therefore was **Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1385**; and on this day the new-moon *tithi* (of the month Jyaisṭha) ended 9 h. 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

Harihara II. had three sons: Virūpāksha I., Bukka II. and Dévarāya I. The first of them is known from the Ālampūṇḍi plate (No. 2 below) and from the *Nārāyaṇivilāsa*⁴ and has to be identified with Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar (II.), the son of Hariyappa- or Hariyanna-Uḍaiyar (Nos. 1 and 3-5 below).⁵

1.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Vira-Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1301.

2.—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 225; Ālampūṇḍi plate. Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. Śaka-Saṃvat 1305, Raktākshin.

¹ Read *Vaiśākha*.

² I. e. *Sōmavāḍalu*.

³ Read *śīrshattu*.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v.

⁵ The *Kōyilōḷuṅṇ* also mentions "Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Harihararāyar;" see page 323 above.

3.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Vira-Viruppanna-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1310, Vibhava.

4.—No. 114 of 1897; at Kōliyaṇūr. Vi[ru]ppana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1 . . . , Vi[bha]va.

5.—No. 112 of 1900; at Śeṅgama. Viruppanna-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śakābdam 131[8] ṇ mēṛ=che[llā*]niṇṇa [Dh]ātu-saṁvatsarattu Mēsha-nāyarru pūruva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Tiruvādiraiyum perṇa Guruvāra-nāl.

“For Śaka-Saṁvat 1318 expired = Dhātu (Dhātri) the date regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 13th April A.D. 1396**, which was the 19th day of the month of Mēsha and when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 35 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Ādrā**, by the equal space system for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.”—F. K.

To the time of **Bukka II.**, the second son of Harihara II., belong the following six inscriptions.

1.—No. 41 of 1890; at Tirupparuttikkunṇu. Bukkarāja, the son of Arihararāja. Dundubhi-varsham Kāt[tig]ai-[m]āḍatt[i]l pūruva-pakshattu=Ti[i]ṇṇaṭ-kiḷamaiyum paurṇamiyum perṇa Tā(kā)tt[i]gai-nāl.

“This date is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1304 expired = Dundubhi it would correspond to Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1382, with the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇi. It would be incorrect also for the lunar month Kārttika of the same year, and for the Śaka years 1303 and 1305 expired.”—F. K.

2.—No. 11 of 1900; at Kambayanallūr. Immaḍi-Bukkarāja (i.e. ‘Bukka the second’), the son of Hararāja (i.e. Harihara II.) and grandson of Bukkanpa-Uḍaiyar (i.e. Bukka I.). Kshaya-varushattu Paṇṇuṇ[i]-mādam mudal t[i]yadi pūruva-pakshattu Uttirattāḍ[i]yum perṇa nāl.

“This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1308 expired = Kshaya the first day of the month of Paṇṇuṇi (or Mina) would correspond to either the 24th or the 25th February A.D. 1387, but on the former of these two days (which both fell in the bright half) the *nakshatras* were Kṛittikā and Rōhiṇi (Nos. 3 and 4) and on the latter Rōhiṇi and Mṛigaśīrsha (Nos. 4 and 5), not Uttara-Bhadrapadā (No. 26).”—F. K.

3.—No. 12 of 1893; at Kāñchī. Vira-Pratāpa-Bukkarāja-mah[ā]rā[ya]. Śakābdam 1328 ṇ mēl sellā[n]iṇṇa Veya-saṁvarsarattu Mēsha-nāyarru pūruva-pakshattu śatta[m]iyum Śukkiravāramum perṇa Tiruvādirai-nāl.

“This date for Śaka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya clearly corresponds to **Friday, the 26th March A.D. 1406**, which was the day of the **Mēsha-saṁkrānti** (that took place 17 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise¹), and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Ādrā**, by the equal space system for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.”—F. K.

4.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 28; at Vaidyanāthapura. Bukkarāja, the son of Harihara-mahārāja. Śaka-varusha 132[8] neya Bya(vya)ya-saṁvatsarada Jēshṭha-ku 5 Gu.²

“This date is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1406, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishṭha ended 13 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.”—F. K.

5.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 55; at Vēppambattu. Vira-Pratāpa-Bukkamahārāja. Śakābdam 132[8] ṇ mēl sellāniṇṇa Pārttīva-saṁvatsarattukku=chchellum Viya-saṁvatsarattu Jēshṭha-bahula-amāvāsyaikum Viyāla-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa nāl.³

¹ Accordingly, the date was the last day of the month of Mina of the solar Śaka year 1327 expired.

² I.e. *Guruvāradalu*.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 203, note 50.

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṃvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Wednesday, the 16th June A.D. 1406, when the new-moon *tithi* of Jyaisṭha ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise." —F. K.

6.—No. 41 of 1901; at Mūḍabidure. Vīra-Bukkarāya, the son of Harihararāya. Śaka-varsha 13[2]9 *neya Vyaya-saṃvatsarada Bhādrapada-śudhādhā(ddha) 10 Budhavāradaḥ*.

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṃvat 1329 *current* = Vyaya it would correspond to Tuesday, the 24th August A.D. 1406, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Bhādrapada ended 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure of the *tithi* were 11, the date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 25th August A.D. 1406." —F. K.

From manuscripts and coins¹ we know a son of Bukka II. by Tipp[ā]mbā, named Vira-Bhūpati, to whom we have to assign two inscriptions of Vira-Bhūpati-Uḍaiyar, which are noticed by Mr. Venkayya, *viz.* one of Śaka-Saṃvat 1331 at Śrīraṅgam,² and one of Śaka-Saṃvat 1336, the Manmatha year, at Tiruppandurutti.³

TEXT.⁴

- 1 स्तुति श्रीः । बन्धुप्रिये शकाब्दे । आनीयानीलशृंगद्युतिरचितजगद्र[ञ्ज]ना-
दक्षनाद्रेष्टे[ञ्ज]माराद्ध कञ्चित् समयमथ निहत्योद्धनुष्कांस्तुलुष्कान् [1]
लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनगरे स्था[प]यन्
- 2 रंगनाथं सम्यग्व्या⁵ स[प]र्य्याम् पुनरकृत [य]शोदर्पणी गोप्यणार्थः ॥ [१*]
विश्वेशं रंगराजं वृषभगिरितटात्⁶ गो[प]णः (1) क्षो[णि]देवी नीत्वा स्वां
राजधानीब्रिजबलनिहतोत्सिक्ततौलुष्कसैन्यः [1] कृत्वा
- 3 [श्री]रंग[भू]मिम्⁷ [कृत]युग[सहितान्त]न्तु ल[क्ष्मी]महीभ्यां संस्थाप्यास्यां सरो-
जोत्भव⁸ इव कुरुते साधु च[र्य्य]िं सपर्य्याम् ॥ [२*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Śaka year (expressed by the chronogram) bandhupriya (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1293).

(Verse 1.) Having brought (*the god*) from the Añjanādri (*mountain*), the splendour of whose darkish peaks gives delight to the world, having worshipped (*him*) at Cheñchi for some time, then having slain the Tulushkas whose bows were raised,—Goppanārya, the mirror of fame, placing Raṅganātha together with both Lakshmi and the Earth in his own town,⁹ again duly performed excellent worship.

(V. 2.) Having carried Raṅgarāja, the lord of the world, from the slope of the Vṛishabhagiri (*mountain*) to his capital,¹⁰ having slain by his army the proud Taulushka soldiers, having made the site of Śrīraṅga united with the golden age (*Kṛitayuga*), and having placed there this (*god*) together with Lakshmi and the Earth,—the Brāhmaṇa¹¹ Gōpaṇa duly performs, like the lotus-born (Brahmā), the worship which has to be practised.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 318, No. 6.

² *The same* of August 1890.

³ Read °गव्यं.

⁴ Read °जीह्व.

⁵ *Kṛitayuga*. Compare p. 324 above.

⁶ Read °तटादी°.

⁷ *I.e.* in Śrīraṅgam.

⁸ *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892.

⁹ From an inked estampage prepared in 1892.

¹⁰ Read °भूमिं.

¹¹ *I.e.* to Cheñchi; see verse 1.

No. 34.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIDUGADALAGIYA-PERUMAL.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

A.—INSCRIPTION AT TIRUMALAI NEAR POLUR.

The first volume of my *South-Indian Inscriptions* contains some records, the full bearing of which could not be made out at the time of their publication through want of experience and in the absence of copies of cognate inscriptions. Several of them have been already republished in this journal.¹ I now re-edit another, which was imperfectly read and rendered before,² from a fresh inked estampage.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the outer wall of the doorway which leads to the painted cave at Tirumalai near Pôlūr in the North Arcot district. It is somewhat worn and not very easy to read. The alphabet is **Tamiḻ** and **Grantha**. The inscription consists of three portions:—a sentence in Tamiḻ prose, a Sanskrit verse in the Śārdūla metre, and a Tamiḻ verse. Each of these three passages records in different words the same fact, *viz.* the restoration of the images of a Yaksha and a Yakshī, which were set up on the Tirumalai hill. In this connection the names of three kings are mentioned:—(1) **Eḷiṇi** (ll. 1 and 7) or **Yavanikā**³ (l. 4); (2) **Rājarāja** (l. 6) or **Vagaṇ**⁴ (l. 9); and (3) **Viḍugāḍalagiya-Perumāl** (l. 10) or **Vyāmukta-śravaṇōjjvala**⁵ (l. 6). **Eḷiṇi** is stated to have belonged to the family of the kings of **Chēra** (l. 1) or **Kēraḷa** (l. 3), *i.e.* Malabar, or of **Vaṇṇi** (l. 7), the traditional capital of the Chēra kingdom, which is perhaps identical with the modern village of Chēramān-Perumāl-Kōyilūr near Tiruvaṇṇikulam in the Cochin State.⁶ Both **Eḷiṇi** and **Rājarāja** receive the title **Adigaimāṇ** (l. 1), **Adhikanṇipa** (l. 5 f.) or **Adigaṇ**⁷ (l. 9), *i.e.* 'the lord of **Adigai**,' the modern Tiruvadi near Cuddalore.⁸ The third king is called the lord of **Takaṭā** (l. 6) or **Tagaḍai** (l. 10). As noted by Mr. Venkayya, this place is mentioned in the Tamiḻ poem *Puraṇānūru* as **Tagaḍūr**, and Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified it with **Dharmapuri**, the head-quarters of a tāluka in the Salem district.⁹ This statement is corroborated by two Chōḷa inscriptions (Nos. 307 and 308 of 1901) in the Mallikārjuna temple at Dharmapuri, according to which **Tagaḍūr**, the modern Dharmapuri, was the chief town of **Tagaḍūr-nāḍu**, a subdivision of the Gaṅga country (*Gaṅga-nāḍu*), a district of Nigarili-Śōḷa-maṇḍalam.¹⁰ **Viḍugāḍalagiya-Perumāl** was the son of **Vagaṇ** (l. 9) or **Rājarāja** (l. 6), who seems to have been a remote descendant (ll. 5 and 9) of **Eḷiṇi**. Both he and his ancestor **Eḷiṇi** must have been adherents of the **Jaina** religion, because

¹ Above, Vol. IV. Nos. 9, 22 and 52, and Vol. V. No. 13, A.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 75.

³ *Yavanikā* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamiḻ *eḷiṇi*, 'a curtain.'

⁴ According to the dictionaries, the Tamiḻ *Vagaṇ* and the Sanskrit *Baka* are names of Kubēra, who is also called **Rājarāja**.

⁵ The Tamiḻ words *riḍu*, *kādu* and *alagiya* correspond to the Sanskrit *mūḥ*, *śravaṇa* and *ujjvala*. The word looks like a nickname. Perhaps the king had protruding ears.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 31, and my *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 4.

⁷ For references to **Adigaṇ**, **Adigaimāṇ** and **Eḷiṇi** in Tamiḻ literature see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 66 and 143. **Adiyama**, who was a feudatory of the Chōḷa king and was defeated by Gaṅgarāja, a general of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. Index), may have been one of the chiefs of **Adigai**.

⁸ The *Kalīṅgattu-Parani* (x. verse 68 f.) mentions 'the great city of **Adigai**,' which Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified with Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore tāluka of the South Arcot district; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 339 f. In the time of the Vijayanagara kingdom this town was the head-quarters of the province (*rājya*) of Tiruvadi; *ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 153. This province is distinct from Tiruvadi-rājya (with the lingual *ḍ*), which was situated in the Tinnevely district; above, Vol. III. p. 240, and Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 28.

⁹ See the two pages of the *Ind. Ant.* quoted in note 7 above.

¹⁰ There is another village named **Tagaḍūru** in the Naṅjanagūḍu tāluka of the Mysore district, which was included in **Hiriya-nāḍu**; Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117 and 118.

they made grants at **Tirumalai**, which is referred to in the subjoined inscription as 'the holy mountain of Enguṇaviṛai' (l. 8) and 'the holy mountain of the Arhat in the **Tuṇḍira-maṇḍala**'¹ (l. 4 f.).

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śēra-vaṇṣattu³ Adigaimā[ṇ] Eḷiṇi śeyda dha[r]mma-
- 2 Yaksha[r]aiyum Yakshiyāraiyum eḷund=a[ru*]ḷuvittu eṇimaṇiyum i-
- 3 t̥tu=Kkaḍappēri-kkā[lu]ṇ=gaṇḍu kuḍutt[ā]ṇ || ⁴Śrīmat-Kēraḷa-bhūbhṛi-
- 4 tā **Yavanikā-nāmnā** su-dha[r]mm-ātmanā **Tuṇḍir-āhvaya-maṇḍal-Ā[r]ha-su-⁵**
- 5 **girau** Yakshēśvaraṇ kalpitaṇ [||*] paśchāt=tat-kula-bhūshaṇ-Ādhika-
- 6 nṛipa-śrī-Rājarāj-ātmaja-Vyāmuktaśravaṇō[j*]jvalē[na **Takaṭā-nā**]thēna j̥rṇ-ō-
- 7 [d]dhṛitaṇ || **Vaṇji[i]yar⁶** kula-pa[ti]y=[E]ḷiṇ[i] vaguttav=Iyakkar=Iyakk[i]yarō-
- 8 ḍ=e[ṇ]jiyav=aḷivu ⁷tiruttiy=av-**Enguṇaviṛai-tiru-malai** vait[t]āṇ=ru-
- 9 ṇji taṇ [va]ḷi [va]rumavaṇ vaḷi-mudali kali **Adigaṇ Vagaṇ** nūl v[i]ṇjaiyar
- 10 [ta]lai puṇai **Tagaḍaiyar** kāvalaṇ **Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-[P]erumālēy [||*]**

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! He⁸ set up (*again*) (*the images of*) a Yaksha and a Yakshi,—meritorious gifts (*formerly*) made by Eḷiṇi, an Adigaimāṇ of the Chēra family,—presented a gong, and granted a channel (*which he*) had constructed to (*or from ?*) the Kkaḍappēri (*tank*).⁹

(L. 3.) (*The images of*) two lords of the Yakshas, which had been set up by the glorious (*and*) very pious-minded Kēraḷa king named Yavanikā on the holy mountain of the Arhat in the province (*maṇḍala*) called Tuṇḍira, were later on saved from ruin by Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjvala, the lord of Takaṭā (*and*) the son of the glorious Rājarāja—an Adhika prince (*who was*) the ornament of his (Yavanikā's) race.

(L. 7.) The ruins which remained (*of the images*) of a Yaksha together with a Yakshi, that had been set up by Eḷiṇi, the chief of the family (*ruling over*) the Vaṇjiyar,¹⁰ were repaired and placed (*on*) this holy mountain of the god who possesses the eight qualities¹¹ by Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl, the protector of the Tagaḍaiyar,¹² the ornament of the heads of those learned in the sciences, (*and the son of*)¹³ the brave Adigaṇ Vagaṇ—the foremost on the (*right*) path, who came from his (Eḷiṇi's) family after (*the latter*) had died.

B.—INSCRIPTION AT KAMBAYANALLUR.

This inscription (No. 8 of 1900) is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Dēsināthēśvara temple at Kambayanallūr in the Ūttaṅgarai tāluka of the Salem district. The alphabet and language are Tamil.

The inscription consists of a Tamil verse, which opens with the date—the 22nd year (in words) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva. A short prose passage which is prefixed to the verse gives the same date in figures. This is another record of Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl, the

¹ This is a Sanskritised form of Tuṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

² From an inked estampage.

³ Read -vaṇṣattu.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 76 contains another copy of the same verse.

⁵ For the sake of the metre *Arha* is used instead of *Arhat*.

⁶ In this verse *Vaṇjiyar* rhymes with *ḍ=eṇjiya*, *=ruṇji* and *viṇjaiyar*.

⁷ Read *tiruttiy=ivv*.

⁸ The subject is Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl (l. 10).

⁹ The same tank is mentioned in another Tirumalai inscription; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 77.

¹⁰ *I. e.* 'the citizens of Vaṇji.'

¹¹ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 107, note 1.

¹² *I. e.* 'the citizens of Tagaḍai.'

¹³ The words in brackets can be supplied with certainty on the strength of the Sanskrit portion (l. 6) and in accordance with the Tamil habit of omitting the word 'son' between the names of the father and the son.

king of **Tagadai** and (son of) **Rājarāja-Adigaṇ**. He is said to have ruled over the three rivers **Pāli**, **Pennai** and **Ponṇi**. The inscription records that he granted a place named **Śīruk-kōṭṭai** on the bank of the **Pennai** river to **Nāgai-Nāyaka** of **Kuḷaṇ**, and that he built a temple.

The **Pāli** must be identical with the **Pālāru** river; the **Pennai** is the **Southern Pennāru**; and the **Ponṇi** is the **Kāvērī**. It may be assumed that the **Pālāru** formed the northern boundary of the king's territories and the **Kāvērī** the western one, while the **Southern Pennāru** passes not far north-east from his capital **Tagadūr**, the modern **Dharmapuri**.¹ **Kuḷaṇ**, where the donee came from, is another form of **Kuḷam** or **Kuḷaṇūr**, the modern **Ellore**.² He may have been related to the **Nāyakas** of **Ellore**, who are mentioned in inscriptions of the **Telugu** country.³ His name, **Nāgai-Nāyaka**, is perhaps connected with **Nāgaiyaṇpaḷli**, an ancient name of **Kambayanallūr**, which occurs in two inscriptions of the **Hoysala** king **Vīra-Viśvanāthadēva** (Nos. 9 and 10 of 1900).

The donor is mentioned in two inscriptions at **Śēṅgama** in the **Tiruvannāmalai tālu**ka of the **South Arcot** district,— in the first of them (No. 115 of 1900), which is dated in the **20th year** of **Tribhuvanachakravartin śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva**, as “the born **Perumāl**, *alias* the son of **Rājarāja-Adigaṇ**,”⁴ and in the second (No. 107 of 1900), the beginning of which is lost, but which quotes the **twenty-first** (year of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva** ?), as “**Rājarājadēvaṇ**”⁵ **Viḍugāḍalagiya-Perumāl**, *alias* the son of **Rājarāja-Adigaṇ**.”⁶ In both inscriptions he is stated to have been a contemporary of **Śēṅgēṇi Ammaiyaṇ Attimallaṇ**,⁷ *alias* **Vikrama-Chōḷa-Śambuvarāyaṇ**, a chief who seems to have been a subordinate of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III**.⁸ Besides, No. 107 of 1900 mentions as his contemporary a certain **Śeyyagaṅgar**, who is probably identical with **Śiyagaṅgaṇ**, a subordinate of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III**.⁹ Consequently, the king during whose reign the subjoined inscription of **Viḍugāḍalagiya-Perumāl** is dated must be **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III**, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1178,¹⁰ and the date of the inscription, the **22nd year**, corresponds to A.D. 1199-1200.

TEXT.¹¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[i]ribuva[na]chechakkaravattiga[!] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṛku
yāṇḍu 22 āvadu ௨ Urai¹² maru[yu]ō=Gulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṛk-uraitta yāṇḍ-
irubadiṇ mēl=iraṇḍir=Pennai-kkarai maruvu[ṇ]=Jirukkōṭṭai Ku[ḷa]ṇ Nā[gai]-
Nāyagaṛk=aḷittu-kkaṇ-ḷali taṇ pēi-i-
- 2 tṭa kār-aṇaiya-kaiyā[ṇ] tirai-maruvun-dadaṇ-gamala-Ttagadai maṇṇaṇ śeḷum Pāli
[P]ennai Ponṇi-ttiru-nadi mūṇṇ-uḍaiya virai-maruvun-dār-mārvaṇ Rāja-
r[ā]ja[v-A]digaṇ vilaṅgā-moli Viḍugāḍalagiya-Perumālēy ||¹³ ௨

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the **22nd year** (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēva**.

¹ See page 331 above.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 308.

³ This portion of the title has to be taken as the name of a **Chōḷa** king to whom **Viḍugāḍalagiya-Perumāl** or his ancestors had been tributary. Compare the similar name “**Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa-Takatādhirāja**, *alias* **Māra-simhadēva**,” in an inscription at **Rāyakōta** in the **Krishnagiri tālu**ka of the **Salem** district (No. 3 of 1900).

⁴ The original reads **Iṛḍja[r]ḍja-A[d]igaimān**, which I correct to **Iṛḍjarḍja-Adiga-magaṇ** in accordance with No. 115 of 1900; see note 4 above.

⁵ Instead of **Attimallaṇ** (*i.e.* **Hastimalla**) two other inscriptions (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 132, and Vol. III. No. 61) have the title **Kaṇṇuḍaipperumān**.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 121.

⁷ *Ibid.* page 122.

⁸ See Professor **Kielhorn**'s Table on p. 24 above.

⁹ From an inked estampage.

¹⁰ In this **Tamīl** verse **urai maruvu** rhymes with **karai maruvu**, **tirai-maruvu** and **virai-maruvu**.

¹¹ In the original this sign of punctuation is represented by a **visarga**.

In the year called two after twenty of the eminent **Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēva**,—**Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl**, who never breaks his word, (*who is the son of*)¹ **Rājarāja-Adigan**, whose chest wears a fragrant garland, the lord of three sacred rivers, (*viz.*) the **Pāli** (*whose banks are*) fertile, the **Pennai** (*and*) the **Ponṇi**, the king of **Tagadai** where large lotus-flowers are surrounded by the ripples (*of tanks*), he whose hand resembles a cloud (*in showering gifts*), granted (*the village of*) **Śirukkōṭṭai** on the bank of the **Pennai** (*river*) to **Nā[gai]-Nāyaka** of **Ku[la]n** and gave his own name (*to*) a stone temple.

No. 35.—TEKI PLATES OF RAJARAJA-CHODAGANGA;

DATED IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR (OF KULOTTUNGA I.).

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

These copper plates were sent to me through the Government of Madras by the Collector of **Gōdāvari**, who in his letter of 30th April 1901 states that they were “found about two months ago by one Kodi Dosigadu of **Tēki**² in the **Rāmachandrapuram tāluka**, while working in his field.”

The plates are five in number and measure about 11½” in breadth and about 6” in height. The first and last plates bear writing only on the inner side, and the three middle ones on both sides. The edges of the inscribed sides are raised into rims for the protection of the writing, which is in a state of very good preservation. On the left of each inscribed side is bored a circular hole, through which passes a copper ring measuring about 6” in diameter and about ½” in thickness. The ring had not yet been cut when I received the plates. Its ends are secured in the base of a four-petalled flower, which is surmounted by a circular seal measuring 4” in diameter. This seal bears the following emblems in high relief on a countersunk surface:—across the centre the legend *śrī-Tribhuvānāṅkuṣa*; at the top a boar, standing, facing the proper left, flanked by two *chauris*, and surmounted by a crescent, an elephant-goad and the sun; and at the bottom a conch, a drum, a four-petalled flower, a flower-bud and a throne.

The alphabet is Telugu and the language Sanskrit verse and prose. The Telugu letters *r* and *l* occur in a number of Telugu names which are quoted in l. 90 f. Of graphical peculiarities I would note that in *yū* (ll. 54 and 90) and *mū* (l. 95) the vowel *ū* is represented by the marks for *u* and *ā*.

The inscription opens with the same genealogical account of the **Eastern Chālukya** family as the **Chellūr** and **Piṭhāpuram** plates of **Vīra-Chōḍa**,³ but begins to differ in the description of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga I.** It does not mention his queen **Madhurāntakī**, but states that he had several queens (v. 11), who bore him several sons⁴ (v. 12). On one of these, **Mummaḍi-Chōḍa**,—whose name is given as **Rājarāja** in the **Chellūr** and **Piṭhāpuram** plates,—he conferred the governorship of **Vēṅgi** after the death of his own paternal uncle **Vijayāditya (VII.)** (vv. 13-16). One year later (v. 17) he bestowed the same appointment on **Mummaḍi-Chōḍa**’s younger brother, **Vīra-Chōḍa** (v. 18), who held it for six years (v. 19), when he was recalled (v. 20). Then the eldest son, **Chōḍagaṅga**, surnamed **Rājarāja** (vv. 21-26), ascended the throne of **Vēṅgi** (v. 33) in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1006** (in numerical words), on Thursday, the full-moon *tithi* of **Jyāishṭha**, in the *nakṣatra* **Jyēshṭhā** and in the *lagna* **Simha** (v. 34). This date

¹ The words in brackets are supplied on the strength of the Sanskrit portion of the **Tirumalai** inscription (A. above).

² No. 122 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the **Rāmachandrapuram tāluka** of the **Gōdāvari** district.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39, and above, Vol. V. No. 10, respectively.

⁴ According to v. 13 of the **Chellūr** plates and v. 12 of the **Piṭhāpuram** plates **Kulōttuṅga I.** had seven sons by **Madhurāntakī**.

probably corresponds to the 22nd May A.D. 1084. At the end of the inscription (l. 108) another date is given, *viz.* the seventeenth year of the reign.

The above statements involve a few important changes in the pedigree and the chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas. As regards the former, the order of the sons of Kulōttuṅga I. in my Table of this dynasty¹ has to be altered; for the Tēki plates inform us that the eldest son was not, as I thought, Vikrama-Chōḍa, Kulōttuṅga's successor on the Chōḷa throne, but Chōḍa-gaṅga. As the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates (v. 19) state that Vira-Chōḍa had only two elder brothers, it is now clear that these were Chōḍagaṅga and Mummaḍi-Chōḍa, and that Vikrama-Chōḍa was a younger brother of Vira-Chōḍa. Secondly, the dates at the end of the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates, *viz.* the twenty-first and twenty-third years of the reign, respectively, cannot be referred, as was done hitherto, to the reign of Vira-Chōḍa. For, taking the date at the end of the Tēki plates in the same manner as the seventeenth year of Chōḍagaṅga, it would correspond to A.D. 1084 + 16-17 = 1100-01, while the Chellūr plates would fall in A.D. 1078 + 20-21 = 1098-99, and Vira-Chōḍa would thus have issued an edict during the governorship of his brother Chōḍagaṅga. The only way in which the dates of the three inscriptions can be reconciled is to refer them to the accession of Kulōttuṅga I. in A.D. 1070. They would then fall in A.D. 1088-87, 1090-91 and 1092-93. The two last dates would imply that Vira-Chōḍa administrated the Vēṅgi province a second time in succession of Chōḍagaṅga. That this was actually the case is explicitly stated in his Piṭhāpuram plates. We are there told that Vira-Chōḍa was recalled by Kulōttuṅga I. (v. 25), but sent to Vēṅgi again in the fifth year (v. 26). The occasion when he was recalled was evidently the appointment of Chōḍagaṅga in A.D. 1084, and "the fifth year" must mean the fifth year after Vira-Chōḍa's recall, *i.e.* A.D. 1088-89. This explanation is in perfect accordance with the fact that the Tēki plates are dated two years earlier, *viz.* in the seventeenth year of Kulōttuṅga I. = A.D. 1086-87. The fact that the Chellūr plates are silent regarding the intervening governorship of Chōḍagaṅga, and that the Piṭhāpuram plates allude to it without mentioning his name, suggests that he had discredited himself with his father and had been on bad terms with his brother Vira-Chōḍa. The subjoined Table shows the relationship and the dates of the three successive governors of Vēṅgi.

Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I. ; married Madhurāntakī.			
Rājarāja <i>alias</i> Chōḍagaṅga ; A.D. 1084 to 1088-89.	Rājarāja <i>alias</i> Mummaḍi-Chōḍa ; A.D. 1077 to 1078.	Vira-Chōḍa ; A.D. 1078 to 1084 and 1088-89 to at least 1092-93.	Vikrama-Chōḍa. <i>Three other sons.</i>

Chōḍagaṅgadēva (l. 80), surnamed Rājarāja (l. 78), bore the traditional titles *Sarvalō-kāśraya*, *Vishnuvardhana*, *etc.* (ll. 76-78), and (like his younger brother Vira-Chōḍa) resided at Jananāthanagari (l. 81), which Mr. Krishna Sastri proposes to identify with the modern Rājamahēndri.² He addresses the edict contained in this inscription to the inhabitants of the country between the Mannēru (river) and the Mahēndra (mountain) (l. 83). These must have been the northern and southern boundaries of the Vēṅgi province. The Mahēndra mountain is in the Gaṇjām district near the Mandasa Railway Station, and the Mannēru river passes Singa-rāyakonḍa, now a Railway Station in the Kandukūr taluka of the Nellore district. The king's edict does not, as usual, refer to a grant of land; it confers certain honorary privileges on the

descendants of the **Teliki** family (l. 92). These were subdivided into a thousand families, ten of which are mentioned by name (l. 90 f.), and were hereditary servants of the **Eastern Chālukya** family (v. 38 f.). They were believed to have immigrated with the mythical king **Vijayāditya** of **Ayôdhyā**¹ (v. 40) and to have settled at **Vijayavâtâ**² (the modern **Bezvâda**), which seems to have been the former capital of the Eastern Chālukyas (v. 41).

The Bhâvanârâyaṇa temple at **Bâpaṭla** bears two inscriptions (Nos. 189 and 192 of 1897), dated in **Śaka-Saṃvat 1076** and recording gifts by two merchants who were members of the **Teliki thousand** (*Teliki-vêvuru*). The first of these merchants belonged to the subdivision (*gôtra*) of the **Musunûllu**, and the second to that of the **Velandunûllu**, who are perhaps identical with the **Velumanûllu** of the Têki plates (l. 90). I subjoin the beginning of the second inscription; that of the first is identical with it. It will be seen from the following transcript that this caste claims to have ruled over the towns of **Ayôdhyâ** and **Bejavâla**, with both of which it is associated also in the Têki plates (v. 40 f.).

Svasti [l*] Y[a]ma-niyama-[dharma]-pâ(pa)râ[ya*]ṇa-[B]rahma-sambhba(bha)va-Manu-
varṇâ-[â]di-śa(sa)kala-[śâstra]-viśâraduluṁ **Ganakâpuray-Ayôdhyâpura-Ga[ja]pur-âdhi-**
nâyakulu[m] satya-śauch-âbhimânulu [g]uru-dêva-pâd-ârâdhakulu Paulasti-bhagavati-sthâna-
pra[t]ishṭi(shṭhi)tulu si(sa)hasra-śâkh-ânvaya-gôtrul=aina śrîma[d*]-**Bejavâla-sâ(śâ)sanul=**
aina **Teliki-vêvurayamdu Velamduṇḍa** gôtrul=aina Sûri[se]tṭi, etc.

The composer and the writer of the Têki plates (l. 108 f.) were the same persons as in the case of the Chellûr plates (l. 114) and the Piṭhâpuram plates (l. 280) of **Vîra-Chôḍa**.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीमा[न्]⁴ जगन्नयमिदं हरिरादिदेव[:*] स्रष्टु⁵ विरिचिमसृजन्नजनाभि-
पद्मात् [l*] तस्मादभूत् किल महामुनिरत्रिरस्मा-
- 2 चूडामणिः पुररिपोरुदितस्सुधांशुः⁶ [॥ १*] तस्मादब्रुधः⁷ ततश्चक्रवर्त्ती
पुरुरवा(:)स्तस्मादायुस्ततो नहु[ष]: ततो ययातिः त-
- 3 [त]: पूरुः ततो जनमेजयः ततः प्राचीशः ततस्त्रैव्यातिः ततो ह्य-
पतिः ततस्सार्वाभौमः ततो जयसेन[स्ततो] महाभौ-
- 4 मः तस्मादैशानकः ततः क्रीधाननः ततो देवकिः तस्मादृभुकः तस्मादृ-
क्षकः ततो मतिवरः ततः कात्यायनः ततो नीलः [त]तो
- 5 दुष्यंतः ततो भरतस्ततो भूमन्युस्ततो हस्ती ततो विरोचनः तस्मादज-
मीलस्तत(त)स्संवरेणस्ततस्सुधन्वा ततः परिक्षित् ततो
- 6 भीमसेनः ततः प्रदीपनः ततश्शंतनुः ततो विचित्रवीर्यः ततः⁸ पाण्डुराजः
ततः पाण्डवाः तेषु वंशकरादर्जुनादभिमन्युः⁹

¹ Compare l. 8 of this inscription, and the translation in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 58.

² In l. 93 the same town is mentioned as **Vijayavâtâ**.

³ From the original copper plates.

⁴ This word is preceded by a symbol, for which see the accompanying Plate; read श्रीमाञ्जगन्नय⁰.

⁵ Read स्रष्टुं विरिचि⁰.

⁶ In the letter सु the vowel-sign * is attached to either s.

⁷ The rules of *samâdhi* are not always observed in the following prose passage up to तस्मादब्रुधः (l. 7).

⁸ The two *visargas* before पाण्डुराजः and पाण्डवाः have been entered subsequently.

⁹ Read °दर्जुना⁰.

- 7 ततः परिचित् ततो जनमेजयः ततः क्षेमकः ततो नरवाहनस्ततश्च-
तानीकः तस्मादुदयनः [1*] ततः प्रभृत्यविच्छिन्न[सं]ता[ने]-
8 श्वयोध्यासिंहास[न]सी[ने]श्वेकान्नषष्टिचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तदंश्यो विजयादित्यो
नाम राजा विजिगीषया दक्षिणापथं गत्वा
9 त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिक्षिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकांतरमगमत् [1*] तस्मिन्
संकुले पुरोहितेन वृद्धामात्यैश्च
10 सार्द्धमंतर्व्वन्नी तस्य महादेवी ¹मुडिवेम[न]ामाग्रहारमुपगम्य तद्व[र]स्तव्येन
विष्णुभट्टसीमयाजिना दुहि-
11 तृनिर्व्विशेषमभिरक्षिता ²विष्णुवर्द्धनं नंदनमसूत [1*] सा च तस्य
कुमारकस्य कुलक्रमोचितानि कर्म्म[र]णि कारयित्वा
12 तमवर्द्धयत्[त्]³ च मात्रा विदितवृत्तांतो निर्गत्य चलुक्यगिरौ नंदाभगवतीं
गौरीमाराध्य कुमारनारायणमातुगण[िंश्च] सं-
13 तप्यं श्वेतातपत्रैकशंखपंचमहाशब्दादीनि कु[ल]क्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानीव
साम्राज्यचिह्नानि समादाय कडंबगंगादिभूमि-
14 पार्त्तिजित्य ⁴[स]तुनर्म्मदामध्यं दक्षिणा[प]थं पालयामास [1*] तस्यासी-
द्विजयादित्यो विष्णुवर्द्धनचूपतेः⁵ [1*] पल्लवान्वयज[र]ताया
15 म[ह]ादेव्याश्च नंदनं⁶ [॥ २*] तत्सुतः पुलकेशिवल्लभः [1*] तत्पुत्रः
कीर्त्तिवर्म्मा⁷ [1*] [त]स्य तनयः श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्य-
16 सगोत्रोणां⁸ हारीतिपुत्रोणां⁹ कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानामश्वमेधाव[स]त्-
थ[स]ानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां¹⁰ कुलम-
17 (लम)लंकरिणींस्त्वयाश्रयवल्लभेन्द्रस्य¹¹ भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि
वेंगीदेशमपालयत् [1*] तत्सुतो जयसिंह[व]-¹²
18 ल[भ*]स्त्रयस्त्रिंशत् [1*] [त]दनुज इन्द्रभट्टारकस्सप्त दिनानि [1*] तत्सुतो
वि[ष्णु]वर्द्धनो नव वर्षाणि [1*] तत्सूनुर्म्मगियुवराजः पंचविंशतिं¹³ [1*]

Second Plate: First Side.

- 19 तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश [1*] तदवरजः कीकिलिष्यन्मासान् [1*]
तस्य भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्च[र]त्य सप्तत्रिंशत् [1*] तत्पुत्रो

¹ The four other published inscriptions which contain this passage read मुडिवेमु°.

² Read विष्णु°.

³ Read °यत् । स च.

⁴ Read °पार्त्तिजित्य.

⁵ Read °भूपतेः.

⁶ Read नंदनः.

⁷ Read °वर्म्मा.

⁸ Read °सगोत्राणां.

⁹ Read °पुत्राणां.

¹⁰ Read °नां.

¹¹ Cancel the *anusvāra* after णो.

¹² The व at the end of this line and the ल at the beginning of the next were added subsequently.

¹³ The *anusvāra* of ति is repeated at the beginning of the next plate.

- 20 विजयादित्योष्टादश [1*] तत्तनयो ¹विष्णु[व]र्द्धन[प्य]ट्त्रिंशतम् [1*]
तत्सुतो नरेन्द्रमृगराजोष्टाचत्वारिंशतं² [1*] तत्सुतः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनो-
- 21 ध्वर्द्धवर्ष [1*] तत्सुतो गुणगविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंश³ [1*] तद्भ्रा-
तुर्विक्रमादित्यस्य तनयश्चालुक्कभीमस्त्रिंशतं [1*] तत्सुतः को-
- 22 ल्ल[वि]गण्डविजयादित्यप्यस्मासान् [1*] तत्सुतोम्मराजस्त्रस [1*] तत्तनय
बालमुच्चाय ताडपो मासमेकं [1*] तं जित्वा विक्रमादित्य [ए]कादश
- 23 मासान् [1*] ततस्ताडपराजसुतो युद्धमल्लस्त्रस [1*] तमु[च्च]ाव्य देशादम्भ-
राजानुजो राजभीमो [इ]ादश [1*] तत्सूनूरम्भराजः पंचविंशतिं [1*]
तस्य
- 24 हैमातुरो दाननृपस्त्रीणि [1*] ततस्त्रसविंशतिवर्षाणि⁴ दैवदुरीहया
वेंगोमहिरनायिका[भू]त् [1*] ततो ⁵दानान्नवसुतश्शक्ति-
- 25 वर्धनृपो द्वादश ॥ ततस्तदनुजस्त्रस वत्सरान् भूतवत्सलः [1*] विमला-
दित्यभूपालः पालयामास मेदि[नी] । [३*] तत्तनयो न-
- 26 यशाली जयलक्ष्मीधाम ⁶राजराजनरेन्द्रश्चत्वारिंशतमब्दा(न्)नेकं च पुनर्मही-
मपालयदखिलां । [४*] यो रूपेण म[नोभ]-
- 27 वं विशदया काव्य[र]⁷ कलाना[न्निधिं] भोगेनापि पुरंदरं विपुलया⁸
लक्ष्म्या च लक्ष्मीधरं [1*] भीमं भीमपराक्रमेण विहसन्
- 28 भाति स्म भास्वद्यशः[*] श्रीमत्सोमकुलैकभूषणम[णि]र्हीनैकचिंतामणिः ।
[५*] राजाभावनुरूपरूपविभवाममंगना-
- 29 म्ना भुवि प्रस्थातामुपयच्छति स्म विधिवद्देवीं जगत्पावनीं [1*] या
जङ्गोरिव ज[र]ीवो हिमवतो गौरीव लक्ष्मीरिव क्षी-
- 30 रीदाह्विसेशवंशतिलकाद्राजेंद्रचोडादभूत् । [६*] पुत्रस्तयोरभवदप्रति[घा]त-
शक्तिं निशेषितारिनिवहो महनीयकीर्तिः [1*]
- 31 गंगाधराद्रिसुतयोरिव कार्तिकेयो राजेंद्र[चो]ड इति राजकुलप्रदीपः ।
[७*] भामामुन्नतिहेतुं प्रथमं⁹ वेंगोश्चरत्वम-
- 32 ध्यास्य [1*] यस्तेजसा दिगंतानाक्रमत सहस्रभानुरुदयमिव । [८*]
उद्यच्चण्डतरप्रतापदहनप्लुष्टाखिलदेविणा सर्वान् के-
- 33 रलपा[ण्ड]कुंतलमुखान्निर्जित्य देशान् बलादान्न[र]¹⁰ मौलिषु भूभृतां
भयरुजा चित्तेषु दुर्मे[ध]सां प्रीतिस्सत्सु [दि]शा[सु]

¹ The u of णु is expressed twice.

² The त्वा is entered below the line.

³ Read 'नरेन्द्रः । चत्वारि'.

⁴ The syllables पु and या are written on erasures.

⁵ Read प्रथमं.

⁶ The त of 'शत' is entered below the line.

⁷ Read दानाण्यव°.

⁸ Read काव्या.

⁹ Read 'शक्तिनि°'.

¹⁰ Read बलात् । आशा.

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1. *[Sanskrit text in Tamil script, lines 1-18]*

11a.
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1. *[Sanskrit text in Tamil script, lines 19-36]*

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54 **பாடி:** உத்தியோகம்...
 56 **பாடி:** உத்தியோகம்...
 58 **பாடி:** உத்தியோகம்...
 60 **பாடி:** உத்தியோகம்...
 62 **பாடி:** உத்தியோகம்...
 64 **பாடி:** உத்தியோகம்...
 66 **பாடி:** உத்தியோகம்...

- 34 की[र्त्ति]रतुला येनार्पितोज्जृभते । [६*] भोगीशाभोलभोगप्रतिमनिजभुज[र्त्ति]-
भर्त्सितात्यंत[वि]भ्यन्नानाभूपाललो-
35 कप्रहितबहुविधा[न]र्ग्वरत्नाभिरामं [१*] धत्ते मौलिं परार्द्धी [म]-
इति नृप[कु]ले यः कुलोत्तुंगदेवो^१ देवेंद्रत्वाद-
36 नूने सुरपतिमहिमा चीडराज्येभिषिक्तः । [१०*] प्र[ख्य]ातभूभृत्कुल-
जन्मभाजस्त्रदाभिमुख्यस्त्रसाः प्र[स]न्नाः [१*] त-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 37 स्याभवन् ^२पालिवपुंगवस्य देव्यशुभा नद्य इवांबुराशेः । [११*]
आत्मानुरूपैर[थ] त[र्त्ति]सु लब्धदेवीषु^३ देवप्रति[म]ः
38 कुमारैस्स^४ नन्दमानो नरदेववंद्यैर्नूनं^५ हसत्योककुमारमीशं । [१२*]
आत्मेवेन्द्रियवर्ग्यं^६ सुतवर्ग्यं तेषु
39 तेषु वि[ष]येषु [१*] क्रमशस्त्र नियुंजानो मुष्मडिचोडं कुमारमित्यवदत्
[॥ १३*] वत्स वेंगीमहीराज्यमया [दि]-
40 ग्विजयैषिणा [१*] मत्पितृव्ये पुरा न्यस्तं विजयादित्यभूभुजि [॥ १४*]
स च^७ पंचदशैवाद्[र्त्ति]न् पंचाननपराक्रमः [१*] महीं रत्नन् म-
41 हीनाथो दिवं देवोपमो गतं^८ [॥ १५*] इत्युक्त्वा तां धुरं दत्तां
गुरुणा चक्रवर्त्तिना [१*] असह्यतद्वियोगोपि विनयाद्वहति [स्म]
42 सः । [१६*] श्रीपादसेवासुखतो गुरुणान्न^९ जातु राज्यं सुखमित्यवेक्ष्य
[१*] संरक्ष्य वेंगीभुवमेकमब्दं भूयस्त्र पित्रोरग-
43 मत्समीपं । [१७*] ततस्त्रदनुजो धीरो वीरचोडकुमारकः [१*] आदिष्टो
गुरुणा त्रातुं वेंगीभुवमुपागमत् । [१८*] तेन भ्रातृषु पू-
44 र्वजस्य चरणांभोज[प्र]णामार्थिना भक्त्यानम्रनिजोत्तमांगमनुजं तृष्णाव
तालिंगितुं [१*] शुश्रूषाविधिलंपटेन च गुरोः
45 पादांबुजध्यायिना नीतास्तातनियोगलंघनभिया वत्सेन^{१०} षड्वत्सराः । [१९*]
इत्थं गुरुभ्रातृसमागमैकमनोरथं तं^{११} तनय-
46 न्ययन्नः [१*] निजांतिकं निर्जितभूमिपालस्त्रमानयन्मानवदेवदेवः ॥ [२०*]
^{१२}अध्यायजं गु[णो]दयं शास्त्रज्ञं शस्त्रकोविदं^{१३} [१*] नयन्नं^{१४}

^१ The word देवी is entered below the line.

^२ Read लब्धदेवीषु.

^३ Read ०वेन्द्रियं.

^४ Read गतः.

^५ तं is entered below the line. ^{१३} Read अथा.

^{१४} The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^६ Read कुमारः । स.

^७ Read स च; the च or पंच is entered below the line.

^८ Read गुरुणा न.

^९ Read पालिवं.

^{१०} Read हसत्येकं.

^{११} The न is entered below the line.

^{१२} Read ०कोविदं.

- 47 विनयाधारमुदारमुदितोदित¹ । [२१*] ^२शंभोश्शुचत्पदांभोजभ्रमरीभूतचेतसं
[1*] धार्मिकनिर्मलाचारं^३ चालुक्यकुलभूष[णं] [॥ २२*]
48 वाचां वाचस्पतिं ^४लक्ष्म्या विक्रमेण त्रिविक्रमं [1*] प्रज्ञातृतीयनेत्रेण
निर्मलेन विलोचनं । [२३*] गार्भीर्येण^५ महाम्भोधिं ^६महोन्नत्य[१]
49 महीधरं [1*] लोकानंदितया ^७चंद्रं तेजसा ^८तिम्नतेजसं [॥ २४*]
भूभारभरणक्षांत्या भुजगानामधीश्वरं [1*] तुलयतं कल[१]-
50 भिन्नं चोडगंगं प्रियात्मजं [॥ २५*] राजीवलोचनो राज्ञामयं रा[जा]
भवेदिति [1*] राजराज[१]भिधानेन सार्थेनाह्वय सादरं^९ [॥ २६*]
क-
51 तप्रणाममा[स्त्रि]ष्य कृत्यवेदी कृतांजलिं [1*] विक्रमाक्रांतभूचक्रश्चक्रवर्त्तीदम-
ब्रवीत् । [२७*] अस्ति प्रशस्तज[१]तीनां रत्नानामिव
52 वारिधिः [1*] जन्मभूमिश्चलुक्यानां देशो वेंगीति वि[श्रु]तः [॥ २८*]
तत्रोदय इवासाय ग्र[हा] इव महीक्षतिं [1*] अधःकुर्वति^{१०} म-
53 [हं]श्चास्तुंगानपि महीचृतः^{११} । [२९*] सर्वासुसर्वामचंतं^{१२} रक्षितुं ते वेंगी-
देशे सिंहपो[ठ]ासनस्य [1*] नानाभूमृन्मौलिरत्नालि-^{१३}

Third Plate; First Side.

- 54 चक्रैः पादाब्जश्रीर्भाजतां राजराज । [३०*] पातालं पाति यावत्त्वमिव^{१४}
पणिपतिर्नागयूथै-
55 कनाधो^{१५} यावत्सःसेव्यमानो विबुधगणशतैर्नाकनाधोपि^{१६} नाकं [1*] तावत्त्वः^{१७}
रक्ष धात्रीं निशि-
56 ^{१८}तनिजभूजस्फारकौक्षेयधारावारिप्रक्षालितारिच्छलमलविमलीभूतदिकचक्रवा-^{१९}
57 लः [॥ ३१*] इत्याशिषं नृपसुतस्य नृपादवाप्य सत्याशिषस्तदनु^{२०}
मातुरुभौ प्रणम्य [1*] देशत्रिजं जिग-
58 मिषोरगमद्दिगंतान् प्रस्थानशंखपटुमंगलतूर्यघोषः ॥ [३२*] ध्वस्ता वैरि-
दशानिशा प्र-

¹ The *anusvāra* is expressed twice.

² Read °कत्रि°.

³ Read मही°.

⁴ Read तिग्म°.

⁵ Read °कुर्वति.

⁶ Read °मृन्मौलि°.

⁷ Read °नाधोपि.

⁸ Read °दिकचक्र°.

⁹ Read °शुभ°.

¹⁰ Read गार्भीर्येण.

¹¹ The ल is entered below the line.

¹² The *anusvāra* of चं is expressed twice.

¹³ The *anusvāra* is corrected from a *visarga*.

¹⁴ Read °भूतः.

¹⁵ Read °मचंतं.

¹⁶ Read यावत्त्वमिव पणि°.

¹⁷ Read °नाधो यावत्त्वसे°.

¹⁸ Read तावत्त्व°.

¹⁹ Read °भुज°.

²⁰ The *aksharas* सदनु are entered below the line.

- 59 तिहृतं ध्वातं द्विषच्छङ्कं¹ वैरिस्त्रीकुभांगणादपगता हारच्छलास्तरकाः
[1*] ताप-
60 व्याजहुताशनी रिपुवधूहत्सूर्यकांतिश्वभूद्वेगीदेशमहोदयोन्न-
61 तिमति श्रीराजराजे रवौ । [३३*] शाकान्दे रसखांबरेदुगणिते ज्येष्ठे^२
मासे सिते पक्षे पूर्वतिथौ^३
62 दिने सुरगुरोर्ज्येष्ठां शशांके गते [1*] सिंह^४ लग्नवरे समस्तजगतीराज्या-
भिषिक्तो मुदे लोक-
63 स्योद्वहति स्म पट्टमनघः[1*] श्रीराजराजो विभुः । [३४*] भूलोकादुदिता
महोन्नतिमती दिङ्मण्ड-
64 लव्यापिनी संक्रांताखिलसत्पथा^५ परिगता लोकानधोर्द्ध्वानपि^६ [1*] सन्मार्गा-
च्चलितां भुवीह पतितां^७
65 पश्चादधोगामिनीं गंगां कीर्त्तिरमंगलप्रमधनी^८ यस्यातिशेतेतरां [॥ ३५*]
कोदण्डे रामभद्राद्रिपुकुलद-
66 लने भार्गवान्मंदराद्रेस्सारे शास्त्रांबुराशौ कलशभवसुनेर्विक्रमे वायुसूनीः
[1*] यस्माद्बन्धा-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 67 पसर्पप्रमथनगिलनील्लंघनावृत्तिशंकी नूनं रत्नाकरोय^९ प्रदिशति बहुशो
रत्नराशौन् विचित्रान् [॥ ३६*] यः पुन-
68 रिद्वतेजोधिकतया मध्यमलोकपालोयमिति^{१०} लोकेन लोकपालैस्सह बहुमतोपि
गोत्रवर्द्ध-
69 ^{११}नतया वर्द्धितविशाल[की]र्त्तिर्गोत्रभेदनप्रवादिनी हत्रशत्रोस्समस्तभुवनाश्रयः[1*]
स्वाश्रयप्रदा-
70 ह्निनो दहनात् [1*] वदान्यकुलमान्यपुण्यचरितो दक्षिणाशावलंबनशीलपरि-
पालिनः कालात् । सकलविबुधसम[1]ज-
71 ^{१२}[सं]सेव्यमानो विबुधविपक्षतो राक्ष[सा]धो[श्व]रात् । विक्रमाक्रांत-
निखिलभूभवनो लुब्धकादिव वन[मात्र]गोच-
72 रा[द्व]रुणात् [1*] ^{१३}भुवनभवरक्षणा[स्थि]त[स्थै]र्य्यकीटिस्संततचपलस्वभावात्
प्रभंजनात् [1*] सकललोकोपभोगसपलीकृतध-^{१४}

^१ Read °च्छङ्कं.

^४ Read सिंह.

^७ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^९ Read रोयं.

^{११} A second न is written above the न at the beginning of the line.

^{१२} The स of सं is corrected from ज.

^{१३} The upper stroke of the ai of स्थैर्य्य is missing.

^२ Read ज्येष्ठे.

^५ Read °सत्पथा.

^{१०} The *aksharas* लोके are written on an erasure.

^८ Read पूर्णतिथौ.

^६ Read °नयोर्द्ध्वो°.

^३ Read °प्रमथनी.

^{१४} Read °सफलौ°.

- 73 नसंचयो निष्फल(ल)धनसंग्रहादनेश्वरात्¹ [।*] निखिललोकनिर्व्याजबान्धवो
‘दनदैकमित्रादिरिधन्व-
74 नः [।*] यश्च बहु(अ)श्रुतिरखिलभूभुवनभारभरणलीलातुलितादपि श्रुतिविही-
नाच्चक्षु[ः*]-
75 अयसामधीश्वरात्³ [।*] अ[ख*]ण्डितसदृत्तम[ण्ड]ली जगदाह्वादनवि[धि]स-
धर्म्मणोपि खण्डितसदृत्ताच्च⁴ शंशलक्ष्म-
76 णो गुणविशेषाभिन्न[।]नमहनीयमतिमहिम्ना महाजनेन नूनं बहुमन्यते ।
स सर्वलोकाश्च-
77 यश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराज[।]धिराजो राजपरमेश्वरः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टा-
रकः परमव्र-
78 ह्मण्यो राजराज इत्यन्वितापरनामधेयानंदितसकलदिग्गण्डली मंडलेश्वर-
मौलिविलसितचरणा-
79 रविंदरेणुसकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानविशदविशालयशोराशिविशदोक्तताशेषदिक्चक्रवा-
लश्चक्रव-
80 त्तिलक्षणाभिराम[ः*]⁵ श्रीचोडगंगदेवः सकलधरातलसाम्राज्यलीलासुखमनुभवन्
कदाचित् कुलराज-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 81 धान्या⁶ जननाधनामनगर्यामशेषभुवनाभ्यंतरापूर्णातिरिक्तनिजयशोराशिशंकां
जनय-
82 तः कैलासशैलविलासिनस्समुत्तुंग[शि]खरस्य⁷ सौधस्यास्थानभूमौ सकलसामंत-
चक्रप्रमुखे-
83 न⁸ परिवारेण परितस्सेव्यमानः म[न्त्रे]टिमहेंद्रमध्यवर्त्तिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्
⁹कुटिंबिनस्स-
84 र्वान् समाह्वय मंत्रिपुरोहितसेनापतियुवराजदौवारिकप्रधानसमस्तमित्यमात्र[।]-
पय-
85 ति । यथा [।*] मंति मडंशभूपालपादपद्मोपजीविनः [।*] भृत्याः
कृत्यविधौ दक्षाः¹⁰ शौर्यादिगुणशालिनः । [३७*] तस्म्यध्वे
86 परया भक्त्या शक्त्या च प्रज्ञया सदा [।*] मदीयान्वयभूपालचित्तारा-
धनतत्पराः [॥ ३८*] निजैरत्यैर्विजैः¹¹ प्राणै-

¹ Read °श्वरात्.

⁴ Read शश°.

⁶ Read °धान्यां जननाथ°.

⁸ Read °न.

¹⁰ The श्री is entered below the line.

² Read धन°.

⁵ The *aksharas* भिरा are entered below the line.

⁷ The *aksharas* शिखर are written on an erasure.

⁹ Read कुटुम्भि°.

³ Read °श्वरात्.

¹¹ Read °रत्नैः°.

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94 **అపరమము సుకృతముగా ప్రకటించుచున్నది**
 96 **నానావిధములను గలవియును**
 98 **సమస్తమును**
 100 **సమస్తమును**
 102 **సమస్తమును**

104 **అపరమము సుకృతముగా ప్రకటించుచున్నది**
 106 **నానావిధములను గలవియును**
 108 **సమస్తమును**

- 87 विष्णुमाद्यैर्गुणैर्ब्रिजै¹ [१*] ये चालुक्यक्षितिशानां प्रस्तावप्रतिपालिनः
 [॥ ३८*] अयो[ध्य]ाधीश्वरेणा-
 88 दौ दक्षिणाशायैषिणा [१*] ये सहैव समायाताः(ः) विजयादित्यभू-
 89 भुज[र] [॥ ४०*] रा[ज]वंशावतंसाना² राजधान्या महीभुजं[र] [१*]
 पुरो विजयवाटेया³
 90 ये वास्तव्यकुटुंबिनः । [४१*] ये च वेलुमनूळु पत्तिपालु नरियू-
 ७७⁴ कुमुडाळु म-
 91 ७७७७७७ पोवण्डु सावकुल उण्डरुळु अनुमगोण्डु अड्डनूळु लु
 इत्यादि[कु]-
 92 [ल]सहस्रभेदप्रसिद्धाः तेलि[कि]कुललब्धजन्मा[नः*]⁵ स्वधर्मकर्मनिष्ठितमनस-
 [स्ते]षाम-
 93 मीषां विजयवाटप्रमुखनिखिलपुरनगरग्रामपट्टनप्रभ-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 94 तिषु स्थानेषु सर्वेषु विवाहोत्सवेषु प्रवर्त्तमानेषु मिथुनस्य⁶ वी[थी]षु
 तुरगा-
 95 रोहणेन पर्यटनमध⁷ विवाहोत्सवावसाने राजश्रीपादमूले महागर्ध-
 96 वासीयुगलु⁸ मिथाय प्रणतानामेषां कनकपात्रेण तांबूलप्रदानं च पू-
 97 र्वमर्थ्यादा[स]मागतमधुना⁹ परमभक्तिपरितोषितैरक्ष[१*]भिराचंद्रार्क¹⁰
 98 शासनीकृत्य दत्तमिति विदितमस्तु वः [१*] धर्मीयमम्रदंशजैः पा-
 99 र्थिवैः प्रयत्नेन पालनीयं¹¹ [१*] शत्रूणापि कृतो धर्मः पालनीयो
 100 मनीषिणां [१*] शत्रुरेव हि शत्रुः[१*]¹² स्यादम्रशत्रुर्न कस्यचित्
 [॥ ४२*] धर्मात् पैज-
 101 वनो राज[र] चिराय बुभुजे भुवं¹³ [१*]¹⁴ अधम्याच्चैव नहुषः प्रतिपेदे
 रसातल¹⁵ [॥ ४३*]
 102 य[ः*] स्वयं कुरु[ते] धर्मं यश्च पाति कृतं [प]रैः [१*] तयाः¹⁶
 पालयिता श्रेष्ठ इति

¹ Read °द्यैर्गुणैर्ब्रिजैः.

² Read °सानां.

³ Read °वाटया.

⁴ The रि is entered below the line.

⁵ The कु of कुल is entered below the line.

⁶ Read मिथुनस्य.

⁷ Read °मथ.

⁸ Read °युगलं मिथाय.

⁹ Read °भक्ति°.

¹⁰ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹¹ Read °नीयः.

¹² Read स्याद्.

¹³ The anusvāra is corrected from a risarga.

¹⁴ Read °धर्मा°.

¹⁵ Read °तलं.

¹⁶ Read तयोः.

- 103 प्राहुर्मनीषिणः [॥ ४४*] [ध]र्माद्विवर्द्धते राज्य¹ धर्मात् कीर्त्तिश्च
शाश्वती । धर्मा[त्*] तृ-

Fifth Plate.

- 104 प्यंति [पित]रो धर्मात्तुष्यंति देवता[:] । [४५*] तस्माधर्माः³ प्रयत्नेन
रक्षणीयो म[ही]-
105 क्षितो³ [।*] स्वकृतोन्यकृतो वापि लोकद्वयहितैषिणा ॥ [४६*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यो
106 हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्षमिः
[॥ ४७*] बहुभिर्ष्व-
107 सु[ध]ा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फ-
108 लं ॥ [४८*] श्रीविजयराज्य[सं]वत्सर⁴ सप्तदशे दत्तस्यास्य शासन[स्य][।*]-
न्नमिः कटकाधिपः कर्त्ता
109 विद्म्य(भं)भट्टः लेखक[:*] पेन्नाचार्यः ॥⁵

TRANSLATION.

[As far as line 36 the text is identical with that of the Pithāpuram plates of Vīra-Chōḍa. II. 1-43; above, Vol. V. pp. 74-77.]

(Verse 11.) There were to this chief of kings (*viz.* **Kulōttuṅga I.**) (*many*) virtuous queens, born in the families of renowned princes, always devoted to (*him*), full of love, (*and*) gracious,—as to the ocean (*many*) holy rivers, sprung from the ranges of lofty mountains, always running towards (*it*), full of water, (*and*) limpid.

(V. 12.) Rejoicing in the sons (*kumāra*) who were born (*to him*) in due course by these queens, who resembled him, (*and*) who were worthy to be worshipped by princes, this godlike (*king*) surely laughs at Īśa (Śiva) who has (*only*) a single Kumāra (*Skanda*).

(V. 13.) Appointing (*his*) sons in due order to different districts (*viśhaya*), as the soul (*directs*) the senses to different objects (*viśhaya*), he spake as follows to prince **Mummaḍi-Chōḍa** :—

(V. 14.) “Dear child! Being desirous of conquering the world, I formerly conferred the kingdom of the country of **Vēṅgi** on my paternal uncle, prince **Vijayāditya**.⁶

(V. 15.) “And, ruling the earth for only **fifteen years**, this godlike prince, who resembled the five-faced (Śiva) in power, has (*now*) gone to heaven.”⁷

(V. 16.) Out of obedience he (Mummaḍi-Chōḍa) took up that burden (*viz.* the kingdom of Vēṅgi) which (*his*) father, the emperor, had given him with these words, though he could not bear the separation from him.⁸

¹ Read राज्य.

² Read तस्माद्वर्षः.

³ Read °क्षिता.

⁴ Read वत्सरे.

⁵ Here follow three symbols, for which see the accompanying Plate.

⁶ This verse is identical with v. 13 of the Pithāpuram plates, and nearly identical with v. 14 of the Chellūr plates of Vīra-Chōḍa.

⁷ This verse is nearly the same as v. 14 of the Pithāpuram plates and v. 15 of the Chellūr plates. After it v. 15 of the Pithāpuram plates is omitted, though required by the context; see above, Vol. V. p. 95, note 1.

⁸ Verses 16 and 17 bear the same numbers in the Pithāpuram and Chellūr plates.

(V. 17.) "The kingdom (*is*) no pleasure at all (*compared*) with the pleasure of worshipping the holy feet of the elders;" having considered thus, he returned to (*his*) parents after having ruled the country of **Vēṅgi** for one year.

(V. 18.) Then his younger brother, the brave prince **Vira-Chôḍa**, was ordered by (*his*) father to protect the country of **Vēṅgi** (*and*) proceeded (*there*).

(V. 19.) Desirous of prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of the elder one among (*his*) brothers, thirsting to embrace the younger one whose head was bent in devotion (*to him*), longing to do obeisance to (*his*) father and meditating on (*his*) lotus-feet, this poor boy spent **six years** in fear of transgressing the command of (*his*) father.

(V. 20.) The politic king of kings, who had subdued (*all*) rulers of the earth, recalled to himself that son whose only wish was thus to be united with (*his*) father and brothers.

(V. 21-27.) Then the emperor, who knew (*his*) duty (*and*) who had conquered the circle of the earth by valour, spake as follows to (*his*) first-born dear son¹ **Chôḍagaṅga**, having affectionately addressed (*him*) by the name **Râjarâja** (*i.e.* 'king of kings'), which was full of meaning because (*he thought that*) this lotus-eyed one would become a king of kings, (*and*) having embraced (*him*) who had prostrated himself (*and*) had folded his hands:—

(V. 28.) "There is a country famed by the name of **Vēṅgi**, (*which is*) the birth-place of the noble **Chalukyas**, as the ocean (*is*) of precious pearls.

(V. 29.) "Having reached high eminence there, the members of my family overcome even mighty kings,² as the planets, having risen in the east, surmount even lofty mountains.

(V. 30.) "While thou, **Râjarâja**, art seated on the lion-throne in the **Vēṅgi** country in order to protect the whole earth unopposed, may the lustre of (*thy*) feet be enhanced by clusters of gems in the diadems of many kings, as the beauty of the lotus by swarms of bees!

(V. 31.) "As long as the king of serpents (**Śēsha**), (*who is*) the only lord of the snake-tribe, as thou (*art*) the only lord of a troop of elephants, is ruling the lower world, and as long as the lord of heaven (**Indra**), being worshipped by hundreds of gods and demi-gods, (*is ruling*) heaven, so long protect thou the earth, purifying the horizon as the impurity in the shape of enemies is washed away by the water of the edge³ of the sharp, large sword in thy hand!"

(V. 32.) When the prince, having thus obtained the blessing of the king (*and*) afterwards the true blessings of (*his*) mother, (*and*) having bowed to both, was about to start for his country, the sound of the conches (*announcing his*) departure and of shrill auspicious bugles reached the ends of the quarters.

(V. 33.) When the glorious **Râjarâja** had ascended (*the throne of*) the **Vēṅgi** country, (*as*) the sun the eastern mountain, the night of enmity was dispelled; darkness in the disguise of foes was driven away; the stars in the semblance of necklaces disappeared from the firmament—the wives of the enemies; (*and*) fire in the shape of sorrow sprang up in the sun-crystals—the hearts of the wives of foes.

(V. 34.) In the **Śâka year** reckoned by the tastes (6), the sky (0), the atmosphere (0), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* 1006)— in the month **Jyâishṭha**, in the bright fortnight, on the full-moon *tithi*, on a **Thursday**, when the moon had joined **Jyêshṭhâ**, in the excellent *lagna* **Simha**,— the sinless lord, the glorious **Râjarâja**, having been anointed to the kingdom of the whole earth, put on the tiara to the joy of the world.

¹ The word *agrajam* occurs in l. 46 and *priyâtmajam* in l. 50. I omit the intervening epithets of **Chôḍagaṅga**, from which we learn little more than that he was a worshipper of **Śiva** and "an ornament of the **Chalukya family**" (v. 22).

² The words *tvāgân=api mahābhṛitah* may also contain an allusion to the **Râshtrakûtas**, who had the surname **Tuṅga**; see above, Vol. IV. No. 40, verse 6, and Vol. V. No. 20, verse 6.

³ The word *dârd* has to be taken also in the sense of 'a stream.'

[V. 35 is identical with v. 23 of the Piṭhāpuram plates.]

(V. 36.) This ocean plentifully supplies heaps of wonderful gems,—surely¹ (*because it*) fears a repetition of (*its*) bridging, retreating, stirring, swallowing and overleaping² from him (*who is*) a Rāmabhadra in archery, a Bhārgava in splitting hosts of enemies, a Mandara mountain in firmness, a pitcher-born sage in (*absorbing*) the ocean of sciences, (*and*) a son of the wind in prowess.

[Ll. 67-76 illustrate by a series of *vyatirēkākāras* that the king as regent of the middle sphere was superior to the regents of the ten directions. The pun (*ślēsha*) in the word *dakṣhiṇāśā* (l. 70) is particularly amusing.]

(L. 76.) While this asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkāśraya*), the glorious **Vishṇu-vardhana-Mahārājādhirāja**, the *Rājaparamēśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the very pious one, who delights all regions of the world by (*his*) second name **Rājarāja**, the dust of whose lotus-feet adorns the diadems of lords of provinces (*maṇḍalēśvara*), who purifies the whole horizon by the great mass of (*his*) pure fame that is being praised by the whole world, who is distinguished by the marks of an emperor, the glorious **Chōḍagaṅgaḍēva**, was enjoying the pleasure of the sport of ruling the whole earth,—once, being attended on all sides by the retinue consisting of the troop of all vassals, *etc.*, in the *darbār* hall of the palace, which had very lofty pinnacles, which possessed the splendour of the Kailāsa mountain, (*and*) which produced the impression of a lump of his fame that remained after the interior of the whole world had been filled (*with it*), at the capital of (*his*) family, the city (*nagarī*) named (*after*) **Jananātha**,—called together all the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* and other ryots living between the **Mannēru**³ (*river*) and the **Mahēndra** (*mountain*) and ordered as follows in the presence of the councillors, the family priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers and the ministers:—

(V. 37.) “There are (*many*) servants, dependent on the lotus-feet of the kings of my family, clever in service, (*and*) possessing courage and other virtues.

(Vv. 38-41.) “Among them (*are those who have been*) always intent on pleasing the minds of the kings of my family by great devotion, strength and intelligence; who have protected the **Chālukya** kings at the beginning with their riches, with their lives, (*and*) with their courage and other virtues; who have come already at the beginning with king **Vijayāditya**, the lord of **Ayōdhyā**, who was desirous of conquering the southern region; the ryots dwelling in the town **Vijayavāṭa**, the capital of the kings (*who were*) ornaments of the race of the Moon (*Rājavanśa*);⁴

(L. 90.) “And who are born in the **Teliki** family, whose minds are intent on the performance of their duties, (*and*) who are known to be divided into a thousand families such as **Velumanūllu**, **Pattipālu**, **Nariyūllu**, **Kumudāllu**, **Marrūllu**, **Povaṇḍlu**, **Srāvakulu**, **Undrūllu**, **Anumagoṇḍalu** and **Aḍḍanūllu**.

(L. 92.) “Be it known to you that, being pleased by (*their*) great devotion, we have now granted to these people by an edict (*śāsana*), as long as the moon and the sun shall last, that when marriage festivals are celebrated at all places such as **Vijayavāṭa** and all other towns, cities,

¹ The particle *śūnam*, ‘surely,’ introduces the figure (*alaukāra*) of ‘poetical fancy’ (*utprēkṣā*), which in the present case pertains to a cause (*kētuḡā*), viz. the fear felt by the ocean, and is founded on a series of metaphors (*rūpaka*), viz. the identity of the king with Rāma, *etc.*

² These humiliating experiences the ocean had undergone successively at the hands of Rāma, Parasurāma, the Mandara, Agastya and Hanumat.

³ *Mannēru* is the Telugu genitive of *Mannēru*.

⁴ Compare *Rāja-kula-pradīpa* in verse 7 of this inscription, which seems to mean ‘the light of the race of the Moon,’ rather than ‘the light of the warrior-caste,’ as I had translated it in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 59, verse 8.

villages and hamlets (?), the married couple may proceed on the roads on horse-back, and that afterwards when, at the end of the marriage festival, they place a pair of valuable cloths at the feet of the king and prostrate themselves, betel will be given (*to them*) in a golden vessel, (*as*) handed down by old custom.

(L. 98.) "This gift must be assiduously protected by the kings descended from our family."

[Vv. 42-48 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 108.) The *ājñapti* of this edict, which was given in the seventeenth year of the prosperous and victorious reign, (*was*) the commander of the camp;¹ the composer Viddayabhaṭṭa; (*and*) the writer Pennāchārya.

POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date of the accession of Rājārāja-Chōdagaṅga (above, p. 345, verse 34).

"The date is irregular for Śaka-Saṁvat 1006, both expired and current. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1006 expired the full-moon *tithi* of Jyāishṭha ended 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 22nd May A.D. 1084, when the *nakshatra* was Jyēshṭhā, by the equal space system for 19 h. 3 m., by the Brahma-Siddhānta for 1 h. 58 m., and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise. *Simha* was *lagna* from 4 h. 32 m. to 6 h. 41 m. after true sunrise.

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1006 current the same *tithi* ended 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 2nd June A.D. 1083, when the *nakshatra* by the equal space system only was Jyēshṭhā, for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise (while it was Mūla by the Brahma-Siddhānta and according to Garga). *Simha* was *lagna* from 3 h. 51 m. to 6 h. 0 m. after true sunrise.

"The date would be irregular also for Śaka-Saṁvat 1005 current and 1007 expired."

No. 36.—RANASTIPUNDI GRANT OF VIMALADITYA; DATED IN THE EIGHTH YEAR.

By V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is engraved were discovered about 70 years ago while quarrying earth for bricks in the fields of the ancestors of a ryot in the Amalāpuram tāluka of the Gōdāvari district, and are now in the possession of Valavala Jagganna who lives at Amalāpuram. They were received from the Collector of Gōdāvari through the Government of Madras in 1899 and will have to be returned to the owner. Dr. Hultzsch has kindly permitted me to publish them.

The plates are five in number and were strung on a ring, which had not yet been cut when they were received. The ring measures about 6½" in diameter and about ⅜" in thickness. Its ends are secured in a four-petalled flower, which forms the base of a circular seal of about 3¼" diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāmkṣa*. Below the legend is an eight-petalled flower, and above it a running boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant-goad; behind it the crescent of the moon; and above it the sun flanked by two *chauris*. The breadth of the plates is 10½", and their height 5½". Their edges are raised into rims for protecting the writing, with the exception of the first side of the first plate, which is blank, and of the second side of the fifth plate, which bears only two lines of writing. The writing is on the whole in a state of good preservation, but a number of places are damaged by verdigris.

¹ With *kaṭakādhīpa* compare *kaṭakādhīraja*, etc.; above, Vol. IV. p. 309, note 1, and Vol. V. p. 181, last line.

The **alphabet** is ancient Telugu, while the **language** is mostly Sanskrit verse and prose. The description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 87-94) is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu prose. I would draw attention to the following points in the alphabet of the inscription. The long *ā* after consonants is marked in different ways; compare *dhā*, *nā*, *rā* and *hā* in line 1 with the *smā* of the first *tasmād*= in line 3, and with the *smā* of the second *tasmād*= in the same line. The long *ā* added to conjunct consonants of which the *rēpha* is a member is generally omitted, except in *rttā* of *vaṁśa-karttā* (l. 4) and *rshā* of *varshāṇi* (l. 29). The syllable *jā* occurs eight times in the inscription; but it is written correctly only once (in *mahārājādhirāja*, l. 61), while in the remaining seven cases the long *ā* is not marked at all. Initial *i* occurs in ll. 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87 and 97. In a large number of cases the *rēpha* is added to the *i*-symbol above consonants, the addition being denoted by a slight indenture at the base of the latter, e.g. in *rtti* (ll. 4, 16, 60) and *rvvi* (ll. 19, 33, 34, 41). Initial *ī* occurs in l. 91. The secondary form of the long *ī* is rarely distinguished from that of the short *i*; but in *śrī* (ll. 1, 2), *sī* (l. 3) and *chī* (l. 5) an attempt is made to mark the length. Initial *u* occurs in l. 94. In combination with consonants this vowel is denoted in three different ways; compare *ru* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 4), *śu* (l. 2) and *pu* (l. 3) with *nmu* (l. 2) and *tsu* (l. 3), and with *yu* (ll. 3, 4, 8). The secondary form of the long *ū* is also denoted in three different ways; compare *bhū* (l. 1) with *sū* (ll. 2, 3) and *chū* (l. 2), and with *tsū* (ll. 8, 30, 33), *trū* (l. 41) and *śū* (l. 70). Initial *ē* occurs in ll. 36, 75, 91. Combined with consonants, this vowel is denoted in two ways; compare *tē* (l. 3), *mē* (l. 4) and *kē* (l. 7) with *jñē* and *nē* (l. 2). Initial *ai* is found in l. 6, and initial *ri* in l. 7. Final *k* occurs in l. 68; final *m* in ll. 3, 37, 41, 46; final *n* in ll. 31, 35, 36, 41 (twice), 53, 62; and final *t* in ll. 17, 20, 29, 38, 52, 64, 67. In the majority of cases no distinction is made between the dental *ḍ* and the lingual *ḍ*; compare *chūḍāmaṇi* (l. 81) with *°vāraṇ-ādis*= (l. 83) and *mad=alābhi* (l. 84); but in *pratiḍakkā* (l. 22), *Kaḍaṁba* (l. 23), *Kāramachēḍu* (l. 84) and *Peggaḍa* (l. 85) the loop of the *ḍ* is quite distinct. The aspirate *chha* occurs twice in the inscription (ll. 14, 59), and in both cases in conjunction with *cha*. In all other cases its place is taken by the unaspirated *cha*. Double *shsha* is written as if it consisted of *sha* and *va*; see ll. 32, 35 and 43. The *upadhānīya* occurs in ll. 1, 4, 5 (twice), 11 (twice), 14, 15, 38, 46, 70, 73.

Of **orthographical** peculiarities the following deserve to be noted:— The syllable *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *Richuka* for *Ṛibhuka* (twice in l. 7), *kritvā* for *ṛitvā* (l. 9), *°vritāmtas*= for *°vritāmtas*= (l. 21) and *°kritya* for *°kritya* (l. 86). The syllable *yī* is used for initial *i* in *yīti* (l. 9) and *yiva* (ll. 45, 47, 55, 56 (twice), 57, 68). *G* is doubled after an *anuvāra* in *Gaṁg-ādi* (l. 23) and *°saṁggatir*= (l. 81) and before *r* in *°ggrāhīṇas*= (l. 12), and *t* before *r* in *Ttrilōchana* (l. 17). After *r* consonants are generally doubled, except in *-Bhīm-Ārjuna*- (l. 12) and *nirjitya* (l. 23). *Sūmbrājya* occurs for *sāmbrājya* in l. 23.

The inscription opens with the Paurāṇik genealogy of the **Eastern Chālukya** kings (ll. 1-15) and with a legendary account of their ancestors (ll. 15-25). Ll. 25-42 furnish the historical genealogy of the donor **Vimalāditya**. The date of his coronation is given in verse 13. He is praised in general terms in vv. 14-20 and in the subsequent prose passage (ll. 54-61). L. 61 f. contains the king's titles **Sarvalōkāśraya**, **Vishṇuvardhana**, etc. Vv. 21-34 describe the donee and his ancestors. Then follows the grant itself, the description of the boundaries of the village granted, and of a field which belonged to it. The inscription closes with the date of the grant, and the names of the executor, the composer and the writer.

The Paurāṇik, legendary and historical portion of the genealogy agree almost literally with the corresponding passage of the **Nandamapūṇḍi grant of Rājārāja I.**¹ as far as the description of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (v. 11). The Korumelli plates of Rājārāja I.,² the Tēki plates of Chōḍagaṅga,³ the Chellūr plates of Vīra-Chōḍa,⁴ and the Piṭhāpuram plates

¹ Above, Vol. IV. No. 43.

² No. 35 above.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48 ff.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39.

of the same king¹ also agree with the Ranastipūṇḍi grant to a great extent, while the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva² furnishes substantially the same facts regarding the early Eastern Chālukyas and their ancestors. The historical portion commencing with the reign of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana is known from grants earlier than the time of Vimalāditya. But the Ranastipūṇḍi grant is the earliest inscription hitherto discovered, which contains the Paurāṇik and legendary portions (ll. 1-25).

This is the first inscription which has been found of king **Vimalāditya**, the son of **Dāna** or **Dānārṇava** by his wife **Āryamahādēvi**³ (v. 12) and younger brother of that king **Śaktivarman** who ruled immediately after the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country. An important item of information furnished by our grant is the date of Vimalāditya's accession, which until now had to be obtained by deducting the duration of his reign as given in the copper-plate grants from the date of the accession of his son and successor Rājarāja I. as found in the Korumelli plates⁴ and in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant.⁵ According to verse 13 of the subjoined inscription, **Vimalāditya's coronation** took place in the *Simha lagna* and the *Pushya nakshatra*, on Thursday, the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Vṛishabha* in **Śaka-Saṃvat 933**. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on this date:— "In line 43 read *pañchamyām*, 'on the fifth *tithi*,' instead of *yash=shashṭhyām*. With this alteration the date corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 933 expired, to **Thursday, the 10th May A.D. 1011**. The fifth *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar month *Jyaishṭha*) in the solar month *Vṛishabha* ended at 20 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was *Pushya*, by the equal space system and according to Garga, for 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. For a place situated at 16° Northern Latitude, the *Simha lagna* on that day lasted from 5 h. 14 m. to 7 h. 24 m. after true sunrise."

The above date removes a discrepancy in the duration of the interregnum between Dānārṇava and Śaktivarman. All the grants assign 27 years to this interregnum. The interval between the accession of Amma II. (Śaka-Saṃvat 867) and that of Rājarāja I. (Śaka-Saṃvat 944) is 77 years, while the total duration of the intervening reigns is only $25 + 3 + 12 + 7 = 47$ years. It had therefore to be inferred that the interregnum lasted $77 - 47 = 30$ years. This discrepancy has already been pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch.⁶ As we know now that Vimalāditya's reign commenced in Śaka-Saṃvat 933, the interregnum is reduced to roughly **27 years**, the period actually mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions.

If we subtract from A.D. 1011 the period of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (12 years), we get the approximate date of the accession of Śaktivarman himself, *viz.* **A.D. 999**. The interregnum which preceded Śaktivarman's reign and which lasted 27 years has thus to be placed roughly between **A.D. 972 and 999**. Hitherto it has been supposed that the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country was caused by a Chōḷa invasion.⁷ The earliest Chōḷa king who claims to have conquered Vēṅgī is Rājarāja I., who ascended the throne in A.D. 985. The conquest of Vēṅgī is first mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 14th year of his reign = **A.D. 998-99**.⁸ Consequently, the interregnum could not have been caused by the invasion of the Chōḷas, but was probably put an end to by that event. If this conclusion is correct, the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. must have restored order in Vēṅgī by placing Śaktivarman on the throne, and the interregnum must have been due to causes other than the Chōḷa invasion during the time of Rājarāja I. There is also reason to believe that no Chōḷa invasion could have taken place before the time of Rājarāja I.

¹ Above, Vol. V. No. 10.

² Above, Vol. IV. No. 33.

³ This queen is mentioned as Ā[r]yadēvi in the Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva; above, Vol. IV. No. 33, verse 19.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 50 and p. 53, text lines 65-67.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. p. 302.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 32, note 1 A.

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 272.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 5.

The later Eastern Chálukya inscriptions, beginning with the Nandamapūṇḍi grant, report that Vimalāditya reigned **7 years**, while the subjoined inscription is dated in his **8th year** (l. 97). His accession took place in A.D. 1011, and that of his successor Rājarāja I. in A.D. 1022. Thus the duration of Vimalāditya's reign was **11 years**, i.e. 4 years in excess of the period assigned to him. The explanation of this difference has perhaps to be sought for in the following facts. Two inscriptions on the Mahēndragiri hill in the Gañjām district (Nos. 396 and 397 of 1896) record that (the Chōla king) Rājendra-Chōla defeated Vimalāditya and set up a pillar of victory on the hill. The date when this event took place is not known. But as this fact is not recorded in the usual historical introduction of Rājendra-Chōla's Tamil inscriptions, it may be presumed that it happened during the early part of his military career, when his father Rājarāja I. was still living. Again, there is an inscription in the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru near Tanjore (No. 215 of 1894), dated in the **29th year** of the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja I., which records certain gifts to the temple by Vishnuvardhana-Vimalāditya, who is no doubt identical with the Eastern Chálukya king of the same name. There is thus reason to believe that Vimalāditya was at or near Tanjore in A.D. 1013-14. This fact, coupled with the defeat recorded in the Mahēndragiri inscriptions, appears to show that Vimalāditya was taken prisoner to Tanjore by Rājendra-Chōla. While in the Chōla country, he must have married Kundavā, the daughter of the Chōla king Rājarāja I. and younger sister of Rājendra-Chōla I.¹ After this marriage Vimalāditya may have been sent back to his dominions about A.D. 1015. Taking these inferences for granted, it may be assumed that, though the period counting from his accession in A.D. 1011 to the date of his death in A.D. 1022 is 11 years, the later Eastern Chálukya records recognise neither his original accession in A.D. 1011 nor the period of his stay in the Chōla country, but reckon his reign from the time when he began to rule after his return from the Chōla country, and thus give only **7 years** as the duration of his reign.

The inscription attributes several surnames to Vimalāditya, viz. **Birudaṅka-Bhīma** (ll. 44 and 73 f.), **Tribhuvanāṅkuśa** (l. 47), **Mummaḍi-Bhīma** (l. 51) and **Bhūpa-Mahēndra** (l. 74). **Birudaṅka-Bhīma** occurs also in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant (l. 52). The surname **Mummaḍi-Bhīma** means 'the third Bhīma' and is appropriate for Vimalāditya, as there were only two among his ancestors who bore the name Bhīma. Before introducing the surname **Mummaḍi-Bhīma** (v. 19), the composer of the subjoined inscription refers to certain predecessors of the king who were looked upon as founders of the family, and states that **Mummaḍi-Bhīma** was also one of those founders. Again, in two different places the king is spoken of as 'the rescuer of (his) family' (l. 57 f.) and as 'the only rescuer of (his) family' (l. 75). If any significance is to be attached to these statements, they must imply that Vimalāditya took proper care to ensure the succession in his family and to strengthen its position. It is not impossible that there is a remote reference in these passages to Vimalāditya's alliance with the powerful Chōlas by his marriage with the Chōla princess Kundavā, and perhaps also to the actual birth of an heir to the throne, viz. Rājarāja I. The disastrous effects of the anarchy which prevailed in Vēṅgi immediately before the accession of Vimalāditya's predecessor could not have been altogether forgotten at the time when the subjoined grant was issued, and the king's attempts to render the position of his family firm and stable were apparently appreciated by the composer, if not by all the people in Vēṅgi.

The donee was a minister of the king, called **Vajra** (vv. 24, 26, 28, 30) or, in Telugu, **Vajjiya-Peggaḍa** (l. 85). He belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gōtra (v. 22), was a resident of the village of **Kāramachēḍu** (l. 84), and bore the surnames **Budhavajraprākāra** (v. 31 and l. 85), **Amātyasikhāmaṇi** and **Saujanyaratnākara** (v. 33 and l. 85). The composer was **Bhīmanabhaṭṭa**, son of **Rāchiya-Peddēri**. This person must have been the father of the composer of

¹ South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. III. p. 126.

the Korumelli plates, Chêtanabhatta, who calls himself the son of Râchiya-Peddêri-Bhîma. The writer of the subjoined grant was Jontâchârya, who may have belonged to the same family as his namesake, the writer of a grant of Amma II.¹

Ranastipûndi, the village granted, belonged to the Guddavâdi-vishaya² (I. 62). I am unable to identify either Ranastipûndi or the other villages which are mentioned in the description of its boundaries. As regards Kâramachêdu, where the donee is stated to have come from, it may be mentioned that there is a village named Kârimchêdu, 9 miles west of Bâpatla in the Kistna district.³

TEXT.⁴

First. Plate.

- 1 * श्रीधाम्पुषोत्तमस्य महती नारायणस्य प्रभोर्वाभीपंकवहाभूव
जगतस्सष्टा स्वयंभूस्त-
- 2 तः [1*] जज्ञे मानससूनुरत्रिरिति यस्तस्मान्मुनेरत्रितस्मीमी वंश[क]रस्सुधांशु-
रुदित[1*] श्रीकण्ठचूडामणिः । [1*]
- 3 तस्मादासीत्सुधा[1*]सूतेर्बुधो बुध[ध]नुतस्ततः [1*] ज[1*]तः पुरुरवा⁵
नाम चक्रवर्त्ती मविक्रमः । [2*] गद्यम् । तस्मादायुरा-
- 4 युषो नहुषः नहुषाद्ययातिचक्रवर्त्ती वंशकर्त्ता ततपुर्वरि[ति] चक्रवर्त्ती
ततो जनमेजयाश्वमेधत्रितय-⁶
- 5 स्य कर्त्त[1*]⁷ । ततप्राचीशप्राचीशाख्यैर्न्यातिस्त्रैर्न्यातेर्हयपतिर्हयपते-
स्सार्वाभौमस्सार्वाभौ-
- 6 माज्जयसेनः जयसेनाम्हाभौमः महाभौमादेशानकः ऐशानकात्क्रोधाननः
क्रोधाननाद्देवकिः
- 7 देवकेरिचुकः⁹ रिचुकादृचकः ऋक्ष[कान्म]तिनरस्त्रयागयाजी¹⁰ सरस्वतीनदीनाथः
ततः कात्या-
- 8 यनः कात्यायनाद्नीलः नीलाद्युथन्त[1*]स्त[स्म]तः¹¹ । आर्य[1*] । गंगा-
यमुनातीरे यदविच्छिन्नं निश्चाय¹² यु-
- 9 प[1*]न्क्रमशः [1*] क्रित्वा¹³ तथाश्वमेधानाम महाकर्मभरत यिति¹⁴
योत्तमत[1*] । [3*] ततो भरताङ्गमन्युर्भूमन्योस्सुहोत्रस्सुहोत्रा-
- 10 इस्ती हस्ति[नो विरोच*]नः विरोचनादजमीलः अजमीलात्संवरणः संवर-
णस्य तपनसुतायास्तपत्याश्च सुधन्वा सुधन्व-

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 17.

² On Guddavâdi see above, Vol. V. p. 123 and note 2.

³ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 83.

⁴ From the original copper-plates.

⁵ Read पुरुरवा.

⁶ Read जयोश्वमेध.

⁷ See above, Vol. IV. p. 304, note 3.

⁸ Read आर्यैर्न्य.

⁹ Read केशमुकः ऋमुका.

¹⁰ Read न्यातिवरस्त्रय.

¹¹ Read नीलाद्युथन्तस्सुतः.

¹² Read विच्छिन्न निश्चाय य.

¹³ Read क्रित्वा.

¹⁴ Read इति.

- 11 नपरिचित्परिचितो भीमसेनः भीमसेनाग्रदीपनप्रदीपनाच्चन्त[नुश]-¹
 न्तनोर्विचित्रवीर्यः विचित्रवीर्य[^{1*}]त्याण्डराजः । आ-
 12 र्य[^{1*}] । पुत्रास्तस्य च धर्मजभीमार्जुननकुलसहदेवाः [^{1*}] पंचेन्द्रियवत्यं च
 स्युर्विषयग्राहिणस्तत्रः) । [^{8*}] वृत्तं । येना-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 13 दाहि विजित्य ²काण्डवमथो [ग]ा[ण्डो]विना वज्रिणं युद्धे ³पाशुपतास्त्रव-
 [न्धक]रिषोद्यालाभि दैत्यान्वहनिन्द्रार्द्ध[^{1*}]सनमध्यरोहि⁴ ज-
 14 यिना यत्कालिकेयादिकान्दत्वा स्वरमकारि [व]शविपिनच्छेदः [कुरुणां वि]-
 भोः । [^{5*}] ⁵ततोऽनुनादभिमन्युरभिमन्योपरिचित् परिचित्[^{6*}]तो जन-
 15 मेजयः जनमेजयात्केमुकः⁶ चेमुकाभ्रवाहनः नरवा[हन]ा[च्च]तानीकः⁷ शता-
 नोकादुदयनः ततपरं तत्प्रभृ-
 16 ⁸तिस्त्रिविचित्रसन्तानेष्वयोर्ध्यासिंहासनासीनेष्वेकान्नष्टचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तद्वश्यो⁹
 विजयादित्यो नाम राज[^{1*}] विजिगीष-
 17 या दक्षिणापथं गत्वा त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिचिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकान्तरमग-
 मत् । तस्मिन्संकुले
 18 पुरोहितेन सार्द्धमन्तर्व्वन्नी तस्य महादेवी मुडिवे[सु]नामाग्रहारमुपगम्य
 तद्वास्तव्येन विष्णुभट्ट-
 19 सोमयाजिना दुहितुनिर्व्विशेषमभिरक्षिता स[ती]¹⁰ विष्णुवर्द्धनमसूत [^{1*}]
 सा तस्य च कुमारकस्य मा-
 20 ¹¹नव्यसगोत्रहारितपुत्रादिस्त्रक्षत्रगोत्रक्रमो[चि]तानि कर्म[^{1*}]णि कारयित्वा
 तमवर्द्धयत् । स च मा-
 21 त्वा ¹²विदितव्रितांतस्त्रिर्गत्य [च]लुक्शगिरौ न[न्द]ां भगवतीं गौ[री]मारा-
 ध्य कुमार[न]ारायणमातृगणांश्च संतर्प्य श्वेता-¹³
 22 ¹⁴तपत्रैकगंखपंचमहाशब्दपालिकेतनप्रतिडक्कावराह[लांच्छन]पिंक्ष[कंतसि]हासन-
 मकरतोरणकन[क*]दण्डगंगा-

¹ Read °नाच्छन्त°.

² Read खाण्डव°.

³ Read °स्त्रमन्धकरिपो°.

⁴ Read °वहन् । इन्द्रा°.

⁵ Read ततोर्जुना°.

⁶ The क; of °यात्केमुक; is corrected from का; read °यात्केमुक;.

⁷ Read °नाच्छतानीक;.

⁸ Read °तिस्त्रिविच्छिद्र°.

⁹ Read तद्वश्यो.

¹⁰ After सती the original has some letter which seems to have been erased by the engraver.

¹¹ Read °हारितोपुत्रा°. The other published versions of this passage (with the exception of the Tēki and Pithāpuram plates) read °पुत्रदिपक्षगोत्र°.

¹² Read °वृत्तांत°.

¹³ The श्वे of श्वेता° looks like श्वे.

¹⁴ Read °शंख°, °प्रतिडक्का° and °पिंक्ष°.

Gōvinda III. is mentioned, in all the eight records, only as **Jagattuṅga** and **Jagattuṅga-dēva**, without any allusion to his proper name or to any of his other *birudas*.

Amōghavarsha I. is mentioned in the Nausārī grants as **Śrīvallabha**, who then became **Viranārāyaṇa**. The Sāṅglī, Kardā, Bhādāna, and Khārēpāṭaṇ grants mention him as **Amōghavarsha**,—the Bhādāna record putting forward also a very questionable new *biruda* for him, in the form of Durlabha. The Dēolī and Karhād grants use only his *biruda* **Nṛpa-tuṅgadēva**.

And **Kṛishṇa II.** is mentioned by his proper name only, as **Kṛishṇarāja**, in the Nausārī, Dēolī, Karhād, and Bhādāna grants, and by only his *biruda* of **Akālavarsha** in the Sāṅglī and Khārēpāṭaṇ grants; while the Kardā grant presents both his proper name and the same *biruda*, mentioning him first as **Akālavarsha**, and then supplying his proper name as **Kṛishṇanṛpa**, “king **Kṛishṇa**.”

It is rather curious that **Gōvinda III.** was thus remembered only as **Jagattuṅga**; for, as we shall see further on, this *biruda* was certainly not the appellation by which he was best known in his own time. It appears first in the Tōrkhêdê grant of A.D. 813, issued in his time. And all that we know as to the origin of it, is the assertion in the Nīlgund inscription of A.D. 866, of the next reign, that he, **Prabhūtavarsha-Gōvindarāja**, conquered the whole world and so became known as **Jagattuṅga**. It evidently became his leading *biruda*, supplanting the *biruda* that was at first his distinctive appellation; because it was used, most exceptionally, in violation of the custom of using the *biruda* ending in *varsha*, to denote him in the Kanheri inscription of A.D. 851, in the formal passage which mentions him, as **Jagattuṅgadēva**, as the predecessor of the then reigning king **Amōghavarsha I.**¹ His assumption of the *biruda*, and the fact that it eventually became his most well known appellation, are evidently to be attributed to something or other that occurred when his reign was well advanced, and after A.D. 807 because there is no allusion of any kind to the *biruda* in the Waṇi and Râdhanpur grants of that year.

* * * * *

The use of the *biruda* **Śrīvallabha** in the **Râshtrakûṭa** records.

We have now to consider who is most likely to be intended by the *biruda* **Śrīvallabha** as used to denote the reigning king,—without any other appellation, or any other hint,—in a **Râshtrakûṭa** record which, like the **Lakshmêshwar** inscription, C. above, is not dated but is referable to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.

We have first to note that from **Śrīvallabha**, “favourite of Śrī or Fortune,” we have the derivative **śrīvallabhatâ**, “the condition of being a **Śrīvallabha**.” In the **Râshtrakûṭa** records, this word *śrīvallabhatâ* is met with as the equivalent of **rājâdhirājaparamêśvaratâ**, “the condition of being an over-king of kings and a supreme lord.” And these two words were used in the general sense, according to free translation, of “supreme sovereignty;” for instance, a verse in the **Sâmāngaḍ** grant of A.D. 754 describes **Dantidurga** as acquiring the *rājâdhirājaparamêśvaratâ* by conquering **Vallabha**,²—which appellation denotes there, and in the passage quoted below, the Western **Chalukya** king **Kīrtivarman II.**,—while another verse in the inscription at the **Daśavatâra** cave at **Ellôrâ** says that, by defeating the army of **Vallabha** and subjugating certain other kings, he acquired the *śrīvallabhatâ*.³ And, in view of this, the *biruda* **Śrīvallabha** might, without any objection, be applied to any paramount king without exception.

¹ As already said, we may expect to find it used, in the same way, in the formal preambles of the prose passages of copper-plate records of **Amōghavarsha I.**, if we ever obtain any such records.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, text lines 24, 25.

³ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text lines 10, 11.

But we do not find it used in that general manner, at any rate in the Râshtrakûta records. In those records, as far as they have been considered at present, we perhaps find the *biruda* Śrīvallabha suggested in the case of Kṛishṇa I.; but, if so, it is put forward for him in verse, in a very unusual and inconclusive fashion, and not in a record of his own time. We have it first apparently established¹ in the case of Gôvinda III., by the formal prose passages of his own records; and it is certainly used to denote him in a verse in the Baroda grant of his time. We next find it put forward, in verse, for his son Amôghavarsha I.; but this is done in a late record of A.D. 915, and under circumstances which suggest that it was used simply as a convenient metrical substitute for his formal *biruda* Lakshmivallabha, which, though synonymous in meaning, is not the same appellation in form. We meet with it next in the case of Indra III., in the formal prose passage of one of the records of his time. We find it last used to denote Kṛishṇa III., in a verse which stands in his records of A.D. 940 and 950. And we thus have it established as a distinctive official appellation,—by formal prose passages, which, as has already been said, are far more decisive in any points of this kind than the verses are,—only in the cases of Gôvinda III. (apparently) and Indra III.

From this, we might conclude that, in a Râshtrakûta record referable to about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., the *biruda* Śrīvallabha must denote Gôvinda III., for whom we have the date of A.D. 794 from his Paithan grant. And, if we accept the indication that is given in the formal prose passage in the Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807, it certainly was a well established *biruda* of him, and an important and distinctive one because there, and in the corresponding passage in the Paithan grant of A.D. 794, it takes the place that is occupied by his proper name in the Wanî grant of A.D. 807.

Nevertheless, Śrīvallabha was not the principal and most distinctive appellation of Gôvinda III. As we have already seen, in later times he was remembered only as Jagattuṅga. A verse in the Nausâri grant of A.D. 817 seems clearly to single out Pṛithivīvallabha as his special *vallabha*-appellation. But even that was not his most distinctive appellation. His most distinctive *biruda* during the earlier part of his reign was, evidently, **Prabhûtavarsha**. Even the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866 of his successor's reign,—written at a time when there was, plainly, a preference for speaking of him as Jagattuṅga, tells us that he was **Prabhûtavarsha**, who became Jagattuṅga; and the only other of his *birudas* that it mentions, is Kîrtinârâyaṇa. In the records of his own time, the *biruda* **Prabhûtavarsha** occupies a prominent position in the Paithan, Wanî, and Râdhanpur grants, and also in even the Tôrkhêdê grant; standing, in all of them, before either his proper name or the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, and, in the Tôrkhêdê grant, also before the introduction of the *biruda* Jagattuṅga. In the grant of A.D. 804 from the Kanarese country, the *biruda* **Prabhûtavarsha** is used, and no other, with his proper name. The same is the case in an undated inscription in the Shimoga district, Mysore, which refers itself to the reign of a **Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarasa**, and is, no doubt, to be referred to his time.² And an inscription at Shisuvinhâl in the Baṅkâpur tâluka, Dhârwar district,³ which can only be referred to his time, mentions him, as the reigning king, as “the favourite of Fortune and the Earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Paramîśvara*, the *Bhaṭâra*, **Prabhûtavarsha**,” without presenting any other *biruda*, and without even finding it necessary to give his proper name.

And there are records in Mysore, which shew unmistakably that Dhruva was distinctively known by the *biruda* of Śrīvallabha, at least as well as was his son Gôvinda III. One of them is an inscription at Matakere in the Heggadadêvankôṭe tâluka, Mysore

¹ See page 173 above, and note 2.

² *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, and note 1.

³ Not published; I quote from an ink-impression. The record is so much damaged that it can hardly be edited; but the first two lines are fortunately quite legible.

district,¹ which refers itself to the time when **Dhāravarsha-Śrīvallabha** was reigning over the earth, and Kambharasa was [governing] the (Gaṅgavāḍi) ninety-six-thousand province : here, the immediate collocation of the two *birudas* admits of no interpretation except that they belonged to one and the same person, and that he was both Dhāravarsha and Śrīvallabha, and Dhāravarsha, as we have already seen, was **Dhruva**. And another is an inscription at Śravana-Belgola,² which, mentioning the Kambharasa of the preceding record as Raṇāvalōka-Kambayya and describing him as reigning over the earth, speaks of him as the son of the *Paramēśvara* and *Mahārāja Śrīvallabha*. For these two records we are indebted to Mr. Rice. In connection with the second of them, we take another record, also brought to notice by him; namely, a copper-plate grant from Maṇṇe, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 802.³ It expressly mentions Raṇāvalōka-Kambhadēva as the elder brother of Prithuvivallabha-Prabhūtarvarsha-Gōvindarājadēva, who, it says, meditated on the feet (*i.e.* was the successor) of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara Dhāravarshadēva*. The Gōvindarājadēva of this passage is shewn, by the verses in the genealogical introduction of the record, to be Gōvinda III., son of Nirupama-Kalivallabha-Dhōra, *i.e.* **Dhruva**. His elder brother Raṇāvalōka-Kambhadēva was, therefore, also a son of Dhruva. Accordingly, in the Śravana-Belgola inscription, again, the *biruda* Śrīvallabha denotes Dhruva. And thus we have the *biruda* **Śrīvallabha** thoroughly well established as a leading and distinctive appellation of **Dhruva** also, and so pointedly that it is most probably he who is intended by that *biruda* in the Lakshmēshwar inscription, C. above.

* * * * *

The date of Dhruva.

The importance of the point that **Śrīvallabha** was a leading and distinctive *biruda* of **Dhruva** lies in the fact that we are thereby enabled to fix an actual date for him.

That date is supplied by a passage in the Jain *Harivamśa* of Jinasēna, which tells us that that work was finished in Śaka-Samvat 705 (expired), = A.D. 783-84, when there were reigning,— in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with the modern Waḍhwān in the Jhālāvād division of Kāthiāwār,— in the north, Indrāyudha; in the south, **Śrīvallabha**; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avanti

¹ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 93.— In answer to a reference, Mr. Rice has been kind enough to assure me that the *Śrīvallabha* follows *Dhāravarsha* without any interval; that line 1 contains less matter than the other lines because the letters are larger; and that there is no doubt whatever about the word *Kambharasa*. There can, of course, be no question about the correctness of supplying *bha* as the *akshara* which is more or less damaged and illegible after *śrī-Dhāravarsha-Śrīvallabha*. And the damaged and illegible *akshara* after the *bha* must be a final *n* or *r*.

² *Inscr. at Śrav-Bel.* No. 24.— I have to make the following remarks on this record, from an ink-impression. Line 2 ends with *Śrīvallabha*. At the beginning of line 3, five *aksharas* are (judging by the impression) hopelessly damaged and illegible. Then we have, distinctly, *jādhi*. And then, after a space representing three full-size square *aksharas* such as *ja*, *dha*, *ma*, etc.,— apparently equally damaged and illegible,— we have *m[ē]śvara-mahār[d]jārā magandir Raṇāvalōka-śrī-Kambayya*, etc. The lacunæ may be appropriately and exactly filled in by reading *Śrīvallabha-[Dhruva-mahārā]jādhi[rāja-para]m[ē]śvara-mahār[d]jārā*; to which the only objection is the use of both titles, *mahārājādhirāja* and *mahārāja*: and I do not see any other way in which they can be appropriately and exactly filled in, unless we should read *Śrīvallabha-[Dhāravarsha-rā]jādhi[rāja-para]m[ē]śvara-mahār[d]jārā*, which is open to a similar objection and, further, does not adapt itself to such marks as are discernible. But, of course, it is by pure conjecture that the actual name Dhruva is supplied here; except that there is a mark, in exactly the proper place, which does look like an *r* attached to an *akshara* consisting of a consonant with its vowel.— On the subject of this record, see also *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 397, note 1; the view suggested there is, of course, now withdrawn.

³ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 5. I have photographs of this record, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Rice.

(Ujjain); and, in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha,¹ in the territory of the Sauryas. It is to be remarked that, of the two kings Indrāyudha and Śrīvallabha, one or the other is specified in the passage as the son of a king Kṛishṇa. But we determine the application of the passage without taking that point into account either way.

When this passage was first brought to notice, the translation that was put forward was—"when Indrāyudha was ruling over the North;—when Śrīvallabha, the son of king Kṛishṇa, was governing the South," etc.² And I suggested that Śrīvallabha was "perhaps the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda II., the son of Kṛishṇa I."³

Subsequently, however, it became plain, in the first place, that the *biruda* Śrīvallabha is not identical with the appellation Vallabha, which is the only name of that kind that we have for Gōvinda II., and in the second place, that Gōvinda II. did not actually reign.⁴ And then, as the word meaning "son of king Kṛishṇa" may be construed at least as well with the word that gives us the name of Indrāyudha as it may with the word that gives us the name of Śrīvallabha,⁵ I abandoned that view and transferred the words "son of king Kṛishṇa" to Indrāyudha, and took the passage as referring to Gōvinda III., son of Dhruva, and as establishing the date of A.D. 783-84 for him.⁶

There is nothing inherently impossible, in the way of allotting the date of A.D. 783-84 to Gōvinda III.; except that it would perhaps give him too long a reign,—at least thirty years,—

¹ The original passage has *jaya-yutē virē Varāhē*; and Dr. Peterson considered (Fourth Report on Sanskrit MSS., Index of Authors, p. 43, and note), that the meaning is, not "the victorious and brave Varāha," but "the brave Jayavarāha,"—just as the name of Vatsarāja is expressed in the preceding line by *Vats-ādi-rājē*. It is not possible to settle that point off-hand, either way. But, in support of Dr. Peterson's view, we may quote two other names in which *varāha* is found as the termination. One is Ādivarāha, a name of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, which occurs in verse 22 of the Gwalior inscription of A.D. 875 or 876 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 155, 158). The other is Dharanivarāha, which we meet with most notably in the case of a Chāpa prince, with the date of A.D. 914, whose residence was Vardhamāva, and who was ruling the territory round Haddālā on the south-east of the above-mentioned Waghvān in the Jhālāvād division of Kāthiāwār (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 194, 195); and it is not impossible that, in this prince, we have a descendant of the Varāha or Jayavarāha of A.D. 783-84, though his pedigree is not carried back beyond a certain Vikramārka who would have to be placed, roughly, about A.D. 825.—It may be noted here that the name Dharanivarāha seems to have been rather a favourite one. We meet with it again in the case of a prince referable roughly to about A.D. 925, in the Bulandshahr plate of A.D. 1176 or 1177 (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol. V. Appendix, p. 25, No. 170), and again in the case of a prince who was contemporaneous with a Rāshtrakūṭa king or prince named Dhavala who held the country round Hatōṇḍī in Mārwār just before A.D. 997 (see *ibid.* p. 9, No. 53). We perhaps have the same name Dharanivarāha in the case of a king or prince, of uncertain date but apparently referable to "a period not long anterior to the Muhammadan invasion," who ruled more to the east, in the Jaunpur district, North-West Provinces (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 635, 636); but, here *dharanī* may be a mistake or misreading for *dharanī* as the accusative with *santōshayan=nija-guṇair*, and in that case the name is simply Varāha. We certainly, however, have Dharanivarāha as a *biruda* of some princes, of the sixteenth century A.D., who claim descent from the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttuṅga I. (Report of the Government Epigraphist for 1899-1900, p. 16). And apparently we have it again as a *biruda* of one or other of the kings of Vijayanagara in a record of A.D. 1528 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 2).

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 142. For the text, see now, preferentially, Peterson's Fourth Report on Sanskrit MSS., Extracts, p. 176.

³ *Loc. cit.* note 3.

⁴ And, on this point, see now, more fully, page 170 ff. above.

⁵ The text runs—*uttarīm pāt=Indrāyudha-nāmni Kṛishṇa-nṛipa-jē Śrīvallabhē dakṣiṇīm*. We know that Dhruva was a son of Kṛishṇa I. And, now that we know what we did not know until recently,—namely, that Śrīvallabha was one of his leading *birudas*,—it is easy enough to say that the words "son of king Kṛishṇa" were meant to qualify the Śrīvallabha of the passage, and not the other person. But it is impossible to say, simply from the text itself, whether *Kṛishṇa-nṛipa-jē* was intended to be in apposition with the locative which immediately precedes it, or with the locative which immediately follows it; and it is fairly arguable that, Śrīvallabha being a complete appellation in itself, whereas Indrāyudhanāman is an adjective rather than a noun, the latter wants something, namely, the next following word, to complete its meaning.

⁶ *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 394 f., and see note 1 on p. 395.

before so very long a reign as that of his son Amôghavarsha I., who was on the throne for not less than sixty-two years. But we can now recognise a distinct reason for which that date should not be allotted to Gôvinda III. We know, from the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807, that the first important event after the death of Dhruva was the formation of a confederacy against Gôvinda III. by twelve kings and princes, whom he had to overthrow before his succession to the throne was made secure.¹ We may note that we learn from the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 that the confederacy was headed by a certain Stambha,² in respect of whom Mr. Rice has made the suggestion,³ quite soundly, that he is to be identified with the Raṇâvalôka-Kambayya, Kambharasa, or Kambhadêva of the Mysore records, son of Śrîvallabha-Dhruva and elder brother of Gôvinda III. And we trace the motive for it to the fact, stated in the Paiṭhan grant of A.D. 794, that Gôvinda III. had been selected for the succession from among several sons,—to the exclusion, therefore, of at least Stambha-Kambayya,—because he surpassed his brothers in merit.⁴ But, what we have to note in particular, is, that this confederacy was the first important event after the death of Dhruva and the accession of Gôvinda III., and that there is no allusion of any kind to it in the Paiṭhan grant of A.D. 794. We must understand, then, that that record gives a very early date in the reign of Gôvinda III., before the occurrence of the events connected with the confederacy, and that it is, therefore, not permissible to carry him back ten years earlier, to A.D. 783-84.

The only other Śrîvallabha of that period, distinctively known by that appellation, was Dhruva. And, irrespective of the question whether the Śrîvallabha of the passage quoted above is described in that passage as “the son of Kṛishṇa,” or whether he is not so described,⁵ we need not hesitate, now, about deciding that it is to Dhruva that the passage refers by the *biruda* Śrîvallabha, and that it is for him that it establishes the date of A.D. 783-84.⁶

As regards another of the kings who are mentioned in that passage, it may be noted that Vatsarâja of Ujjain is mentioned again in connection with Dhruva in the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807, in a verse which tells us that Vatsarâja, who had easily seized the kingdom of Gaṇḍa (in Bengal), was driven away by Dhruva (from his possessions in Mâlwa, round Ujjain) into the path of misfortune in (the deserts of) Maru (Mârwâr).⁷ Varâha or Jayavarâha, who was ruling the territory of the Sauryas,—which apparently means Saurâshṭra or Kâthiâwâr,—remains to be exactly identified, but may, as has been suggested above,⁸ very possibly have been a Châpa king. Indrâyudha, the king of the north, may be safely referred to the family to which belonged Chakrâyudha, to whom Dharmapâla, after defeating Indrarâja

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, and Vol. VI. p. 70, verse 13. The event has been wrongly placed by Paudit Bhagwanlal Indrajî in the life-time of Dhruva (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 123). The text of the record distinctly says that Dhruva was then dead.

² *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 145, verse 27.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 5.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text line 37 f.

⁵ See page 196 above, note 5.

⁶ In following my original proposal as to the application of the passage, and in accepting it as meaning Vallabha-Gôvinda II., Dr Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 197) has overlooked the point that the appellation is, not Vallabha, but Śrîvallabha, which is quite a different thing; and, when he wrote, he was of course not aware that Śrîvallabha was a *biruda* of Dhruva.—As regards the hysterical outburst, in connection with this matter, to which Mr. K. B. Pathak has given vent on page 5 f. of the Introduction to his edition of the *Kavîrâjamârṅga* (see also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 26), it is sufficient to remark that, in his second-hand and crude dissertation on Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa I., Gôvinda II., and Dhruva, he has put forward nothing new of any historical value, and, in re-asserting the date of A.D. 783-84 for Gôvinda II. according to my original proposal, he has, from sheer ignorance of the subject and incapability of dealing with it, simply reiterated a mistake and missed the very point on which there was an useful correction to be made. His paroxysmal note 3 on page 5 of the Introduction (see also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 25, note 18) is, except in the first line of it as far as the words “A.D. 750,” nothing but an attribution to me of statements that I have not made and views that I have not formed.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 161, and Vol. VI. p. 69, verse 8.

⁸ Page 196 above, note 1.

and other unnamed enemies, gave back the sovereignty of **Mahôdaya (Kanauj)**;¹ but we have still to determine what may have been the relations between his family and the family of *Mahîrâjas* in which we have Prabhâsa-Bhôja I., Bhâka-Mahêndrapâla, and Harsha-Vinâyakapâla, who issued charters from Mahôdaya (Kanauj) in A.D. 706, 761, and 794.²

NO. 17.—TWO BHUVANESVAR INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The two inscriptions³ of which I give an account here from excellent impressions, prepared for Dr. Hultsch by Mr. Krishna Sastri, are on two slabs of dark stone which are now in the western wall of the court-yard of the temple of Ananta-Vâsudêva⁴ at **Bhuvanêśvar** in the Purî district of Orissa. The stones were taken away from Bhuvanêśvar and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart about 1810, but to please the people, they were returned to their original place in 1837.⁵ In the latter year, the inscriptions were both edited, with specimen facsimiles of the characters by Mr. Prinsep, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 89 ff. and p. 280 ff., the one here marked A. with a translation by the Rev. Wm. Yates, and the other, marked B., with a translation by Captain G. T. Marshall, Examiner in the College of Fort William; and the inscription A. has been edited again, *ibid.* Vol. LXVI. Part I. p. 11 ff., by Mr. Nagendra Natha Vasu, who was not aware of its having been published sixty years before. A. records the foundation of a temple of (Śiva) Mēghêśvara by **Svapnêśvara**, a connection and general of the (Eastern) Gaṅga king **Aniyāṅkabhîma** (Anaṅgabhîma I.) of Trikalîṅga; and B. gives a eulogistic account of a scholar named **Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadêva Bâlavalabhibhujāṅga**, of whom some literary works are still extant.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF SVAPNÊŚVARA, OF THE TIME OF ANIYĀṆKABHÎMA.

This inscription contains 26 lines of writing which cover a space of 3' 6" broad by 1' 6½" high. The **writing** is well done and carefully engraved, and with the exception of a few letters, in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ½". Many of the **characters** are the same as those of the ordinary Nāgarî alphabet used in Northern India during about the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.; but there are some by which this inscription would be undoubtedly referred to the eastern parts of Northern India. To shew this, I would draw the reader's attention, *e.g.*, to the initial *i*⁶ in *itî*, l. 1; the initial *ê* in *êkô*, l. 1; the *kh* in *sikhi-*, l. 1, and *kharvîkarôti*, l. 2; the *ñ* in *ratnāṅkura-*, l. 10, *piṅgala-*, l. 1, and *vaṅśa-*, l. 6; the *ṇ* in *śitūṇ=cha*, l. 21, and *vāṇchhîta-*, l. 13; the *ṭ* in *jaṭāṭavi-*, l. 1, *paṭu-*, l. 6, and *-dviṭ*, l. 15; the *ṭṭ* in *paṭṭi*, l. 26 (twice); the *ṇ* in *raṇa-*, l. 9, *etc.* One point in which the alphabet differs from that of other eastern inscriptions is, that, while in the latter special signs (without the superscript *r*) are generally used⁷ to denote the three conjuncts *rgg*, *rṇṇ* and *rth*, the present inscription has such a sign only for *rth*, and employs the superscript *r* in the two other conjuncts. See *e.g.* the *rth* of =*ârthatô*, =*ârthibhir*= and =*ôrthini* in line 10, as compared with the *th* of *prithivîm* in line 8; on the

¹ I am indebted to Prof. Kielhorn for this point. For the necessary references, see his List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol. V. Appendix, p. 86, No. 638; and see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 187, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 245.

² See above, Vol. V. pp. 209, 210, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 110.

³ Government Epigraphist's collection of 1399, Nos. 227 and 228. Compare my *List of North. Inscr.* Nos. 669 and 670.

⁴ See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXVI. Part I. p. 11.

⁵ See *ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 279 f.

⁶ The form of the initial *i* here used is identical with one of the two forms of *i*, used in the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadêva, No. 644 of my *List of North. Inscr.*

⁷ See above, Vol. V. p. 182.

other hand, see the *rgg* in *durgg-ālayō mārygaḥ*, l. 22, and the *ṛṇṇ* of *-ākīrṇa-*, l. 8, and compare with the latter the *ṇṇ¹* of *kṣhunnā-*, l. 8. For the rest, it may suffice to state that *anusvāra* is often denoted by a circle with the sign of *virāma* below it, placed after the *akshara* to which it belongs, as in *nirebharaṃ*, l. 6, and *palabhujām*, l. 7; and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed no less than 13 times, as in *blujā śnēna*, l. 9, and *vriḍdhō srujaṃ* and *rājyē śbhishiktam=*, l. 11, etc.—The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the introductory *Ōm ōm namaḥ Śivāya*, the text is in verse. The **orthography** calls for few remarks. The sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *rasmī-* and *vans-* (for *vaṃś-*), l. 3, *śasāsa*, l. 8, *yasasī*, l. 12, *sāsvata-*, l. 13, *saśvan=*, l. 22, and *saśvad=*, l. 24, and the palatal for the dental in *śrōtaḥ-*, l. 1, and *suraśarīt-*, l. 21; and instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal has been employed in *vaṇṣa-*, l. 6, and *-sudhviṇṣū*, l. 25, and the dental nasal in *vans-ōttansa-*, l. 3. Besides, the rules of *saṃdhi* have now and then been neglected. The language is not always grammatically correct. The ablative cases in construction with adjectives in the positive (instead of the comparative) degree in verse 28 might of course be justified by analogous constructions in the epics; for the wrong position of the word *mallī* in the compound *mallikīrticallī* (for *kīrttimallivallī*) at the end of line 3 the Prākṛit of the author might possibly be held responsible; and to account for the employment of the Present participle *hasat* (instead of *hasita*) in the compound at the end of verse 22 one or two similar instances may be quoted from Jaina poetry; but *śrī-Svapnēśvara-nāma* (for *-nāmā*) in line 5 is an offensive blunder that should not have been committed even *chhandō-bhaṅga-bhayāt*. The poetry of our author strikes me as being poor. His poetical conceptions as a rule are of the tritest, and more attention has been apparently paid by him to the sound of the words than to their exact meanings or effective employment. As a translation would be as tiresome to write as it might be tedious to read, I content myself with giving a short abstract of the contents.

After the words 'Ōm, ōm! Adoration to Śiva!', verse 1 invokes the protection of the moon which is on Śiva's head, and v. 2 glorifies the sage **Gautama** (Akshapāda). In that sage's family (*gōtra*) was born the king's son (*rāja-putra*) **Dvāradēva** (v. 3). From him **Mūladēva** was born (v. 4), and from him, **Ahirama** (v. 5) who, besides other children, had a son named **Svapnēśvara**, and a daughter named **Suramādēvi** (v. 6). Verses 7-9 then eulogize a king of the lunar race, named **Chōdagaṅga**. When he was dead, his son king **Rājarāja** victoriously ruled the earth (vv. 10-12). He married **Suramādēvi**, the lady already mentioned (v. 13), and in his old age installed in the government his younger brother **Aniyaṅkabhima**, 'a moon of a **Gaṅga** prince,' 'a lord of **Trikaliṅga**' (vv. 14-17).—Verses 18-21 then praise (Rājarāja's brother-in-law) **Svapnēśvara-dēva**, in war 'a divine weapon of the kings of the **Gaṅga** lineage,' a man 'more powerful than a complete army' (and apparently therefore a general of the **Gaṅga** kings); and verses 22-32 record the acts of piety performed by him which occasioned this *praśasti*. He founded a magnificent temple of the god (Śiva) **Mēghēśvara**, 'the lord of the clouds' (vv. 22-24), gave a number of female attendants to the god (v. 25), laid out a garden near the temple (vv. 26 and 27), built a tank near it (v. 28), and in connection with the tank erected a *maṇḍapa* or open hall (v. 29). He also provided wells and tanks on roads and in towns, lights in temples, cloisters for the study of the Vēdas, etc. (v. 30); and to the pious Brāhmaṇs he gave a *brahmapura* which was superintended by the Śaiva teacher **Vishṇu** (v. 31), who also consecrated² the **Mēghēśvara** temple (v. 32).—By Vishṇu's order this *praśasti* was composed by the poet **Udayana** (v. 33); it was written on the stone at the **Mēghēśvara** temple by **Chandradhava**, the son of **Disidhava** (v. 35), and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* **Śivakara** (v. 36).

¹ A comparison of the signs for *ṇṇ* and *ṛṇṇ* will shew that in the latter the superscript *r* is really superfluous. Even without it, the sign used by the writer would have to be read as *ṛṇṇ*, and is actually employed in other inscriptions to denote that conjunct.

² As *pratishṭhita* is occasionally used for *pratishṭhāpita*, so I would take *pratyatishṭhat* in verse 32 to have been employed in the sense of the causal *pratyatishṭhat*.

Though the inscription is **not dated**, the connection of Svapnêśvara with the (**Eastern**) **Gaṅga kings Rājārāja** and **Aniyaṅkabhima** permits us to fix its age with confidence. From No. 367 of my *List of North. Inscr.* we know that the great king **Chôḍagaṅga** was succeeded by his son **Kāmārṇava**, who was anointed king in Śaka-Saṃvat 1064 = A.D. 1142-43 and reigned for 10 years; that Kāmārṇava again was succeeded by another son of Chôḍagaṅga, named **Rāghava**, who reigned for 15 years; he again by Chôḍagaṅga's son **Rājārāja [II.]**, who reigned for 25 years; and he by his younger brother **Aniyaṅkabhima** (or Anaṅgabhima I.), who reigned for 10 years. Taking these figures to be approximately correct, it follows that **Aniyaṅkabhima**, the last king mentioned in the present inscription, ascended the throne about A.D. 1192, and that this inscription therefore must have been composed about the end of the 12th century A.D.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm² ōm namaḥ Śivāya || ³Vidyutpiṅgala-bhālalôchana-sikhi-jvālā-galat⁴ svāmṛita-
śrô(srô)taḥ-sparśana-jivitaḥ śavaśiraḥ-śrēṇiḥ Śivê nṛityati ||(1) êkô Rāhur=
anêkatân=gata iti trāsād=iva prêkshya tâś=Chandraḥ sândra-jaṭātavi-surasarid-
durgg-âśritaḥ pâtu vaḥ || [1*]
- 2 ⁵Kô=yam lla(la)llâ(lâ)ṭataṭa-nêtrapuṭasya garvvât kharvvîkarôti jagad=ity=abhidhāya
Śambhau | yaḥ sâbhyasūyam=akarôch=chacha(ra)ṇê=kshi-lla(la)kshmiṁ jiyât=sa
Gautama=munir=mmuni-vṛinda-vandyaḥ || [2*] ⁶Tad-gôtrê rāja-putraḥ samajani
jagatī-maṇḍanaḥ paṇḍitānām mānyaḥ puṇy-aikadhāma prativa(ba)la-jaladhi-
- 3 kshôbha-manthâchala-śrīḥ | śrīmân=satkīrttivallī-valayita-vasudhāmaṇḍalaś=chaṇḍa-
rasmi(śmi)-sphūṛjjat-têjôbhīr=uḡra-glapita-ripuyasāḥ-kairavô **Dvāradēvaḥ** || [3*]
Samajani⁷ nija-vans-ôttansa-lakshmīr=alakshmīkṛita-nikhila-virôdhi-sphūṛjjat-ambhō-
dhir=asmât | dalita-lalita-mallikīrttīva.⁸
- 4 lli-vitāna-prasṛita-⁹hasita-chandrô **Mūladēvaḥ** kṛit-īndraḥ || [4*] ¹⁰Tasmât=puṇy-
aīkarâśēr=abhavad=**Ahīramô** nāma dhāma stutīnām=ārāmaḥ sâma-nīter=aparimita-
yaśaḥpôrachandr-ôdayâdriḥ | yasy=ôdyad-dānadharmm-ôtsava-janita-mahôtsāha-kâlê
trilôka-prâśād-âgrê sphuranti sphurad-a-
- 5 malayaśô-vaijayantyô jayantyaḥ || [5*] ¹¹Tasmân=naika-sutâd=va(ba)bhūvatur=apân=
nâthâd=iv=êndu-Śriyau śrī-Svapnêśvara-nāma¹² nāma **Suramâdēvi** cha sârth-
âhvayâ | êkaḥ kshmatâla-maṇḍanāya sakal-âdhâras=tath=ānyâ jagad-dāridrajvara-
nâsanāya jagatī-chintāmaṇi-śrīr=abhût || [6*] ¹³Nata-nṛipati-kirīṭa-kô-
- 6 ṭi-ratna-dyuti-paṭu-¹⁴pīṭha-śayālu-pâdapadmaḥ | ajani **Rajani-jāni-vanśa**-¹⁵chôḍāmaṇir=
anim-âdi-guṇēna **Chôḍagaṅgaḥ** || [7*] ¹⁶Yâtrâ-vâji-khura-prahâra-visarad-dhōli-
samudrê sphurattêjô-bhâskaramaṇḍalê kshitibhujām=astaṅgatê nirvbha(rbbha)raṁ |
yaṁ saṅgrāma-grīhōdarêshu vijaya-śrīḥ sârdham=â-
- 7 śâ-sakhi-vṛindair=bhinna-gajēndra-mauktikavati bhūyô=bhisarttuṅ=gatâ || [8*] Rê
vâ(bâ)lâḥ kula-vṛiddha kin=nu bhavatân=durbhiksham=âyâsyati sphitaṅ=
kim sa tu sa[t*]tra-daḥ palabhujām svarggāya sannahyatê | yasy=êti

¹ From impressions prepared by Mr. Krishna Sastri.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read -galat-svāmṛita-.

⁴ Metre : Sragdharâ.

⁵ For the sake of the metre *mallikīrtti* has been put for *kīrttimallī*.

⁶ The *akshara ta* was originally omitted and is engraved above the line.

⁷ Metre : Sragdharâ.

⁸ For the sake of the metre put for -nimâ.

⁹ This word (which has been misread as *pada* and *paṭa*) is quite clear in the impressions; it is used in the sense of *sphuṭa*.

¹⁰ Read -vaśa-.

¹¹ Metre : Sârdûlavikṛidita.

¹² Metre : Vasantatilakâ.

¹³ Metre : Mālinī.—Read *nija-vanś-ôttamsa*.

¹⁴ Metre : Sârdûlavikṛidita.

¹⁵ Metre : Pushpitâgrâ.

¹⁶ Metre of verses 8 and 9 : Sârdûlavikṛidita.

- śrutim=ākalayya samarē nirvbhi(rbbhi) nna-vira-dvishām=vallūraiḥ paripūrayanti paritāḥ prētāḥ ku-
- 8 śūl-ōtkarān || [9*] Tasmin² Purandarapurī-tilakāyamānē dānē samunnata-matis=tanayas-tadīyah | sāmṛājya-bhāra-vahan-aikadhurīna-vā(bā)huḥ śrī-Rājarāja-nṛpatīḥ prithivīm śasā(śā)sa || [10*] ³Yasy=ōdyad-vāji-rāji-khura-śikhara-bhara-kahūṇa-bhūchakra-sarppad-dhūli-jāl-āvākīrṇa-tridaśapurāsari-
- 9 d-bhūri-paṅkē vilagnam | nirakṛdā-nimajjat-surapatikarīnam vyākulāḥ Śakra-bhṛityā dhṛitvā lāṅgūlam=ēkē karatalam=aparē ttram=uttōlayanti || [11*] ⁴Raṇa-bhuvi yadi nityan=n-āhataḥ śatru-sārthah⁵ tulita-Haribhujēna kshamābhujā ṣṇēna nōnam | katham=iha kali-kālē kalpit=ānalpa-pāpa-praṇayi-
- 10 ni sura-śrīṣṭīḥ srasṭur=asyān=divi syāt || [12*] ⁶[Tē]n=ōḍhā purushōttamēna Suramādevī Ram=aiv=ārthātō nāmṇā śntahpurāsundarījana-śīrōratnānkura-śrīr=iyam | pratyārūhya tulāḥ priyēna saha sā yat=⁷svarṇa-sailān=dadāv=ētai[h]⁸ sphitatarā dhar=ārthibhir=ahō jāt=ārthini kēvalam || [13*] ⁹Sarvvan=na-
- 11 rēndra-tilakaḥ kalikāla-kalpaśākḥ[¹⁰ sukh-au]gham=anubhūya chiram sa rājā | vṛiddhō ṣṇujam manujarāja-nat-āṅghriyugmam rājyē śbhishiktam=akarōd=Aniyanḥka-bhimam || [14*] Sa¹¹ śrīmān=Aniyanḥkabhimam-nṛpatīḥ sāmṛāyalakshmi-patīḥ pratyarthi-kṣhitipāla-mauli-tilakaḥ¹² tyakt-ārikānt-āla-
- 12 kaḥ | samprāpy=aiva samudra-mudrita-mahāchakraḥ=karāgra-sphurach=chakraḥ Śakra-parākramas=samakarōd=Gaṅgēndra-chandraḥ kṣhāṇāt || [15*] Hē bhōgīndra kim=āttha kūrma dharapī-bhāraḥ sa tuchchhō mahān¹³ jānāsi Trikaṅgānāthayasa(śa)sā khyātan=na jānē śrīṇu | dēvē ṣmin=vijaya-prayāna-rasikē prēm-
- 13 [kha]t-turaṅga-kahura-kahōbh-ōddh[ū]ta-ra-jōbhīr=amva(mba)ram=agād=ardham kshamā-maṇḍalam || [16*] Jātā saṅgara-nīradhēḥ sphurad-asivyālēndra-bhāsvad-bhujāmanthadrēr=asat=iḥ vāñchita-[va(ba)]hu-prītiḥ sadā śrīr=iyam | asminn=ēva narā[dhi]nātha-tilakē sthairyaṇ=gatā yat=punar=vvijān=tatra kil=āśya sā(śā)śvata-
- 14 [m=a]sau jāgrad=yasās-chandramāḥ || [17*] Udyad-digvijay-ārtha-sādhana-vidhau Gaṅgānvaya-kshamābhujān=divy-āstram chaturāṅgatō=dhikatarāḥ sanyāt=sa ēkō=bhavat | śrī-Svapnēśvaradēva ēva vilasat¹⁴ śāstra-kṣat-āri-kaharat-kilālaugha-vinirmmit-āṣṭamamahāmbhōdhir=nnay-āmbhōnidhiḥ || [18*] Lakshmīdēvyāḥ¹⁵ patir=a-
- 15 yam=adhō=nēna¹⁶ chakrē vali-dvīḥ¹⁷ gōpālasya pri[ya]-suhrid=ayam sarvva-kāryē=chyutō ssau | Viśvaksēnō dharapīr=iyam=apy=uddhṛitā yēna magnā [sō] ṣmin(n)=janmany=api sura(cha)ritair=ēsha¹⁸ Viśvambharō śbhūt || [19*] ¹⁹Yad-dāna-ṛigalad-vāri-mātrikā bhūtamātrikā | sasya-sampatti-sambhārair=ddina-hīn=ābhavan=mahī
- 16 || [20*] ²⁰Kailāsādri-Himāchala-stanataṭa-vyāsaṅgi-Mandākinī-hāra-śrīr=yadi kīrttir=asya tilakam chandraḥ=kalaṅk-āśayāt | jyōtsnā-hāsa-mukhī payōdhivasanā-kunda-dyuti[r*]=nn=ātyajat kv=āyam syād=iha Chandrasēkhara-pad-ārūḍhō Mṛidāni-patīḥ || [21*] Bhaktiprahva-surāsūrēndra-vilasan-maulistha-ratnāva-

¹ Read -dvishām.² Metre: Mālinī.³ Read yān=.⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.⁵ Read -kalpaśākḥ; the sign of visarga in this word seems to have been struck out already in the original.⁶ Metre of verses 15-18: Śārdūlavikṛidita.⁷ Read mahān=.⁸ The akṣara na was originally omitted and is engraved above the line.⁹ Read ba(or Ba)di-dvīḥ=.¹⁰ Metre of verses 21-23: Śārdūlavikṛidita.¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹² Read -sārthas=.¹³ This sign of visarga was originally omitted.¹⁴ Read vilasat-chhastra=.¹⁵ Read śāstra=.¹⁶ Read śāstra=.¹⁷ Read śāstra=.¹⁸ Read śāstra=.¹⁹ Read śāstra=.²⁰ Read śāstra=.¹ Metre: Śragdharā.² Metre: Śārdūlavikṛidita.³ Read -tilakas=.⁴ Metre: Mandākrāntā.⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 17 li-chchhâyâ-sakradhanuḥ-sphurat-pada-lasan-Mêghêśvarasy=âmunâ | unnatyâ spara-parvvatô va(ba)hutara-dravya-vyayam kurvvatâ prâsâdô rachitas=sudhâ-chchhavihasat-Kailâsa-śailêśvaraḥ¹ || [22*] Svarṇnâdriḥ sa sur-âlayô hari-khura-kahunnas=cha pûrvvô girir=vvârūṇyâ parichumvi(mbi)tô ssta-śikharî mânayâ sa Gauri-
- 18 [gu]ruḥ | ity=ady=âpi parâmrisha(sa)n=nava-nava-sthânām chalan-mandirô Lanâkêndrêṇa śil-ôchchayaṁ grīham=adaḥ prâptô śnavadyam Śivaḥ || [23*] Iha² vijayinâ prâkâra-śrîr=mmahôpala-nirmmitâ jaladhara-gatir=atyunnatyâ nirôddhum=iv=ôddhatâ | kali-jalanidhêr=mmaryâdâli-bhayâd=iva tasya vai śarapa-
- 19 m=avisad=dharmmô yatra Trinêtra-surakshayâ || [24*] ³Yâsân=nêtrâñchala-taralimâ viśvavaśy-aikamantraḥ pâda-nyâsas=tribhuvana-gati-stambhanam samvidhattê⁴ | nrity-ârambhô valaya-manibhir=nnirmitâśyatna-dîpâs=tasmai dattâs=Tripura-jayinê tēna tās=tâ mṛigâkshyaḥ || [25*] ⁵Upavanam=atha chakrê tēna Mêghêśva-
- 20 rasya sphurita-kusuma-rêṇu-śrêpi-chandrâtapa-śrî | avirata-makaranda-syanda-sandôha-varshair=ddhrita-Ratipati-lilâ-yantradhârâgrīhatvam || [26*] ⁶Vanaśrî-muktâ-srak⁷ dara-dalita-pushp-ôtkara-milat-parâgair=bhṛṅg-âli kalita-sitimâ yatra japani⁸ | munêḥ Pushpâstrasya sphaṭika-ghaṭit-âkshâva-
- 21 lir=iyam=⁹vasant-ôdyan-matta-dvipa-śirasi nakshatra-vitatih || [27*] Atyachchham¹⁰ śarad-amva(mba)rât=suraśa(sa)rit-tôyâch=cha pâp-âpaham gambhīran=naya-śâlinô=pi hridayât¹¹ śitañ=cha chandra-dyutêḥ | hṛidya-svâdu sudhâ-rasâd=api sarô vâran=nidhêḥ sôdaran=tēn=âkhâni narêśvara-praṇayinâ Mêghêśvarasy=â-
- 22 layê || [28*] Ânand-aikanikêtanam nayanayôḥ sa(śa)śvan=manahkairava-jyôtsn-aughaḥ khalu Viśvakarmma-nipuna-vyâpâra-vaidagdhya-bhûḥ | grīshma-grâsa-bhay-âtibhîta-janatâ-śaṭṭirya-durgg-âlayô mâruggaḥ kirtti-vijimbhaṇasya jayinâ prôttambhitô maṇḍapaḥ || [29*] Apâm¹² śâlâ-mâlâḥ pathi pathi tadâgâḥ prati-
- 23 puram pradîpâḥ sampûrṇâḥ prati-suragrīham yasya vimalâḥ | mathâ vêd-âdinâm dvijapura-vihârâḥ prati-diśam virâjantê sa[t*]trâṇy=api cha paritas=sêtu-nivahâḥ || [30*] ¹³Ârâd=vra(bra)hmapuram Vṛi(bṛi)haspati-pura-sparddhi Smarârêḥ sad=âchâryam Vishnum=abhisphura[d*]=dvijavara-grâmâya dharmmâtmanê | dattam tēna mudâ sad-ôdi-
- 24 ta-makha-prâravdha(bdha)-dhûmadhvaja-sphûrjjad-dhûma-chayēna yatra sa kali-vyâlah samutsâryatê || [31*] Tam¹⁴ pratyatishṭha[d*]=dvijarâja-pûjyaḥ prâsâdam=îśasya sa-nandaka-śrîḥ | sudarśanēn=ânvita êsha Vishṇur=âchârya-râjah sa prithak¹⁵ na Vishṇôḥ || [32*] ¹⁶Udayana-kavis=tasy=âdêśât=prâsasti-vilâsinim sulalita-padanyâsaiḥ sa(śa)śvad=vi-
- 25 [dagdha]-manôharām | dhvanibhir=anisaṁ kaṇṭhê śliahtâm=alamkṛiti-hârinim=atirasatayâ śasy-âyâtâm prasâdhitavân=imâm || [33*] ¹⁷Yâva[j*]=jyôtsnâ-sudhânâś¹⁸ dharapi-phanipati yâvad=ambhōja-Lakshmyau yâvad=yâvach=cha Gaṅgâ-Himadharapadharau yâvad=êv=ârṇav-ôrmni | vâg-arthan yâvad=asmimś=chiram=anuvatatô śdvaita-rûpê-
- 26 na lôkê tâvat=prâsâda-kirtti tribhuvana-kuharê râjatâm=asya nityam || [34*] Śrî || ¹⁹Diśidhavalâ-dhîra-tanayaḥ sa Chandradhavalâḥ prasastim=iha pattê | saral-âkshara-mâlâbhir=Ililêkha Mêghêśvara-dvârê || [35*] Sûtradhârâ²⁰ Śivakaras=

¹ This compound (formed with *hasat* instead of *hasita*) is incorrect; compare *hasita-chandrô*, I. 4.

² Metre: Hariṇi.

³ Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

⁴ Read *samvidhattê*.

⁵ Metre: Mâlini.

⁶ Metre: Śikharinî.

⁷ Read *-erag-*.

⁸ This word might be (and has been) read *jayanî*.

⁹ Read *=iyam*.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 28 and 29: Sârdûlavikṛidita.

¹¹ Read *ôgdch=chh*.

¹² Metre: Śikharinî.

¹³ Metre: Sârdûlavikṛidita.

¹⁴ Metre: Upajâti.

¹⁵ Read *prithag-*.

¹⁶ Metre: Hariṇi.

¹⁷ Metre: Sragdharâ.

¹⁸ Read *-sudhânâś*.

¹⁹ Metre: Âryâ.

²⁰ Metre: Sîlaka (Anushtubh).

[illegible]

sadvṛttām=akṣarāvalīm |
iha || ◎ || [36 ||*]

nichakhāna

śilā-paṭṭē

muktāphala-nibhām=

B.—EULOGY OF BHATṬA-BHAVADĒVA BĀLAVALABHĪBHUJAṄGA.

This inscription contains 25 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' broad by 1' 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. The writing, here too, is carefully executed and, with the exception of about a dozen effaced akṣaras at the end of line 24, well preserved. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are similar to those of the inscription A. Contrary to what is the case in that inscription, *ṛṇṇ* as well as *rth*—*rgg* happens not to occur—are here denoted by signs without the superscript *r* (except perhaps in *samartham*=, l. 7). Moreover, *anuvāra* is written only by the superscript circle, and the sign of *avagraha* is nowhere employed. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the introductory *Om om namo bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya*, the effaced passage at the end of line 24, and the short line 25, the text is in verse. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the dental nasal is employed instead of *anuvāra* in the word *mīmāṃsā*, ll. 16 and 17, and in *tamāṃsā*, l. 16, and *līlāvatans*, l. 19; and the word *śrīvatsa* is written *śrīvachchha*, l. 20. In a few places the rules of *saṃdhi* have been neglected by the writer; and in line 6 the author himself has written *śrī-Ādidēva* instead of *śry-Ādidēva*, which would not have fitted into the verse. Otherwise the text is correct; and, for a *praśasti*, the style generally is simple and unpretending.

The poem in line 25 is described as a eulogy of the *Bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious *Bhavadēva*, surnamed *Bālavalabhībhujāṅga*. It was composed by his friend, the Brāhmaṇ Vāchaspati (v. 33). After the words 'Om, om! Adoration to the holy Vāsudēva!', the author in verse 1 invokes the blessing of the god Hari (Vishṇu), and in verse 2 appeals to the goddess of speech to favour his task of proclaiming the praises of *Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadēva's* family. Verses 3-14 give a sketch of *Bhavadēva's* descent; vv. 15-26 eulogize him, chiefly for his scholarly achievements; and vv. 27-32 record the pious works which furnished the occasion for writing this *praśasti*. The details are as follows:—

Of the villages granted to, and the homes of, Brāhmaṇs learned in the Vēdas who are born in the family of the sage *Sāvarṇa*, a hundred may adorn the lands of *Āryāvarta*; but foremost among all is *Siddhala*, which is the ornament of the country of *Rāḍhā*¹ (v. 3). At that village prospered a family to which belonged a certain *Bhavadēva* (v. 5), whose elder and younger brothers were *Mahādēva* and *Aṭṭahāsa* (v. 6). He, to whom the king of *Gauḍa* granted (the village of) *Hastinibhiṭṭa*, had eight sons, the chief (or eldest) of whom was *Rathāṅga* (v. 7). From *Rathāṅga* sprang *Atyāṅga*; and his son was *Budha*, surnamed *Sphurita* (v. 8). From him *Ādidēva* was born (v. 9), who became minister of peace and war (*saṃdhi-vigrahin*) of the king of *Vaṅga* (v. 10). His son was *Gōvardhana* (v. 11), distinguished as a warrior and a scholar (v. 12). He married² *Sāṅgokā*, the daughter of a *Vandyaghaṭṭiya*³ Brāhmaṇ (v. 13), and begat on her the person in whose honour this *praśasti* was composed, *Bhavadēva* (v. 14), whom the poet glorifies as a divine being, while he indicates his worldly position by telling us that, aided by his counsel, (the king) *Harivarmadēva* long exercised the government, and that his policy rendered prosperous the reign of that king's son also (v. 16). More interesting is the

¹ Generally speaking, that part of Bengal which is west of the Hūgli and south of the Ganges. Like *Vaṅga*, it belonged to the *Gauḍa* country. In a *Khajurāhō* inscription it is stated that the wives of the kings of *Kāśchī*, *Andhra*, *Rāḍhā* and *Āṅga* were imprisoned by the *Chandēlla* *Dhaṅgadēva*; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 138.

² From verse 11 it appears that *Gōvardhana's* mother was *Dēvaki*, and that he himself had another wife named *Sarasvatī*.

³ A member of that high family or class of *Rāḍhiya* Brāhmaṇs which *Colebrooke* (*Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 189, note) calls 'Bandyagati, vulgarly Banoji.' *Vandyaghaṭṭiya* occurs as the surname of *Sarvānanda*, the author of a commentary on the *Amarakōśa*; see *Prof. Aufrecht's Cat. Cat.* Vol. I. p. 703, and *Dr. Burnell's Tanjore Cat.* p. 46.

account of Bhavadēva's attainments as a scholar (vv. 20-25), which as far as possible may be given in the author's own words :—

(V. 20.) A pattern of those who know the Brahma's non-duality, a creator of wonder to those (even) who are learned themselves, a sage who comprehends the deep meaning of Bhaṭṭa's¹ lays, a very Agastya to the Baudha sea, clever in refuting the devices of cavilling heretics, he playfully acts the part of the Omniscient on earth.

(V. 21.) Seeing across the ocean of the *Samhitās*, *Tantras*² and computation, causing wonder to all by his knowledge of astrology,³ himself the author and promulgator of a new work on horoscopy (*hōrā-sāstra*), he clearly has proved another Varāha.⁴

(V. 22.) In the several branches of law he has eclipsed the old expositions by composing suitable treatises of his own; by a good comment elucidating the verses on law of the sages, he has swept away all doubt regarding the rites taught by the *Smṛitis*.

(V. 23.) In the *Mīmāṃsā*, by following the lead of Bhaṭṭa, he has composed that well-known guide whose thousand maxims, like the rays of the sun, do not endure darkness. What need is there to say more? Proficient in the whole range of sacred hymns, in all the arts of the poets, in every traditional lore, in the works on worldly affairs, in the sciences of medicine and of arms, etc., he indeed is without a second.

(V. 24.) By whom, indeed, is his (other) name Bālavālabhibhujāṅga not honoured—a name, heard and celebrated and chanted with rapture even by the *Mīmāṃsā*?

(V. 25.) Restoring to life all the world by his magical spells which are like the morning tunes of music to the night of stupefaction caused by the bites of fanged furious serpents, he, a new vanquisher of death, in sporting with poisons has proved (a very) Nīlakaṇṭha.⁵

This Bhavadēva, then, had a reservoir of water constructed in the country of Rāṣṭhā (v. 26). Moreover, at the place where the inscription is, he set up a stone image of the god Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) (v. 27), and founded a temple of the god (v. 28), in which he placed images of his in the forms of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha (v. 29). He also gave to Harimēdhas (Vishṇu) a number of female attendants (v. 30), and had a tank dug in front of his temple (v. 31), and a garden laid out in its neighbourhood (v. 32).

The interest of this inscription lies in the fact that it treats, not of kings and princes, but of a scholar of whom, so far as we know, at least two literary works are still extant. From the more definite statements in the verses which have been translated above, it appears that, in astronomy and astrology, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva was the author of a *Hōrā-sāstra*; that he wrote one or more treatises and a commentary relating to law or to religious rites; and that, as a student of the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy, he composed a work connected with the writings of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila. His *Hōrā-sāstra* has not been traced yet in the published catalogues. But as regards his other works, Prof. Eggeling in his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* under No. 1725 describes a Ms. of the '*Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa*' (or *prakaraṇa*), 'a treatise on expiatory rites, composed by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva, surnamed Bālavālabhibhujāṅga'; and under

¹ I.e. Kumārila, the author of the *Mīmāṃsā-tantravārttika*, etc.

² *Samhitā* in its wider sense denotes a complete course of the *jyōtiṣśāstra*, of which *tantra* is the special branch treating of the motions of the heavenly bodies; in a narrower sense the word denotes that branch of astrology which is also called *tākkā*. See Dr. Thibaut's *Astronomie*, p. 64.

³ *Phala-samhitā* apparently is equivalent to *phala-grantha*, 'a work describing the effects (of celestial phenomena on the destinies of men).'

⁴ I.e. the well-known writer on astronomy, etc., Varāhamihira.

⁵ I.e. the god Śiva, on whom the poison which he swallowed at the churning of the ocean, beyond leaving a blue mark on his throat, had no effect whatever.

⁶ The second of the introductory verses of this work is: *Manu-dīpī-smṛiti-mādhya-sa-virichya yatāda kramam | kriyate Bhavadēva prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇam |*

No. 2166 a Ms. of the 'Tautâtimatatilaka, a gloss on Kumârila's *Tantravârttika*,' by the same author.—What is the exact meaning of the surname **Bâlavabhibhujaṅga**, and why Bhavadêva was so called, is not apparent.

Our inscription is **not dated**. It has indeed been stated¹ that line 24, part of which is effaced, ends with *saṃvat 32*; but this by itself would be of no value, and besides it seems more probable to me that the line really ended with *saṃkhyâ 33*, a statement which I should take to refer to the number of verses of this *prâṣasti*. On palæographical grounds I do not hesitate to assign this record, like the preceding one, to about A.D. 1200.

The villages **Siddhala** and **Hastinibhiṭṭa** which are mentioned in the inscription, and the king or chief **Harivarmadêva**, who was a contemporary of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadêva, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ôm³ ôṃ namô bhagavatê Vâsudêv[â]ya⁴ || ⁵Gâdhôpagûdha-Kamalâ-kuchakumbha-pattra-mudr-âṅkitêṇa⁶ vapushâ paripsamâna[h] | mâ lupyatâm=abhinavâ vanamâlik=êti Vâgdêvat-ôpahasitô=stu Hariḥ âriyê vaḥ || [1*] Vâ(bâ)lyât=prabhṛity=ahar=ahar=yyad=upâsit=âsi Vâgdê-
- 2 vatê tad=adhunâ phalatu prasida | vaktâsmi **Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadêva**-kula-prâṣastisûktâksharâpi rasan-âgram=adhiśrayêthâh || [2*] **Sâvarṇṇasya**⁷ munêr=mmahiyasi kulê yê jajñirê śrôtriyâs=têshâm śâsana-bhûmayô janigriha-⁸grâmâh śatam santu tē | **Âryâvartta**-bhuvâm=vi.⁹
- 3 bhûshaṇam=iha khyâtas=tu sarvv-âgrimô grâmâh **Siddhala** êva kēvalam=alankârô=sti **Râdhâ**-śriyâh || [3*] ¹⁰Sat-pallavaḥ sthitimayô dṛiḍhava(ba)ddha-mûlaḥ śâkhâgra-lagna-mukhara-dvija-ślita-śrîh | na granthilô na kuṭilâh saralâh suparvvâ sarvv-ônnataḥ sukhâ=iha prasasâra vamsâh || [4*]
- 4 ¹¹Tadvamś-ôttamśa-manêḥ¹² kalâśyadât=âpi¹³ tâpana-p:atimâh | Bhava iva vidyâ-tattva-prabhavaḥ prava(ba)bhûva **Bhavadêvaḥ** || [5*] ¹⁴Agraj-ânujâyôr=mmadhyê **Mahâdêv-Âṭṭahâsayôḥ** | sa jajñê Yajñapurushô Viriñchi-Harâyôr=iva || [6*] Sa¹⁵ śâsanam **Gauḍa**-nṛipâd=avâ-
- 5 pa **îri-Hastinibhiṭṭam**=abhîśhṭa-bhûmi¹⁶ | ashtau sutân=ashta-Mahêśa-mûrtti-prakhyân vijajñê=tha **Rathâṅga**-mukhyân || [7*] ¹⁷Rathâṅgâd-**Atyaṅgaḥ** samajani janânananda-jananaḥ śâś=iva kshîrôdâd=avikala-kalâ-kêli-nilayaḥ | sphurat-prajâjyôtiḥ Sphurita iti nâmnâ di-
- 6 śi diśi prakâśô=bhût=saumya-graha iva **Vu(bu)dhas**=tasya tanayaḥ || [8*] ¹⁸Tasmâd=abhûd=abhijan-âbhyyuday-aikaviṇam=avyâja-paurusha-mahâtaru-mûlakandah |

¹ See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 93, note, where Mr. Prinsep says: "the missing sentence consists of nothing more than the month (illegible) and the year "*Samvat 32*" distinctly visible."

² From impressions prepared by Mr. Krishna Sastri.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Originally *dêvaya* was engraved.

⁵ Metre of verses 1 and 2: Vasantatilakâ.

⁶ Originally *âkhitô* and in the place of *sa vapushâ* something else (*nava-vadhûm*?) seems to have been engraved.

⁷ Metre: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

⁸ Originally *janigrihaṣ* was engraved, but the sign of *anuvâra* has been apparently struck out.

⁹ Read *bhuvâm vi*.

¹⁰ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

¹¹ Metre: Âryâ.

¹² Read *-manêḥ*.

¹³ The *aksharas ddtôpi* are quite clear in the impressions; the three preceding *aksharas*, in which some correction has been made, look like *kalâśya* or *kêlâśya*. I can only suggest the reading *kal-âvaddtô=pi*.

¹⁴ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).

¹⁵ Metre: Upajâti.

¹⁶ The *editio princeps* reads here *îri-Hastindîśhṭamâhîśhṭabhûmi*, but the reading given by me is perfectly clear in the impressions. With the ending *bhiṭṭa* of the name *Hastinibhiṭṭa* I would compare *hiṭṭa* in the name *Châmpâbhiṭṭa*, which occurs in line 44 of the Maṇahali plate of the Pâla Madanapâla, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIX. Part I. p. 72.

¹⁷ Metre: Śikharinî.

¹⁸ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

- śrī-Ādidēva¹ iti dēva iv=Ādimūrttir=mma[r]ty-ātmanā bhuvanam=état=
alamkarishnuḥ || [9*] Yō² Vaṅgarāja-
- 7 rājyaśrī-viśrāma-sachivaḥ śuchiḥ | mahāmantrī mahāpātram=avandhyaḥ sandhi-
vighrāhi || [10*] Sa³ Dēvaki-garvbha(rbbha)bhavaṁ bhuvāḥ sthitau samartham=
uchchaitḥpada-lavdha(bdha)-pauruṣam | Sarasvatī-jānim=ajjanat=sutam jagatsu
Gōvarddhanam=Achyut-ōpamam || [11*] *Vira-sthalīshu cha sabhāsu
cha ti-
- 8 rthikānām⁵ dō[r]-llīlayā cha kalayā cha vachasvitāyāḥ | yō varddhasya
vasumatīn=cha Sarasvatīn=cha dvēdhā vyadhata nija-nāmapadam sad-artham ||
[12*] Vandyām⁶ Vandyaghaṭi yasya vra(bra)hmaṇaḥ prayatām sutām |
Sāṅgōkām=aṅganā-ratnam=patnīm sa pariṇitavān || [13*] Tasyām⁷ svapna-
[vi]dhā-
- 9 na-vō(bō)dhita-nij-ōtpādaḥ sa dēvō Harir-jātaḥ śrī-Bhavadēva-mūrttir=amutaḥ
kshamāmaṇḍali-Kaśyapāt | yat-pāpi-prapayi dvayañ=jalajayōr=ālakshitam lakshmaṇā
yasy=āntar=nnihitō=sti kaustubha iti jñātām prakāś-ōdayāt || [14*]
Lakshmin=dakṣiṇa-dōshṇi mantra-vibhavē viśva-
- 10 mbharā-maṇḍalam jihv-āgrē cha Sarasvatīm ripu-tanau nāg-āntakam pattriṇam |
chakram=pāda-talē nivēśitavatā divyan=tad=ādyam=⁸vapur=nihnōtun=nija-chihnam=
état=amunā nūnam=⁹viparyāsitam || [15*] ¹⁰Yan-mantra-śakti-sachivaḥ suchiram
chakāra rājyam sa dharmma-vijayī
- 11 Harivarṇmadēvaḥ | tan-nandanē valati yasya cha daṇḍanīti-vartm-ānugā
va(ba)hala-kalpalat=ēva lakshmīḥ || [16*] ¹¹Sat-pātrasya mahāśayasya kamal-
ādhārasya yasya kshamām=vi(bi)bhrāṇasya guṇ-āmvu(mbu)dhēr=akalitas=āntar=na
dīn-ātmanāḥ | maryyādā-mahima-prasā-
- 12 da-śuchitā-gānbhīrya-dhairya-sthiti-prāyāḥ prāyaśa ēva vāk-patham=atīkrāntāḥ
svadantē guṇāḥ || [17*] ¹²Mahāgaurī kīrtiḥ sphuradasi-karālā bhūja-latā
raṇa-kriḍā chaṇḍī ripu-rudhira-charchchā raṇa-bhuvāḥ [1*] mahā-lakshmir=
mmūrtiḥ prakṛiti-lali-
- 13 tās=tā gira iti prapañchaḥ śaktinām yam=iha Paramēśam prathayati || [18*]
¹³Yad-vrā(brā)hma-tējasi va(ba)liyasi manda-vīryaḥ khadyōta-pōta-karaṇīm
taraṇis=tanōti | uchchair=udañchati yadiya-yaśaḥ-śarirē jātas=Tushāra-śikharī nanu
jānudaghnāḥ || [19*] ¹⁴Vra(bra)hmā-
- 14 dvaita-vidām=udāharāṇa-bhūr=udbhūtavidyā-ādbhuta-srashtā Bhātṭa-girām gabhīrma-
guṇa-pratyakshadrīśvā kaviḥ | Vau(bau)ddhāmbhōnidhi-Kumbhasambhava-muniḥ
pāshaṇḍa-vaitaṇḍika-prajñā-khaṇḍana-paṇḍitō=yam=avanau sarvvajñalīlayatē || [20*]
¹⁵Siddhānta-tantra-gaṇi-
- 15 t-ārṇava-pāradrīśvā viśv-ādbhuta-prasavitā phala-samhitāsu | karttā svayam
prathayitā cha navīna-hōrāsāstrasya yaḥ sphuṭam=abhūd=aparō Varāhaḥ || [21*]
Yō dharmmasāstra-padaṇḍishu jaran-niva(ba)ndhān=andhīchakāra rachit-ōchita-
satprava(ba)ndhaḥ | su-vyākhyayā viśada-
- 16 yan=muni-dharmmagāthāḥ smārttakriyā-vishaya-saṁśayam=unmamārjja || [22*]
¹⁶Mimāṁsāyām=upāyaḥ sa khalu virachitō yēna Bhātṭ-ōkta-nityā yatra nyāyāḥ

¹ For the sake of the metre put for śrī-Ādidēva.

² Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

³ Metre: Vamśastha.

⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁵ This word is quite clear in the impressions.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁷ Metre of verses 14 and 15: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁸ Read =ddyaṁ.

⁹ Read nūnam.

¹⁰ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹² Metre: Śikharīṇī.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁵ Metre of verses 21 and 22: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁶ Metre: Sragdhara.— Read mimāṁsāyām=.

- sahasram ravikirana-samâ na kshamantê tamânsi¹ | kim bhûmnâ simni
sâmnâm sakala-kavikalâsv-âgamêshv=ârtha-
- 17 śâstrêshv=âyu[r]vêd-âstravêda-prabhritishu kṛita-dhîr=advitiyô=yam=êva || [23*]
Yasya² khalu Vâ(bâ)lavalabhibhujânga iti nâma n=âdritam kēna |
mîmânsay=³âpi sapulakam=âkarṇṇita-varṇṇit-ôdgîtam || [24*] ⁴Damshtrâla-dushta-
bhujaga-vraṇa-môharâtri-pratyûsha-tûryya-nina-
- 18 dair=iva mantravarṇṇaiḥ | yô jîvayan⁵ jagad=asêsham=abhûd=apûrvva-mṛityuñjayô
garala-kêlishu Nilakanṭhaḥ || [25*] ⁶Râdhâyâm=ajalâsu jâṅgalapatha-
grâmôpakāṇṭha-sṭhali-simâsu śramamagna-pāntha-parishat-prânâśaya-pṛiṇanaḥ | yēn=
âkâri jalâśayaḥ pa-
- 19 risara-snât-âbhijâtâṅganâ-vaktrâvja(bja)-prativi(bi)mva(mba)-mugdha-m a d h u p i-s û n y-
âvji(bji)nikânanah || [26*] Tēn=âyam bhagavân bhavârūpava-samuttârâya
Nârâyanaḥ śailaḥ sêtur=iva prasâdhita-dharâpithaḥ pratisṭhâpitaḥ | yaḥ
prâchi-vadanēndu-nîlatilakô lîlâvatana-⁷ôtpalam bhû-
- 20 mēr=bhûṭala-pârijâtavîṭapî samkalpasiddhi-pradaḥ || [27*] Tēna⁸ prâsâda êsha
Tripurahara-giri-sparddhayâ varddhita-śrîḥ śrîmân⁹ śrîvachchha(tsa)-lakshmâ
Harir=iva vihitô visphurach-chakrachihnaḥ | jîtvâ yô Vaijayantam viyati
vitanutê vaijayanti-vilâsân Kailâsê
- 21 n=âbhilâsham kalayati Girisô yasya samlakshya lakshmim || [28*] ¹⁰Nyavivîśad=
vêsmam tatra Viṣṇôḥ sa nirvbha(rbbha)ram garvbha(rbbha)grih-ântarêshu |
Nârâyaṇ-Ânanta-Nṛisimha-mûrttir=vvidhâtri-vaktrêshv=iva vêda-vidyâḥ || [29*]
Êtasmai¹¹ Harimêdhasê vasumativîśrânta-Vidyâdhari-vibhrânti-
- 22 n=dadhatîḥ śatam sa hi dadau śârāṅgâśâvi-drisaḥ | dagdhasy=Ôgradrisâ drisê=aiva
disatîḥ Kâmasya samjivanam kârâḥ kâmi-janasya saṅgama-griham saṅgita-kêli-
śriyâm || [30*] ¹²Prâsâd-âgrê sa khalu jagataḥ puṇyapany-aikavithim chakrê
vâpim marakatamani-sva-
- 23 chchha-suchchhâya-tôyam | madhyê-vâri pratikṛiti-mishâd=darsayant=iva tâdrig=
Viṣṇôr=ddhâm=âdbhutam=ahi-kulasy=âdhikam yâ chakâsti || [31*] Vyadhita¹³
vivu(bu)dha-dhâmnah simni samâsâra-sâram sa khalu nikhila-nêtr-ânanda-nisyanda-
pâtram | tribhuvanajaya-khinn-Ânâṅga-vîśrâ-
- 24 ma-dhâma prathita-rati-vibhâva-sṭhânam=udyâna-ratnam || [32*] ¹⁴Tasy=aiva priya-
suhridâ dvij-âgrimêṇa śrî-Vâchaspati-kavinâ kṛitâ prasastîḥ | â-kalpaḥ ūchi-
suradhâma-mûrtti-kirttêr=adhyâstâm jaghanam=iyam suva[rṇṇa]-kâñchî || [33*]
¹⁵ [sa]mkkh[yâ] [33 ?]¹⁶ [||*]
- 25 Prasastir=iyam Vâ(bâ)lavalabhibhujâṅg-âparanâmnô Bhaṭṭa-śrî-Bhavadêvasya ||

¹ Read tamânsi.⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.⁶ Metre of verses 26 and 27: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.⁸ Metre: Sragdnarâ.¹¹ Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.¹⁴ Metre: Prâharshinî.² Metre: Âryâ⁵ Read jîvayañ=.⁹ Read śrîmân=.¹² Metre: Mandâkrântâ.¹⁵ Here about 8 akṣaras are entirely illegible.³ Read mîmânsay=.⁷ Read vâtanê=.¹⁰ Metre: Upajâti.¹³ Metre: Mâlinî.

¹⁶ Of the word transcribed by [sa]mkkh[yâ] the signs of anusvîra and kâ seem to me quite clear in the impressions, and the word is not samrat. The figures (if they are such) at the end of the line seem to me 33 rather than 32.

No. 18.—ALAS PLATES OF THE YUVARAJA GOVINDA II.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 692.

By DEVADATTA RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined grant were found in the village of **Alās** in the Kurundwād State, Bombay Presidency, while an old earth-buttress was being excavated. The Senior Chief of Kurundwād, to whom the village belongs, sent the plates to my father, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who made them over to me for publication.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $5\frac{1}{2}$ " broad at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. The edges are fashioned slightly thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The grant is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second plate. They are strung together by a circular ring of about $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and of about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in thickness, passing through holes on the left sides of the plates. The ends of the ring are joined together by means of a large knob bearing a round seal, which measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, an image of **Garuḍa** above a floral device, seated with the palms of his hands joined close to his breast and with his wings raised.—The engraving is fairly deep, but not well executed. The letters *ka* and *ma* have been most indifferently incised. A few other letters, again, have unusual shapes and consequently are scarcely legible.—The characters are of the southern type which came into vogue at the time of the later Chalukyas of Bādāmi. For *kha* two forms are used, one in line 2 and the other in ll. 7 and 44. The letter *la* has been written in three different ways, in ll. 1, 9 and 32. The sign denoting the medial *ri* is invariably reversed in the case of *kri*. And lastly, the side-stroke towards the left used to signify *ē* is very often attached to the bottom, and not to the top, of the letter, e.g. in ll. 11 and 24.—The language is **Sanskrit** throughout. The grant commences with the usual word *svasti*. Then follows the curt line *sa vō=vyād=maḥā-Vishṇuḥ*, and not the verse *sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma, etc.*, which we find at the beginning of almost all the Rāshtrakūṭa grants. Then nearly 20 lines are in verse, and the rest is in prose, excluding the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end. Most of the verses are found in the Sāmāgaḍ plates and in the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa grants, but all of them occur only in the **Paithān** charter of **Gōvinda III.**—As regards **orthography**, it is worthy of note (1) that the rules of *saṁdhi* are not unfrequently disregarded; (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r*. Thus the consonant is doubled in *śarvaśiṣṭu* (l. 2), *śarva-ārtti-nirmathānē* (l. 20), etc., but not in *gōtramaṇir=babhūva* (l. 5 f.) etc.; (3) that there is a tendency to the substitution of *ḷa* for *la*, e.g. in *sakaḷa* (l. 22) and *Māṇāvalōka* (l. 27); (4) that the final *m* of a word has been twice changed to *ṇ* before *cha* of the following word, in ll. 16 and 38; and (5) that the *visarga* followed by *śa*, *sha* or *sa* is almost invariably changed to that letter, e.g. in *bhūpaś=śaśāṁka*° (l. 2), *vash=shaḷ*° (l. 29), and *yas=sahasā* (l. 12).

This grant was made by **Gōvindarāja (II.)**,—the son of **Krishnarāja (I.)** (vv. 7, 8) of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** family (v. 3), surnamed **Śubhatuṅga** (v. 9), **Akśavarsha** (v. 10) and **Śrīprithivīvalabha** (l. 20 f.). **Gōvindarāja** was **Yuvarāja** or crown-prince at the time (l. 24). He had the special *birudas* of **Prabhūtavarsha** and **Vikramāvalōka** (l. 23 f.). Of the time of **Krishna I.** we have no record, and this is the first hitherto discovered that refers itself to his reign. The charter was issued by **Gōvindarāja** from his camp located near the confluence of the **Krishnavernā** and the **Musi** (l. 26), after he had humbled the lord of **Vēṅgi**. It is dated, in words, in the **six-hundred-and-ninety-second year of the Śaka era**, on the seventh *tīthi* of the bright half of **Āshāḍha**, **Saumya** being the Jovian year (ll. 29-31), i.e. in **A.D. 769**. The grant was made, we are told, at the request of one **Vijayāditya**, also styled **Māṇāvalōka Ratnavarsha**, son of **Dantivarman** and grandson of **Dhruvarāja** (ll. 26-28). The grantee was a **Brāhmaṇa** of the name of **Jaggu**, son of **Śrīdhara** and grandson of **Késava**, of the **Rhārad-rāja gōtra** (l. 31 f.).

Wars frequently took place between the Râshtrakûṭas and the Eastern Chalukyas who were the kings of Vēṅgi. The Râdhanpur plates¹ of Gôvinda III. inform us that, in obedience to his message, the lord of Vēṅgi attended upon him as a servant. The Śirûr inscription² states that worship was done to Amôghavarsha I. by the ruler of Vēṅgi. Again, Kṛishṇa II. is represented to have overrun the territory of the king of Vēṅgi.³ One record⁴ also mentions that Gôvinda IV. waged war with the lord of Vēṅgi. But from these plates it appears that hostilities had sprung up between the two rival dynasties long before the time of Gôvinda III. For, Gôvinda-râja, son of Kṛishṇa I., is herein represented, while he was prince royal, to have reduced the king of Vēṅgi, and this event came off as early as the Śaka year 692 which is the date of our grant.

The verses descriptive of the genealogy teach us nothing new. It, however, deserves to be noticed that our grant mentions **Dantivarman** as the name of the predecessor of Kṛishṇa I., instead of **Dantidurga** as we find in all the Râshtrakûṭa records except the Sârnâgaḍ plates of this king, where both the names occur. Again, the early date of our grant settles a point regarding which there is a little divergence of opinion. A copper-plate charter from Kardâ⁵ dated A.D. 972 states that Dantidurga, having left no issue, was succeeded by his paternal uncle Kṛishṇa I. The Bagumrâ grant⁶ of A.D. 867 simply says that, after the death of Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa I. came to the throne. But the Baroda charter⁷ of A.D. 812 omits the name of Dantidurga and asserts that Kṛishṇa I. ascended the throne by ousting a relative of his who had taken to vicious courses. Since this last charter is a much earlier record and passes over Dantidurga, it has led some to suppose that Dantidurga was the relative whom Kṛishṇa I. ousted, and that the statements of the remaining two grants mentioned above must be discredited on the ground that they bear a later date.⁸ But against this it may be urged that the verse in the Bagumrâ plates which says that, after Dantidurga had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇa I. became king, is also found in the Paiṭhan grant⁹ of Gôvinda III. dated in A.D. 794. This surely is an earlier record than the Baroda charter of A.D. 812 just referred to. Nay further, the same verse also occurs in our grant, which was issued in the reign of Kṛishṇa I. himself. The assertion, therefore, that Dantidurga was the relative whose throne Kṛishṇa I. usurped, has no grounds to stand upon, and the omission of the name of Dantidurga in the Baroda charter may be explained away on the ground that the object of the writer was only to trace the genealogy of the reigning prince, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral.

As regards the rivers mentioned in the inscription, the **Kṛishṇavernâ**, it need scarcely be said, is the river Kṛishṇâ. The **Musi** has preserved its name unaltered to the present day; it is the last important feeder of the Kṛishṇâ and joins it on the confines of the modern Kistna district of the Madras Presidency. **Alaktakâ**, the name of the province (*vishaya*, l. 32), a village of which was granted, corresponds to the present **Âlatâ**, the name of a division in the Kôlhâpur State. **Arasiyavâḍa** (l. 34), the first part of which can be recognised in **Alâs**, the place where the plates were found, is perhaps now represented by that village.

TEXT.¹⁰

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति [॥*] स वोव्यान्नहावि[ण्णु]रासीद्धिपत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलायो¹¹

2 ¹²ध्वस्तत्रयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्वरीषु [।*] भूपशशांकवदवास-¹³

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 71.

² *Ibid.* p. 270.

³ *Ibid.* p. 162.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. III. p. 106.

⁵ Read °विश्वः ॥ रासीद्धिप°.

⁶ In other Râshtrakûṭa grants the reading is मूपः शुचिर्विधुरिवाम°.

⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 219.

⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 267.

⁹ See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 391.

¹⁰ From the original plates.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Vol. XX. p. 103.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 187.

¹³ Read ध्वस्ति नय°.

- 3 दिगन्तकीर्तिः¹ गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिंहः [॥ १*] तस्यात्म-
 4 [जो]² जगति विश्रुतदीप्तकीर्तिः³ आर्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारि⁴ [१*]
 5 भूपस्त्रिविष्टपनृपानुक्तः कृतज्ञः श्रीकङ्कराज इति गोत्रम-
 6 णिर्वभूव । [२*] तस्य प्र[भि]न्नकरटच्युत[दा]नदन्तिदन्तप्रहा-
 7 र[रु]चिरोल्लिखितांसपोठ[ः*] । क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपित[श]चुरभू-
 8 त्तनूजः स[द्रा]द्रुकूटक[नका]द्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः [॥ ३*] तस्योपार्जितयशसः(ः)-
 9 स्तनय[श्च]तुरुदधिवलयमालिन्याः [१*] भो[क्ता] भुवश्शत[क्र]तुसदृशः[ः*] श्री-
 10 दद्रिवर्माभूत् । [४*] का[क्षी]शकेरऊनराधिपचोळपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रट[वि]-
 11 भेदविधा[न]दत्तं [१*] कर्वाटकं⁶ बलमनन्तमजेय[म]न्यैः⁷ भृत्यैः कि-
 12 य[ज्ञि]रपि यस्मिह[सा] जिगाय । [५*] अश्रूविभंगमगृहितनिशातशस्तं⁸

Second Plate; First Side.

- 13 अज्ञात[म]प्रणिहिताज्ञ[म]पेतयन्त्रं⁹ [१*] [यो] वल्लभं सपदि दण्ड[बले]न
 14 जिष्टा¹⁰ राजाधिराजपर[मे]श्वरतामवाप [॥ ६*] तस्मि[न्दि]वं प्रयाते
 वल्लभराजे पि-¹¹
 15 तौ प्रजापालः [१*] श्रीकङ्कर[१*]ज[स्]नुर्महीपति¹² कृष्णराजोभूत¹³ ॥ [७*]
 यस्य स्वभुज-
 16 पराक्रमनिशेषोत्सारितारिद्विक्रमः¹⁴ [१*] कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं च[रि]त¹⁵ श्रीकृष्णस्य¹⁶ ।
 [८*] शु-
 17 भतुंगतुंगतुरगप्रह्वरे[णू]र्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं ॥ श्रीस्त्रोपि¹⁷ नमो [निखि]-
 18 ल¹⁸ प्रावृट्प्रायते स्पष्टं [॥ ९*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु
 19 य[थेष्ट]चेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं [१*] तत्क्षणमकाल-
 20 वर्षां वर्षति सर्वार्त्तिनिर्भयने । [१०*] तस्याकालवर्ष¹⁹ श्रीप्रियि-
 21 वोवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य(र) प्रिया-
 22 [त्त]जः²⁰ सकळभुवनाभिष्टुतयौवराज्याभिषेकपवित्रीकृतोत्तमां²¹
 23 गः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः प्रभूतवर्षविक्रमा-
 24 वलोकश्रीगोविन्दराजो युवराजः²² वैगिमण्डलोपय्या-

¹ Read °कीर्तिर्गोविन्द°.

² The letter जो is very badly engraved.

³ Read °कीर्तिरार्त्तार्त्ति°.

⁴ Read °धारौ.

⁵ Read °दन्ति°.

⁶ Read कर्वाटकं बलम°.

⁷ Read °न्यैर्भृत्यैः°.

⁸ Read °गृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञात°.

⁹ Read °मपेत°.

¹⁰ Read जिला.

¹¹ Read क्षितौ.

¹² Read °पतिः°.

¹³ Read °भूत्°.

¹⁴ Read °दिक्कम्°.

¹⁵ Read °कृष्णं चरितं°.

¹⁶ Read श्रीकृष्णराजस्य.

¹⁷ Read श्रीस्त्रोपि.

¹⁸ Read निखिलं.

¹⁹ Read °वर्षं श्रीपृथि°.

²⁰ The letter m in tma s unfinished and stands at an unusual distance from the other component of the group

²¹ Read °यौवराज्या°.

²² Read युवराजो.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 यातविजयस्कन्धावारे कोशदण्डात्मभूमिसमर्पणे-
 26 नानते वेंगीशे कृष्णवेष्णीसु[सी]संगमे ध्रुवराज-
 27 पौत्रेण दन्ति[व]र्म्मपुत्रेण माणावळोकरत्नवर्षश्रीविज-
 28 यादित्येनाभ्यर्थितो ¹विक्रमावळोकरत्नवर्षानाम-
 29 न्वयति स्म' [1*] विदित[म]स्तु वप्पट्कृते दिनवत्यधिके शक-
 30 वर्षे सौम्यसंव[त्स]रे⁴ आपाटगुक्तपक्षे सप्त-
 31 म्यां भारद्वाजगोत्राय केशवपौत्राय श्रीधरपुत्राय
 32 जग्गुनाम्ने ब्राह्मणाय अलक्तकाविषये हरिय-
 33 गिरेर्दक्षिणदिग्भागे प्रसादिनीतटे ⁵उत्तरद⁶

Third Plate.

- 34 ना[मा अर]सियवाडग्राम[वाने]न सह सभोगो दत्तः [1*]
 35 [पूर्व]स्थां दिशि ⁷परचुरगेजामग्रामः दक्षिणस्थां नीवीवा-
 36 ड[ब्रा]ह्मणग्रामः पश्चिमस्थां मज्जिमग्रामः उत्तरस्थां प-
 37 र्वत एव [1*] इति चतुराघाटशुद्धः [1*] एवं विदित्वास्मदंशैर-
 38 न्यैश्च स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयः [1*] उक्तञ्च
 39 भ[ग]वता वेदव्यासेन (वेद)व्यासेन । बहु[भि]र्व्वसुधा
 40 दत्ता (i) राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः⁸
 41 तस्य तस्य तदा पलं⁹ । [११*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति
 42 भूमदः¹⁰ [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च (i) तान्येव नर[क]¹¹ वसेत् ॥
 [१२*]
 43 विन्ध्याटविश्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] [कृष्णा]ह[यो] हि
 44 जायन्ते ¹²ब्रह्मदेयापहारकाः [॥ १३*] श्रीसेनेन लिखितमिदं . ति¹³ [1*]

¹ This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in l. 23-24.

² The letters ति अ are omitted in the text, but supplied at the foot of the plate; this omission has been indicated by a cross after य.

³ First वी was engraved, and then it was corrected into व by erasure.

⁴ Here and in the following the rules of *samāhi* have not been observed.

⁵ I am not certain of the reading of the text from उत्तरद to सह in the next line.

⁶ After उ two letters had originally been engraved, but were afterwards erased. For these the three letters

नरद are to be substituted as is indicated by the cross.

⁸ Read भूमिस्तस्य.

⁹ Read पलं.

⁷ परचुरगे¹⁰ is also possible.

¹⁰ Read भूमिदः.

¹¹ Read नरके.

¹² Read ब्रह्म¹³.

¹³ The letter before ति looks like श्री, which perhaps is a mistake for इ.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail ! May the great Vishṇu protect you !

(Verse 1.) There was a king named **Gōvindarāja (I.)**, a royal lion among kings, whose fame reached the ends of the quarters, (and) who, raising his scimitar (and) facing (them), destroyed his enemies in battles, just as the moon, whose lustre spreads to the ends of the quarters, raising the tip of her disc (above the horizon), (and transmitting her rays) straight forward, dispels darkness at night.

(V. 2.) His son, known as the glorious **Kakkarāja (I.)**, a king whose brilliant fame was heard of throughout the world, who relieved the sufferings of the distressed, who possessed the spirit and valour of Hari,¹ who rivalled (Indra) the king of heaven, (and) who was grateful (for services rendered), became a jewel of (his) race.

(V. 3.) His son, king **Indrarāja (II.)**, whose expansive shoulders were full of graceful scratches consequent upon the strokes of the tusks of (hostile) elephants from whose cleft temples ichor trickled down,² (and) who destroyed (all his) enemies on earth, became, as it were, the golden mountain (Mêru) of the excellent **Rāshtrakūṭas**.

(V. 4.) The son of him who had acquired fame, the glorious **Dantivarman (II.)**, who resembled Indra, enjoyed the earth whose garland is the circle of the four oceans.

(V. 5.) With a handful of followers he suddenly vanquished the countless forces of **Karpātaka**, which were invincible to others, (and) which had proved their efficacy by inflicting crushing defeats on the lord of **Kāñchi**, the king of **Kēraḷa**, the **Chōla**, the **Pāṇḍya**, **Śriharsha** and **Vajraṭa**.

(V. 6.) Without knitting his brow, without using any sharp weapon, without (anybody's) knowledge, without giving orders, without effort, he suddenly conquered **Vallabha** by the (mere) force of (his) royal sceptre (i.e. majesty) and attained to the state of 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord.'³

(V. 7.) When that **Vallabharāja** had gone to heaven, king **Krishnarāja (I.)**, the son of the glorious **Kakkarāja (I.)**, became the protector of (his) subjects on earth.

(V. 8.) The career of that glorious **Krishnarāja (I.)**, during which the multitude of enemies in (all) directions was completely driven away by the prowess of his arms, was spotless like that of **Krishṇa**.

(V. 9.) The whole sky, wherein the rays of the sun above were obstructed by the dust raised by the lofty steeds of **Śubhatuṅga** (**Krishnarāja I.**), looked clearly like (the sky in) the rainy season, though it was summer.

(V. 10.) **Akālavarsha** (i.e. 'the untimely rainer,' viz. **Krishnarāja I.**) instantly rains (i.e. fulfills) unceasingly the desired objects of the miserable and the helpless, and of (his) favourites, in any way he likes, so as to remove all (their) distress.

¹ The second line of this verse is one long compound which we should split up, as Dr. Bühler has done, into two parts, either of which should be taken as an attribute of **Kakkarāja**. But Dr. Bühler's rendering of the second part of the line is based on the etymological sense of the words *vikrama* and *dāḍman*, and is therefore not likely to be the correct one.

² Both Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet connect *prabhīna-karaṭa-chyuta-dāna* with *ruchira*, and *danti-danti-prahra* with *ullikhita*; but this course is objectionable because the word *danti* occurring after *dāna* shows the preceding expression to be a *Bahuvrīhi* compound and an attribute of *danti*.

³ Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet adopt *sabhrāviḥkaṅgam* for their *Kāvi* and *Sāmāṅga* inscriptions respectively. Further, these plates read *daṇḍalakēna* instead of *daṇḍabalēna*, the reading of our grant, which is identical with that of the *Paithan* plates. This is a very knotty verse. First, it is very difficult to determine whether *abhrāviḥkaṅgam* etc. are to be taken as adjectives or adverbs. Dr. Bühler supposes all of them to be adjectives except *sabhrāviḥkaṅgam*. Dr. Fleet takes them all to be adverbs. This mode of interpretation is, I think, the correct one. Secondly, the meaning of *daṇḍabalēna* is not clear.

(L. 20.) Of this **Akālavarsha**, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, the *Mahārājā-dhirāja Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka*,—the favourite son, **Prabhūtavarsha Vikramāvalōka**, the glorious **Gōvindarāja** (II.), the heir-apparent, whose head was sanctified at (*his*) anointment as heir-apparent, which was hailed with delight by the whole world, (*and*) who had acquired the five great sounds,—from (*the camp of*) the victorious army that invaded the **Vēngi-maṇḍala**, when the lord of **Vēngi** was humbled by the cession of (*his*) treasury, (*his*) forces, and his own country, at the confluence of the **Kṛishṇavernā** and the **Musi**,—being requested by **Mānāvalōka Ratnavarsha**, the glorious **Vijayāditya**, son of **Dantivarman** (*and*) grandson of **Dhruvarāja**,—(*this*) **Vikramāvalōka** notifies to all :—

(L. 29.) “ Be it known to you (*that*), in the **Śaka** year six-hundred increased by ninety-two, in the (*cyclic*) year **Saumya**, in the bright half of **Āshāḍha**, on the seventh *tithi*, (*I*) have granted, with (*all*) enjoyments (*bhōga*), (the village) named **Uttarāi**,—(*situated*) on the bank of the **Prasādini** (*river*), on the southern side of the **Hariyagiri** (*hill*), in the **Alaktakā-vishaya**, together with the groves of trees (*vāna*)¹ of the village of **Arasiyavāḍa**,—to a **Brāhmaṇa** of the name of **Jaggu**, of the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**, son of **Śrīdhara** (*and*) grandson of **Kēśava**.

(L. 35.) “ (*The village is*) thus defined by the four boundaries :—To the east (*is*) the village named **Parachurage**; to the south the **Brāhmaṇa** village of **Nivivāḍa**; to the west the village of **Majjhima**; to the north the mountain only.

(L. 37.) “ Knowing this, (*the village*) should be preserved by our descendants and others just as they would their own grants.

(L. 38.) “ And it has been said by the holy **Vyāsa**, the compiler of the **Vēdas** :—

[Here follow three of the customary verses.]

(L. 44.) “ This has been written by **Śrisēna**.”

No. 19.—BELATURU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAJENDRADEVA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 979.

By REV. F. KITTEL, PH.D.; TÜBINGEN.

This inscription is engraved on a stone lying in the field called **Adḍakaṭṭe-hola** on the eastern side of the village of **Belatūru** in the **Heggadadēvankōṭe tāluka** of the **Mysore** district. It has been published before by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV., Hg. 18. I re-edit it from inked estampages prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri and transmitted to me by Dr. Hultsch.

The alphabet and language of the inscription are **Kannaḍa**. There are 23 verses in various metres, and short passages of prose in lines 33 f. and 36. Mr. Krishna Sastri contributes the following note. “ Of the many metres used in the inscription two are particularly interesting, *viz.* **Akkaram** and **Lalitavṛttam**. On examination, these two are found to correspond to the **Piriyakkara** and **Lalitapada** which are described, respectively, in verses 302 and 233 of **Nāgavarma's Canarese Prosody**. Of the first it may be remarked that either the description given in the *Prosody* is transgressed in the inscription, or else the verse describing it has been misinterpreted; for while, according to Dr. Kittel's translation, verse 302 says that in **Piriyakkara** there ought to be, in the first line, one *aja*, five *vishṇus* and one *rudra*; in the second line, one *aja*, four *vishṇus*, one *aja* (again) in the sixth place, and then a *rudra*; and that in the third and fourth lines the same should be repeated as in lines 1 and 2,—the **Akkara** of the inscription has one *aja*, five *vishṇus* and one *rudra* throughout (*i.e.* in all the four feet). It is difficult to

¹ [Or correct *grāmagrāma* and compare above, Vol. V. p. 69, note 2.—E. H.]

understand how Malla, who calls himself "the friend of eminent poets," could deviate from the rule laid down by Nāgavarma. Accordingly verse 302 of the *Prosody* will have to be interpreted differently. I would translate it thus: "Ajagana comes in the beginning without fail; then come, two gāgas which are *vishnu*: in the place called the end (*i.e.* at the end), the *rudragana* will remain permanently everywhere (*i.e.* in all the feet); in the foot counted the second,— if in the sixth (place) the *ajagana* occurs in intimate connection, at the choice of the author,— we (then) have the wonderful (*i.e.* rarely used metre) Piriakkara, O moon-faced one!" Thus we see that, the occurrence of the *ajagana* in the sixth place being left to the option of the author, Malla adopted the *vishnugana* throughout. As regards Lalitavṛitta, it may be noticed that the name given to it by Dr. Kittel's manuscripts, *viz.* Lalitapada, over verse 233 of the *Prosody*, is rather misleading. The name occurs as Lalitavṛitta in the very verse which describes it, as well as in the subjoined inscription. If this name is not given to the metre, it is likely to be confounded with other Sanskrit metres of the same name. It may be noted also that, according to a few manuscripts, Nāgavarma claims to have been the inventor of these two metres; see Dr. Kittel's introduction to Nāgavarma's *Canarese Prosody*, p. xix." To this I would add that there is one verse in the Piriakkara metre in Argaḷadēva's *Chandraprabhapurāna* (1189 A.D.), āśvāsa iv. v. 18.¹ Other Piriakkaras occur in the *Pampabhārata* edited by Mr. Rice, pp. 112, 116, 153, 343, and Ankanas on pp. 331, 343.

Verse 1 of the inscription contains the date,— a specified week-day and *tithi* in the Śaka year 973 (in words), the cyclic year Hēmalambin, and the sixth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājēndradēva. Professor Kielhorn has calculated the details of the date and found that it corresponds to Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.² A reference to Rājēndradēva's predecessor Rājādhirāja is found in Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla-Permāḍi-Gāvuṇḍa, a surname of Raviga of Nugunāḍu (v. 7), which is derived from Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla, one of the names of Rājādhirāja.³ The same verse of the inscription mentions, among other kings, Siḷāmēgha who seems to be identical with one of the two Ceylon kings named Vira-Salāmēgaṇ. The first of them was killed by Rājādhirāja,⁴ and the second by Rājēndradēva.⁵

Two families of Kuḍiyas (Śūdras) (vv. 6, 8, 9 and 22) are named in the inscription, *viz.* the Avacha family of Nugunāḍu (vv. 2, 6, 17, 19 and 22) and the Kuṟuvanda family of Pervayal in Navalenāḍu (vv. 13 and 17). To the first one belonged Raviga (v. 4), who was raised by the Chōla king to the rank of superintendent of a province (v. 8). Raviga's principal seat became Beḷatūru (v. 11), and he married Ponnakka, the daughter of the headman of Nālgōḍu in Eḍenāḍu (v. 10), whose name is not mentioned. Raviga's daughter Dēkabbe was given in marriage to Êcha of the Kuṟuvanda family (v. 13). When the king killed Êcha at Talekāḍu (v. 14), his widow committed herself to the flames (vv. 15 to 20). Before her end she granted to Śiva a garden for a perpetual lamp, and a paddy-field for oblations (v. 18 f. and l. 33 f.). Dēkabbe's father, Raviga, set up the stone which bears the inscription, as a memorial of his daughter (v. 22).

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Beḷatūru (v. 11) is identical with the village where the inscription exists. Talekāḍu (v. 14) is the old capital of the Western Gaṅgas,⁶ at which the Chōla king seems to have been staying at the time of the inscription. Nugunāḍu is, perhaps, named after the river Nugu (also called Bhṛigu), a tributary of the

¹ In my manuscript the verse reads thus:—

Toreyal=end=irdḍa rājyaman enitirddum mareyal=end=idirddā bandhu-samūhamam
nṛapal=end=irdḍa sat-tavō-vṛittiyaṁ maraḍ=atirāga-vihvaḷateyindam |
toreyade mareyade nareyad=āyushyaṁ pare paḍuvāgaḷe berchebid-ante
maraguva maruḷamg=ārayvand=i bhavaṁ maru-bbavaṁ uāḍeyuṁ vyarttham alte ||

² Above, p. 23, No. 36.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 53 and 56.

⁴ See Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 299 and note 2.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 51.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 59 and 63.

Kabbani, in the Nāṅjangūḍ tāluka of the Mysore district. Both Nugunāḍu and Navalenāḍu are mentioned in a Western Gaṅga record.¹

This is perhaps the first inscription that has been discovered, concerning the self-immolation of a Śūdra's wife after her husband's death. This self-immolation is not identical with the so-called suttee (*satī*) of Brāhmanical usage, according to which a wife, on being widowed, burned herself with the corpse of her deceased husband upon the funeral pile. In this instance there is no pyre (*chitā*, *chīti*, *chītyā*, the *tulbhava*-form of which is *śidige* in Kannaḍa), but a *koṇḍa* (*tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *kuṇḍa*), a hole in the ground for any fire, especially one for the fire of a burnt oblation.

The Śūdras at the time of the present inscription, worshippers of Śiva, probably in most instances disposed of their dead by cremation (instead of which the Liṅgavantas introduced burying), and thus the body of Ēcha may have been burned at Talekāḍu. That *sahagamana* was customary among Śūdras, does not follow from the inscription; the contrary seems to be proved, as the parents and relations of Dēkabbe strongly oppose her burning herself; she herself however (who may have been influenced at the time somehow by Brāhmanical notions), seeks to justify her act by pointing out the dishonour that would be brought upon the families by her surviving as a widow.

The *koṇḍa* into which Dēkabbe threw herself was obviously neither at Talekāḍu nor at Pervayal, but at her native place Belatūru (where she had gone in the absence of her husband and heard the report of his death), near the house of her own people, and had been filled with kindled charcoal, *etc.*, for presenting funeral oblations.

Malla, the poet who composed the inscription, uses two epithets of a peculiar kind regarding Raviga, the father of Dēkabbe, who had the monument erected, *viz.* "a lion to the angry" and "powerful over the envious" (v. 22); and at the end (l. 36) the engraver quotes the very same two epithets. Malla also calls himself "a discus to those among Brāhmaṇas who fret" (v. 23). It is highly probable that these epithets are directed against Brāhmaṇas who might find fault with the erection of a monument that praised a Śūdra widow as, so to say, a suttee.

TEXT.²

- 1 [Ōm]³ [||*] Svasti⁴ śrī-Chōla-rājam sakala-vasudheyam koṇḍu Rājēndradēva[m]
⁵d[r]st-āri-vrāta-ghātaṁ negale barisam=ār=āge mattam Sak-ābdam vi[stā]-
- 2 ra[m*] tom̐bhat-ēl=ombhatum=ene barisam Hēmaḷambi prasiddham svastam
māsam gaḍam Kā[r*]ttikam=asi[ta]-dinam dvādasi Sōmavāram | [1*]
Kandaṁ | Svasti śrīma-
- 3 tu sakala-jaga-[stu]tar=Avach-āgraganyar=ūrjita-puṇyar⁶ vistāra-chāru-vīra-rasa-
stitar=⁷iṇiv=īva [kā]va Nugunād=adhipar | [2*] Enipa kula[da]lli puṭṭi[da]-
- 4 n=anupaman=Ereyaṁgan=avana nija-sutan=Ēcham Manu-nibhan=avāṅge puṭṭida
tanūbhavam Javani[ya][r*]mman=aṇivim=ārmam | [3*] Ant-ā
Javanayyaṁgam
- 5 kāntājana-tilakam=enipa Jākabbegam=olpan=tāleye puṭṭidam ripu-santāna-nagēndra-
vilaya-pa[v]iḷgam Ravigam | [4*] Ravigam puṭṭidad=odaṁ=udbhava-
- 6 m-āyt=aṇiv=aṇivin=odaṁ puṭṭidud=āyam sa[va]-sand=āyadoḍam sambhavam-ādudu
chāgam=intuṭ=a[nyā]rol=umtē | [5*] Vṛittam | Kuḍiyara⁸ vallabham ku-

¹ See page 69 above.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The *r* of -*puṇyar* is written above the line.

⁴ Metre: Champakamāle.

⁵ From inked stampages supplied by Dr. Hultsch.

⁶ Metre: Sragdhare.

⁷ Read *driṭt*.

⁸ Read *-sthitā-*.

- 7 *ḍiyar=ābharaṇam Nugunāḍa Rāman=endaḍe Kalikāla-Karṇana vinōdada chāgada*
bīrad=ārppan=i gaḍiva nikriṣṭa-nirggupa-nikṛitya-nirāchara-[nō]ṭavīṭaram¹ kaḍu-
 8 *jaḍar=entū pōliparo dhanyan=enipp=Avach-āgraganyana² | [6*] Akkaram | Chōla*
Pallava Pāṇḍya Siḷ[ā]m[ē]gha Kēraḷa Sōraṭar-Gōva³ Bhōja Lāla Gajapati
Hayapati
 9 *Narapatiy=enipa mahīpālar=āsthānadā⁴ kēla tannane naṭa-vandi-māgadhar⁵ kai-*
koṇḍ[u] pogalalke negale ballam mēla-mānikav=e-
 10 *nipa Jayamgōḍa-Chōla-Permmāḍi-Gāvūḍam takkam | [7*] Kandaṁ |*
Pallava-sattige saṁkam jhallali jayamaṅgaṁgaṁ[a]m | Chōla-mahivallabhan=ittade
 11 *kuḍiyara vallabhan=uṛe maṇḍalika-padamam paḍedaṁ | [8*] Kaḍala kaḍe-varam=*
Aj-āṇḍada kuḍi-varam=āsā-gajēndrad=antu varam taṭt=o-
 12 *ḍan=[o]ḍane parv[i] baḷedudu kuḍiyara vallabhana kī[r*]tti-late kōmaḷadiṁ |*
[9] Manu-nibhan=Edenāḍ=adhipati vineya-nidhi[m] sa]-*
 13 *tya-vākya Nālgōḍina mukhyana kula-vadhū Būtabbege janiyisi⁶ Kālikāla-Sfte-*
vesaram paḍedaḷ | [10] Vanitā-rannaṁ Ponnakkana-*
 14 *n=aṭiye maduve-gōṇḍu Beḷatūr=adhipam Manu-nibhan=ene negaḷv=itana vanitege*
bhū-vanitey-oḷage peṛa[r=e]ney=olaṛé | [11] Vṛi-*
 15 *tta[m] |⁷ Nirupama-sīladiṁ⁸ guṇadin=uttama-dānadin=ātma-bhaktiyiṁ Gi[risute]*
Rāmba Mīnaki⁹ Sarasvati Rugmīni Satyabhāmayoḷ dore-
 16 *y=enal=allad=i gaḍina duṣṭa-kanisṭa-duṣṭa-durguṇ-ādhareyan=entū pōliparo*
nirmmaḷa-chittada Ponnakabbeyam | [12] Akkaram | Chār[u]-*
 17 *chāritre naya-vinay-ākare gōtra-pavitre¹⁰ [s]uṣīla-yukte nārijana-rannaṁ=enipa*
Ponnabbegam Ravigaṁgam puttida Dēkabbeya[m]
 18 *[vī*]raṁ Navalēnāḍ=adhipati Kuruvanda-gulada Pervvayal-ātan=Ēchaṁg=īye*
vārij-ānane¹¹ vināya-chintāmaṇi pati-hitey=oda-gū-
 19 *ḍi sukhadin=iḷdu | [13*] Kandaṁ | Jeṭṭigan=ene negaḷ=ahita-gharattam sukham=*
iḷdu tanna dāyigaram taṭt=ottajiyin=iḷidaḍ=avanam neṭṭa-
 20 *ne Talekāḍal=uydu kondaṁ narapaṁ | [14*] Kalikāla-Vēlan=enisida kali-*
chāgiyan=iḷidu kondar=embudu mātam lalit-āṁgi kē[iḷdu] Ravi-
 21 *gana kula-dīpaki sāyal=endu koṇḍake naḍedaḷ | [15*] Tandeyum=abbeyum=*
odaṇeya bandugaḷum bandu magale sāyade māṇ=nīn=e-
 22 *(ne)nd=ellaṁ kāl-vididaḍ=anindite Dēkabbe munidu baggasi nuḍidaḷ | [16*]*
Nugunāḍ=adhipati Ravigana magal=āgiyum=ante Navale-
 23 *nāḍ=adhipatig=ām negale satiy=āgi bālp[u]du bagedappene koṭṭa koṇḍa mane yasam=*
aḷiyal | [17] Endu parichebbēdisi nayadindaṁ dēvarge*
 24 *tōmṭa-khaṇḍada maṇṇam nandā-divigeg=itt-aravind-ānane sale nivēdyak=end=anu-*
nayadiṁ | [18] Maḍida sale gōli-gaḷḍ[e]ya paḍuvāṇa kaḍeya-*
 25 *lli teṁkal=ay-gōḷa-bedeyam kaḍugū[r]ttu¹² koṭṭu Nugunāḍ=[o]ḍeyana kula-putre*
pēlchi¹³ mattam mattam | [19] Vṛittam | Nered=ellaṁ¹⁴ bēda māṇ=enda-*
 26 *ḍe nuḍiyadiriṁ pōgiv=ām mānen=end=ādaradindaṁ bhūmi poṁ-putṭage pasu*
dhanamam dānsamam nīdutum dēvara dēvaṁg=aṭti-
 27 *yim kay-mugid=uriv=uriyam pokku Dēkabbe tannaṁ dharey=ellaṁ mechchi*
nichcham [po]gaḷe negaḷutum dēva-lōk[a]kke vōdaḷ | [20] Lalitavṛittam |*

¹ *Nōṭavīṭaram* is a compound of *nōṭa* and *vīṭaram*, and represents *nōṭakke vīṭaram*.

² Read *ganyana*.

³ Or = *Gāra*?

⁴ Read = *āsthānadā*.

⁵ The *r* of *-māgadhar* is written above the line.

⁶ Read *Kālikāla*.

⁷ The *ma* of *nirupama* is written above the line.

⁸ Metre: Champakamāle.

⁹ Read *Mēnake*.

¹⁰ Read *suṣīla*.

¹¹ Read *vināya*.

¹² *Kaḍugūrttu* is a compound of *kaḍu* and *kūrttu*, 'having greatly desired.'

¹³ Read *pēlḍu*.

¹⁴ Metre: Mahāsrāgadhare.

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Belaturu Inscription of Rajendradeva. — Saka-Samvat 979.

- 25 Śrī-ramaṇi Gauri Sachi Dhâriṇiya putri Rati Bhû-ramaṇiy=andada sarûpav-
âriv-¹olp-audâre-jaya-dhâre jasa-dhâre naya-dhâ-
29 r[e] bhaya-hâre pati-bhakte dhrita-śaktye=ene samnd=[i]² vîra-nidhiyam chalada
vâri-nidhiyam guṇada chârû-nidhiyam n[e]galda Dêkaleya-
30 n=int=i nârijana-rannamam=³ad=âro maṇavar ⁴śakala-dhâriṇiyol=intu vara-kânte-
dorey=âva[1] | [21*] Akkara[m] | Paṇḍit-âśrayam Nug[u]nâ-
31 ḍa Râghavam munivara siṅga mâchakadâvalam chaṇḍa-vikramam kuḍiyara
vallabham Kalikâla-Karṇa machcharipavara gaṇḍam vandi-
32 chintâma[ṇi*] Śiva-pâda-sêkharam nija-suteg-anurâgadiṁ maṇḍalakk=ellam
paḍi[cha]ndam=âge śilâ-stam[bha]m śâsanam=age naṭṭam || [22*] ◎
33 Śrī Dêkabbe Mahâdêva[r*]gge biṭṭa pûm-bolam toṁṭu-khaṇḍamumam
Nirmamaṁalṭi-keṇya t[em]kaṇa kaḍeyal aydu-koḷagam gaḷdeyu-
34 maṁ i vaṁsada[l*] puṭṭidavar kâ[da]lisuge⁵ salisad[a]var nara[ka]-bhâjanar=appar |
Kandam | Maṇupara chakram dvijarol kare-maṇ[e]y-i-
35 ll=enipa kuṇipin=âdityam sand=aṇikeyavagâda⁶ Mallam jaruchada kavirâja-
bândhavam bareḍan=idam | [23*] ◎
36 Kaṇḍarisidam⁷ munichara=⁸siṅga-âchâriyam machcharipara-gaṇḍ-âchâriyu[m] ||*

TRANSLATION.

Om. (Verse 1) Hail! When the glorious Chôla king had taken possession of the whole earth.—(he) Râjêndradêva, the slayer of crowds of proud enemies.—(and) was renowned. when six years (of his reign) had passed, and when one said: “the Śaka year in (its) extent (is) ninety-seven and nine,” (and when) the (cyclic) year (was) the well-known Hêmaḷambi, the auspicious month indeed Kârttika, (and) the day of the dark (half) the twelfth (tithi). a Monday,⁹—

(V. 2) Hail! Glorious, praised by the whole world, the best of the Avachas, rich in virtue, firm in extensive and beautiful heroism, piercing (enemies), giving (alms), (and) protecting (the subjects)—(such were) the chiefs of Nugunâḍu.

(V. 3) In the said family the matchless Ereyan̄ga was born; his own son (was) Êcha, resembling Manu; the son born to him (was) Javanīyarma,¹⁰ excelling in knowledge.

(V. 4) Now to that Javanayya and to Jâkabbe who was called an ornament of women, so that they obtained (great) good (by his birth), was born Raviga,¹¹ (who resembled) a thunderbolt of destruction to the great mountains—hostile races.

(V. 5.) When Raviga was born, knowledge was produced along (with him); along with knowledge (proper) income (or revenue) was born; along with proper income liberality was generated: does so much exist among other people?

¹ Read -ariv-.

² Read sand=i.

³ Cancel the anusvâra.

⁴ Read sakala-.

⁵ Kâḍalisuge is kâdu and aḷisuge, this aḷisuge being in meaning equal to aḷaḍisuge; see aḷaḍisug under aḷa, 2, in my Dictionary.

⁶ Read =aṇikeyavan=âda.

⁷ Regarding the verb kaṇḍarisiu (which appears also as khaṇḍarisiu), ‘to engrave,’ it may be remarked that it is a tadbhava-form of khandisiu, ‘to cut,’ from the Sanskrit khandana, ‘cutting,’ which noun appears also in the tadbhava-form of khaṇḍarane, ‘engraving,’ as Dr. Hultzsch informs me. Compare the corresponding formation of chêtariisu and chêtarane from chêtana (see my Dictionary). For the use of khaṇḍarisiu, with the aspirated kh, see above, Vol. V. p. 214, p. 231, notes 3 and 13; and for khaṇḍarane see p. 234, note 7.

⁸ Read munivara-.

⁹ This date must be connected with verse 15.

¹⁰ Or Javanayya, v. 4. Javanīyarma stands for Javanīyarma, “the able or strong Javani” (=Javanīyârma) in arivîng=ârmam the rēpha represents an r (i.e. ârmam), as it does also in ārppan (i.e. ārppan) in v. 6.

¹¹ He was surnamed “the Râma (or Râghava) of Nugunâḍu;” vv. 6 and 23.

(V. 6.) When one says : " the Râma of **Nugunâdu**, the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śûdras), (*and*) the ornament of Kuḍiyas," (*it refers to*) one who in (*this*) age of sin is fully equal in happiness, liberality (*and*) heroism to Karna : how can foolish people compare the base, the bad, the dishonest, the lawless, the men of a mere appearance of greatness at the present period, with the best one of **the Avachas**, who is called a blessed man ?

(V. 7.) So that the kings who were called **Chôla**, **Pallava**, **Pândya**, **Silâmêgha**, **Kêraḷa**, **Sôraṭa**, **Gôva**, **Bhôja**, **Lâla**, **Gajapati**, **Hayapati**, **Narapati**, heard (*of it*) in (*their*) courts. (*and*) so that actors, bards (*and*) minstrels fixed their thoughts on him and were zealously active to praise (*him*),—(*so*) great was **Jayaṅgonḍa-Chôla-Permâdi-Gâvuṇḍa**,¹ who was a ruby of assemblies. (*he*) the very worthy man.

(V. 8.) When the **Chôla** king² presented (*him*) with a pearl umbrella, a conch, cymbals (*and*) a royal elephant, (*he*) the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śûdras) got indeed the rank of a *Maṇḍalika* i.e. of a superintendent of a province.)

(V. 9.) To the further shore of the sea, to the end of the world, (*and*) also to the great elephants of the points of the compass, there approached and quickly spread and nicely grew the creeper of the fame of the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śûdras).

(V. 10.) To **Bûtabbe**, the virtuous wife of the headman (*of the village*) of **Nâlgôdu**, who resembled Manu, (*and who was*) the chief of (*the district of*) **Eḍenâdu**, a mine of refinement. (*and*) a voracious man, was born one who got the name of " the Sitâ of the age of sin."³

(V. 11.) (*Her*), **Ponnakka**,⁴ a pearl of women, the chief of **Bejatûru**, from love, took in marriage,—he who was so renowned that he was called an equal of Manu : are others of the wives on earth equal to his wife ?

(V. 12.) How could one compare Ponnakabbe of pure mind with the vicious, worthless, reprobate, ill-natured, low women of the present day, who are unfit to be called equal to Pârvatî, Rambhâ, Mênakâ, Sarasvatî, Rukmiṇî (*and*) Satyabhâmâ in matchless character, virtue, excellent liberality (*and*) innate devotion ?

(V. 13.) When (*they*) gave **Dêkabbe**,⁵—who was born to Ponnabbe that was of pleasing conduct and decorous behaviour, a purifier of (*her*) family, of an amiable disposition, (*and*) a pearl of women, and to Raviga,—(*in marriage*) to the brave **Êcha**, (*the headman*) of **Pervayal**, the chief of **Navalenâdu**, (*and*) of the **Kuruvanda** family, he lived happily with the lotus-eyed one, the gem of good conduct, who was devoted to (*her*) husband.

(V. 14.) When (*he*) the grinding-stone of (*his*) enemies, who was renowned as a wrestler, (*thus*) lived happily, (*but in course of time*) grappled with his kinsmen⁶ and by (*his*) superiority pierced (*and killed them*), the king took him off straight to **Talekâdu** and killed (*him*).

(V. 15.) When the beautiful woman, the light of the family of Raviga, heard the report that they had pierced and killed the strong hero who was called " the Vêḷa (Skanda) in the age of sin," she walked to the (*fire*-)pit in order to die.

(V. 16.) When (*her*) father, mother and near relatives came, said : " Daughter, do not die ! ; desist ! " and all embraced (*her*) feet, the blameless Dêkabbe became angry and loudly spoke :—

(V. 17.) " As I am known as the daughter of Raviga, the chief of **Nugunâdu**, and as the wife of the chief of **Navalenâdu**, can I wish to live while the house which gave (*me and that*) which took (*me*) loses (*its*) good name ? "

¹ I.e. " the village-chief of His Majesty Jayaṅgonḍa-Chôla " viz. of Râjâdhirâja ; see above, p. 214 and note 3.

² Probably Râjâdhirâja, the predecessor of Râjêndradêva.

³ Viz Ponnakka, v. 11.

⁴ Or Ponnakabbe, v. 12, or Ponnabbe, v. 13.

⁵ Or Dêkale, v. 21.

⁶ " His kinsmen " might be grammatically applied either to the kinsmen of the Chôla king or to those of Êcha.

(V. 18 f.) Thus the lotus-faced one spake, made a final decision, presented with propriety the soil of a garden-plot to the god for a perpetual lamp, and gave, with reverential deportment (and) with great desire, for oblations regularly repeated, after (she) would have died, the Goli-paddy-field on the south-western side (which requires) five *koḷas* (i.e. *koḷagas*) of seed; and (she) the noble daughter of the lord of **Nugunāḍu** ordered (thus) again and again.

(V. 20.) Then all united said: "Do not (*dic*)!; desist!;" (but) **Dēkabbe** said: "Speak not, but go!; I will not desist;" and respectfully giving land, gold(-embroidered) clothes, cows and money as a present, she piously put the palms of (her) hands together (in obeisance) to the god of gods, entered the blazing flames, and went with glory to the world of gods, so that the whole earth will be pleased (with her) and continually praise her.

(V. 21.) She who is known as possessing the beauty, knowledge, goodness, liberality and victory of the goddess **Śrī**, **Gaurī**, **Śachi**, the daughter of the earth (**Sītā**), **Rati**, (and) the goddess of the earth, (and) as being rich in renown, intelligent, dispelling fear, devoted to (her) husband, (and) firm in strength.—this mine of heroism, (this) ocean of resoluteness, (this) beautiful mine of good qualities, (viz.) the renowned **Dēkale**, this pearl of women.—who can forget her?; what woman on the whole earth (is) therefore equal to (this) excellent woman?

(V. 22.) The **Rāghava** (**Rāma**) of **Nugunāḍu**, the refuge of the learned, a lion to the angry, a chastiser of knaves,¹ ardent in prowess, the chief of **Kuḍiyas** (**Śūdras**), a **Karna** in the age of sin, powerful over the envious, a wishing-stone to the bards, (and carrying) **Śiva**'s feet on (his) head,² erected for his daughter from affection (this) stone-monument for the whole province, as a document (and) as a representation (of what his daughter had done).

(Line 33.) Hail! May those who are born in this family, protect and keep up the garden-plot (that is) a flower-field, and on the southern side of the **Nirṃapamaṭṭi**-tank the paddy-field (requiring) five *koḷagas* (of seed), which **Dēkabbe** left to **Mahādēva**! Those who do not fulfil (this), will become victims to hell.

(V. 23.) A discus to those among **Brāhmaṇas** who fret, a sun the (distinguishing) mark of which is that it has neither spot nor veiling, **Malla**, who has recognised knowledge, who is never (excessively) verbose, and who is a friend of eminent poets, wrote this.

(L. 36.) The **Āchāri**³ of "the lion to the angry," the **Āchāri** of "him who is powerful over the envious,"⁴ engraved (this).

NO. 20.—BHIMAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA I.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1037.

By E. HULTZSCH. PH.D.

This inscription (No. 473 of 1893) is engraved on a pillar in the *mandapa* in front of the **Nārāyaṇasvāmin** temple at **Bhimavaram** in the *Cceanada* division of the *Gōḍavari* district. It consists of two **Sanskṛit** verses and a passage in **Telugu** prose.

¹ This is a translation of the compound *māchakadāraḷam*. *Māchaka* stands for *mājaka* and *dāraḷam* is a *tadbhava* of *tāpana*, *v* having taken the place of *p* (compare *karāḍa* for *kapāḍa*, *kavile* for *kapile*, etc.) and *l* that of *n* (compare *chandaḷa* for *chandana*, *lambaḷa* for *lambana*).

² I.e. 'a worshipper of **Śiva**;' see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 388. note 7.

³ **Āchāri** may be translated 'artificer'.

⁴ According to verse 22 'a lion to the angry' and "powerful over the envious" were surnames of **Raviḡa**.

The date is Śaka-Saṃvat 1037 (l. 14 f.) and the 45th year of the reign (l. 13 f.) of a Chālukya king who bore the surnames **Parāntaka**¹ (l. 1), **Sarvalōkāśraya** and **Vishṇu-vardhana-mahārāja** (l. 11 f.). If the regnal year is deducted from the Śaka year, the result is Śaka-Saṃvat 992 = A.D. 1070 as the date of the king's accession to the throne. Consequently he must be identical with the Chālukya-Chōla king **Rājendra-Chōla II.** *alias* **Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I.** whose reign is known to have commenced in A.D. 1070.²

The purpose of the inscription is to record the gift of a lamp to **Nārāyaṇa**³ (l. 18), the deity of the temple in which it is still found, and which is stated to have been built by a Vaiśya named **Maṇḍaya**⁴ (ll. 7 and 18). Bhīma-varam bore the name of **Chālukya-bhīmāpura**⁵ or **Chūvura** (ll. 6 f. and 17) and belonged to the district of **Sakaṭamantani-nāṇḍu** (l. 16 f.). The date of the grant was the vernal equinox (l. 15 f.). The donor of the lamp was a minister of the king, named **Mādhava** (l. 3) and surnamed **Rājavallabha** (l. 2). He was a native of the Chōla country (l. 19), and his full Tamil name was **Veḷaṇ Mādhavaṇ**, *alias* **Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ** (l. 21 f.). The small Leyden grant (ll. 11 f. and 49), which was issued in the 20th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I., contains the name of a minister (*saṃdhivigrahin*) **Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ**, who is perhaps identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription.

The following is a list of other inscriptions of **Kulōttuṅga I.** which contain both a Śaka date and a regnal year. All are in the **Bhimesvara temple at Drākshārāma**,⁶ with the exception of No. 1 which is near the **Nāgēsvara temple at Chēbrōlu**.⁷

A.—Inscriptions in which the king is designated only by his titles **Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja**.⁸

1.—No. 151 of 1897.

- 1 Svasti ⁹Śakha-varshaṃblu 998 n=ēṃṭi Nala-śaṃvatsa-¹⁰
- 2 ra śrāhi svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-
- 3 ¹¹Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājula pravarddhamā-
- 4 na-vijaya-rājya-śaṃvatsara[ṃblu]¹² 7 n=ēṇḍu . . .
- 6 Māṅḷa-māsamuna
- 7 punnamayu ¹³Sukravāramuna sōmagrahaṇa-
- 8 nimittamunan=

2.—No. 180 of 1893.

- 1 ¹⁴Saka-var[sha]mulu 1006 svasti [Sa]rvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājula
pravard[ddha]mā-
- 2 na-vijaya-rājya-śaṃvatsaramu 15 gu [śrā*]hi dina 307 ṇḍum

3.—No. 374 of 1893.

- 1 [Sva]sti Śaka-va[r*]shaṃbulu 1036 svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-
mahārājula¹⁵

¹ This had been the name of two Chōla kings; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 112.

² See above, Vol. IV. p. 266.

³ According to other inscriptions the name of the temple was **Rājanārāyaṇa-Vinnagara**; see above, Vol. IV. p. 280 and note 3.

⁴ In the Donepūṇḍi grant the temple is referred to as **Mande-Nārāyaṇa**; above, Vol. IV. p. 358.

⁵ This name is derived from that of Chālukya-Bhīma I.; see above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

⁶ See above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.

⁷ See above, Vol. V. p. 142, and Vol. VI. p. 38.

⁸ Prof. Kielhorn's calculations of the dates 1 and 3 will be published shortly.

⁹ Read *Śaka*°.

¹⁰ Read *śaṃvatsa*°.

¹¹ Read *Vishṇu*°.

¹² The syllable *tsa* is engraved below the line; read *śaṃvatsa*°.

¹³ Read *Sukra*°.

¹⁴ Read *Śaka*°.

¹⁵ Read *mahārājula*.

2 [pra]varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-divya-saṁvatsa 45 Dhanu-māsamuna śukla-
pa[kshamu]na êkāda-

3 [ś]iyu Budhavāramu-nāṇḍu Uttarāyana-vyatiyipāta-¹nimittamuna

B.—Inscriptions in which the full titles and names of the king are given as follows :—
Samastabhuvanāśraya Śrīprithivīvallalha mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara paramabhakt[ā]-*
raka Ravikulatilaka Chōdakulasēkhara Pāṇḍyakulāntaka Samastarājāśraya Rājarājēndra
Viramahēndra Vikramachōḍa Vijayābharana Rājakēsarivarma-permmanadigalu² Gaṁggā-
Kāvēri-paryamta-dharitrī-pati³ saptamō Viṣṇuvarddhanul=aīna⁴ tribhuvanachakravartti⁵
śrī-Kulōttuṁṅga-Chōḍadēva.

4.—No. 365 of 1893.

7 Śāk-ābdē nayan-ākshi-kh-ēṁdu-gaṇitē⁶
12 vat[sa]⁷ 31 ṇḍagu śr[ā]hi dina 300 ṇḍa

5.—No. 389 of 1893.

3 Śāk-ābdā[nām pra]-
4 māṇē nidhi-nayana-viyach-chāṁdra-gē⁸ [sa]m[k]rāṁtyām Vaishu-
vatyām=
11 rājya-saṁ[va]tsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 ṇḍa Vishuvu-saṁkr[ā*]m-
12 ti-[ni]mittamuna

6.—No. 386 of 1893.

4 Śāk-ābdē nidhi-nē[tra]-kh-ēṁdu-[gaṇi]tē⁹
9 [rā]jya-saṁvatsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 ṇḍa Vishuvu-saṁ[krā]nti-
nimi]ttamuna

7.—No. 402 of 1893.

4 Śaka-va[rusha]mbulu 1034
8 rā-
9 jya-saṁvatsa [4]2 śrāhi dina 220 ṇḍan=Uttarāyana-saṁkr[ā*]nti-nimitya-
munam

8.—No. 415 of 1893.

1 Svasti Śaka-varusha[m]bulu [10]37
4 rājya-divya-saṁva-
5 tsa 45 śr[ā]hi

9.—No. 194 of 1893.

3 Śāk[k]-ābdē vyōma-vēd-āmba[ra-śāsi]-ga[ni]tē¹⁰
4 Śaka-va[r*]shāmbulu 104[0] ṇḍa
7 ¹¹jya-divya-saṁvatsa 49 yagu śr[ā*]hi dinamulu 250 =Uttarāyana-
saṁkr[ā*]m[ti-ni]-
8 mtittamuna¹²

¹ Read -vyatipāta-.

² No. 386 of 1893 omits this compound and inserts *nija-bhuj-ōpārjjita-* before *Gaṁggā-*.

³ Nos. 194, 365, 402 and 415 of 1893 omit *dharitrī-pati*.

⁴ No. 365 of 1893 reads °nund=aīna (singular instead of plural).

⁵ No. 365 of 1893 inserts *śrīmat-* before *tribhuvana*.

⁷ Read *rājya-saṁvatsara*.

¹⁰ I.e. Śaka-Saṁvat 1040.

⁹ I.e. Śaka-Saṁvat 1029.

¹¹ Read *rājya-*.

⁶ I.e. Śaka-Saṁvat 1022.

⁹ I.e. Śaka-Saṁvat 1029.

¹² Read °mittamuna.

TEXT.¹

A.— West Face.

- 1 स्वस्ति [अ]शसमे परांतकनृपे चालुक्यराज्य-
- 2 श्रियं प्राप्तां रक्षति राजवल्लभ इति [ख्या]-
- 3 तः कृतो माधवः [१*] तन्मन्त्रिप्रवर[ः*] स्वबन्धुस-
- 4 दृ[श]ो लोक[स्य] लो[की]त्तर[अ]की[त्ति][ः*] श्रितरक्षणे-
- 5 कनिपुणो लक्ष्मीपतिप्रीतिमान् [॥ १*] श्रीचा-
- 6 लुक्यधरासरोवृजसमे^२ चालुक्यभी-
- 7 मापुरे श्रीमन्मण्डयवैश्ववर्धर-
- 8 चिते लक्ष्मीपतेर्दामनि [१*] दत्वादान्म-
- 9 हिषोस्तु विंशतिमतिज्ञाध्या^३ बभुक्षी-
- 10 रिणोराचंद्रार्कमनश्चरं स्थिरयशा
- 11 दीपं प्रदीपो भुवः [॥ २*] स्वस्ति सर्व्वलो-
- 12 काश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजु-
- 13 ल प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यमं-
- 14 वत्सरंवलु ४५ गु आहि सक^४

B — South Face.

- 15 वर्षंवलु^५ १०३७ गुनेण्डि^६ चै-
- 16 त्रविषुवसंक्रांतिनि[मित्त]मुन सक-
- 17 टमंतनिनाण्टि चालुक्यभीमावुरमुन
- 18 मण्डयगुडि नारायणदेवरकुं
- 19 [जो]डमण्डलमुन विशदराजभयं^७
- 20 करवलनाण्टि मन्निनाण्टि कडंबंगुडय-
- 21 [गडु] वेलाण्डु माधवुण्डेन राजवल्लभप-
- 22 ल्लवरयण्डु आचंद्रार्कमुन[कु]नखण्ड-
- 23 वत्तिगां वेट्टिन दीप[मु]न[कु] गुण्डि[य]-
- 24 [वी]युनि कोड्कु पापन[वी]युनियुं गो-
- 25 सनवीयुनि कोड्कु गु[ण्डि]यवीयुनि-
- 26 [यु] वसमुनं वेट्टि[न] एनुमुलु २० [१*] वीनि-

¹ From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.^२ Read °सरोवृज°.^३ Read बह°.^४ Read शक°.^५ Read °वर्षंवलु°.^६ Read °नेण्डि°.^७ The *anustāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

27 कि नित्यपडिं [बोयं]गल नेति राज-

28 राजमानयोक्कु[ण्डु] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

A.—Sanskrit portion.

Hail ! While king **Parāntaka**, who resembled (Vishṇu) the lord of Śrī, was protecting the fortune, acquired (*by him*), of the **Chālukya** kingdom,— the best of his ministers, the pious **Mādhava**, who was renowned by the name of **Rājavallabha**, who seemed to be a near relative of (*all*) men, whose prosperity and fame were extraordinary, who was excessively skilled in protecting refugees, who was devoted to (Vishṇu) the lord of Lakshmi, whose fame was constant, (*and who was*) the light of the earth,— having given a lamp, which was not to cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to the temple of the lord of Lakshmi, which had been built by the illustrious **Maṇḍaya**, the best of Vaiśyas, in **Chālukyabhimapura**, which resembles a lotus in the tank (*that is*) the prosperous **Chālukya** country,— gave twenty most excellent buffalo-cows which supplied much milk.

B.—Telugu portion.

Hail ! In the 45th year of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkāśraya*), the glorious **Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja**, (*and*) in the Śaka year 1037, on the occasion of the **Vishuva-saṁkrānti** in Chaitra,— **Vēlāṇḍu Mādhavunḍu**, *alias* **Rājavallabha-Pallavarayanḍu**,¹ the lord of **Kaḍambaṅgu[dū]**² in **Manni-nāṇḍu**,³ (*a subdivision*) of **Birudarājabhayaṁkara-valanāṇḍu**,⁴ (*a district*) of **Chōḍa-maṇḍala**, gave a lamp, whose wick must not cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to **Nārāyaṇadēva**, (*the god*) of the **Maṇḍaya** temple at **Chālukyabhimāvura** in **Sakaṭamantani-nāṇḍu**. For (*this lamp he*) gave 20 buffalo-cows into the possession of **Pāpana-Boya**, the son of **Guṇḍiya-Bōya**, and of **Guṇḍiya-Bōya**, the son of **Gōsana-Bōya**. From these (*buffalo-cows*) one **Rājarāja-measure**⁵ of ghee has to be supplied daily (*for feeding the lamp*).

No. 21.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

A.—Chēbrōlu Inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1049.

This inscription (No. 153 of 1897) is engraved on a slab in the **Kēśavasvāmin** temple at **Chēbrōlu** in the **Bāpaṭla tāluka** of the **Kistna** district. The **alphabet** is Telugu, and the **language** is likewise Telugu, with the exception of one corrupt Sanskrit *śloka* at the end of the inscription.

¹ The Telugu nominatives *Vēlāṇḍu* and *Pallavarayanḍu* represent the Tamil *Vēlāṇ* and *Pallavaraiyan*. *Mādhavunḍu* is the Telugu nominative of *Mādhava*.

² *Kaḍambaṅgudaṇḍu* corresponds to the Tamil *Kaḍambaṅgudaiyān*, an abbreviated form of *Kaḍamban-gudi-udaiyān*.

³ The district of *Manni-nāṇḍu* is mentioned in Tamil inscriptions; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 125, 324, 336, and Vol. III. p. 162.

⁴ This territorial designation is derived from a surname of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I.** which occurs in the *Kaliṅgattu-Paran*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 152.

⁵ This measure may have been named after the Eastern Chālukya king **Rājarāja I.**

The date is the day of a lunar eclipse in the month of **Jyaishtha** in the cyclic year **Plava**, which corresponded to the **Śaka year 1049** and to the **9th year** of the reign of **Vikrama-Chôladêva** (l. 11 ff.).¹ Śaka-Samvat 1049 (expired) corresponds to the cyclic year **Plavaṅga** (not to **Plava** as the inscription has it) and to **A.D. 1127-28**. As this was the 9th year of the king's reign, he must have ascended the throne **about A.D. 1119**. This result is in accordance with the fact that his father **Kulôttuṅga-Chôla I.** ascended the throne in A.D. 1070² and reigned for 49 or 50 years³ to about A.D. 1119. According to Professor Kielhorn's calculations, the inscriptions of **Vikrama-Chôla** in the **Tamiḷ** country seem to show that his reign began on the 18th July A.D. 1108.⁴ This discrepancy may be explained by assuming that 1108 was the year in which he was appointed *yuvarāja*, while his actual accession to the throne took place after his father's death in A.D. 1119.

The name of the king is preceded by a list of his *birudas*. These are identical with the surnames borne by his father **Kulôttuṅga-Chôla I.**⁵ Among them we find **Vikrama-Chôla** (l. 7 f.), which was one of the *birudas* of his father, but is rather out of place here because it is identical with the name of the king himself, and **Rājakēsarivarman** (l. 8 f.), which is known to have been a surname of the former, while **Vikrama-Chôla** in his **Tamiḷ** inscriptions bears the title **Parakēsarivarman**.⁶

The inscription records the grant of a lamp to the temple of **Kumārasvāmin** (l. 18 f.) or **Mahāsēna** (l. 33) at **Chēmbroḷu** (l. 18), the modern **Chēbrōlu**. Hence it appears that the slab containing the inscription, which is now in the **Kēśavasvāmin** temple, was originally set up in the temple of **Kumārasvāmin**, which is now called **Nāgēśvara**.⁷

The donor was a feudatory of **Vikrama-Chôla**,—the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Nambaya** (l. 30 f.) of the **Durjaya** family (l. 23 f.). Among his surnames are 'the lord of the city of **Kollipākā**' (l. 22 f.), 'the lord of the country of **six-thousand** (villages) on the southern bank of the **Kṛishṇavēṇṇā** river' (ll. 25-27), and 'the scent-elephant of **Malla**' (l. 28). **Kollipākā** is mentioned as **Kollipāke** in an inscription of the Western **Chālukya** king **Jayasimha II.**⁸ and as **Kollippākkai** in the inscriptions of **Rājendra-Chôla I.**⁹ and of **Rājādhirāja**.¹⁰ The second surname of **Nambaya** was borne later on by the chiefs of **Amarāvati**.¹¹

From another inscription of the same chief in the **Bhimēśvara** temple at **Drākshārāma** (No. 266 of 1893),¹² we learn that he ruled over the district of **Oṅgērumārga**:—[Svasti] sa[madhi]gata-paṁchchamah[ā]śabda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara **Kollipākā-puravarēśvara** **Durjjayakula-kumuda-chandra** ripuga[ja]-mri(mṛi)gēndra mallikā-vallabha [pa]rāṁgganā-durllabha vilāsa-Vidyādhara bhōga-Purāṁdara **Kri(kri)shṇ[a]vēṇṇānādī-tiradakshina**-¹³ **shaṭ[s]ahasra-vishay-ādi(dhī)śvara vīra-Mahēśvara kīrtti-sudhākara guṇa-ratnākara Vēṁggi-Chālukya-rājya-mu(mū)lastambha** ¹⁴ripudalitakumbhikumbha Jayāṁgganā-gri(gri)ha-tōraṇa **Mallana-gaṁn[dh]avāraṇa nām-ādi-samasta-praśasti-sah[i]tamb[u]na** śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaray=**Oṅgērumārggamuna Nāmbirāju Śaka-[va][r*]shamulu 1052** ṇḍ=agun=ēṁṭi **Vaiśākha-punnamayu Sōmavāramu Vyatipāta-ni[m]ittamunaṁdu "On the**

¹ Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly.

² See above, p. 220, note 2.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 55, and above, Vol. IV. p. 227. ⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 266.

⁵ See page 221 above. The only *biruda* which was not taken over by **Vikrama-Chôla**, is *saptamō Viṣṇu-cardhanah*.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 68, and above, Vol. IV. pp. 73 and 263 f.

⁷ See above, Vol. V. p. 143.

⁸ Above, Vol. III. p. 231.

⁹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 67 and 68, and Vol. II. Nos. 9-20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 52.

¹¹ See above, p. 147 and note 4

¹² This inscription is noticed by Dr. Fleet from Sir Walter Elliot's transcript; *Lyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 437 f., note 6

¹³ Read *-dakshinatira-*.

¹⁴ Read *dalitoripu*?

occasion of Vyatipāta on Monday, the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1052," etc.

The same slab bears an inscription of Trailōkyamalla, the son of Nambhirāja (No. 267 of 1893) :— Svasti samadi(dhi)gata-pañchamahāsha(śa)bda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kollipākā-puravar-ādhiśvara Durjjayakula-kumud[a]-chandra ripugaja-mri(mṛi)gēndra mal[i]ikā-vallabha pa[r]āṁgganā-rdullabha¹ [vilā]sa-V[i]dyādharma bhōga-Puram[da]ra Kr[i](kri)shṇaverṇṇānadi-tiradakhṣiṇa-shatsahasra-vishay-ādhiśvara vīra-Mahēśvara kī[rtti]-sudā(dhā)kara guṇaratna-ratnākara V[ē]m[gg]i-Chālukya-[rā] [ri]pu[da]litaku[m]bhikumbha Ja[y]ā[m]gganā-gr[i](gṛi)ha-tōraṇa [sat]ya-Harīś[ch]andra dīnānādhā(tha)jana-sasya-pramēghavarsha Nambbhana-gaṁdda(dha)vārāṇa nām-ādi-samasta-prasasti-sah[it]ambuna śrīman-[m]ah[ā]maṇḍa r[gg]amuna Nambh[i]rā[ju] ko[ḍu]ku Trai[lō]kyamallērāju svasti [Śa]ka-[va][r*]shāmbulu 1081 n=ēmtti Vaiśākha-bah[u]lapaksha ashtamiyu Śa[ni]v[ā]ramuna "On Saturday, the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1081," etc.

It will be noticed that in this inscription Trailōkyamalla is called 'the scent-elephant of Nambha,' i.e. of his father Nambaya or Nambirāja. Consequently it may be assumed that the latter, who bore the surname 'the scent-elephant of Malla,' was the son of Malla. In this way we obtain three generations of the chiefs of Ōṅgēgumārge :— Malla; his son Nambha, Nambaya or Nambirāja; and his son Trailōkyamalla.

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks. "The date of No. 266 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1052 current, to Sunday, 5th May A.D. 1129, and for Śaka-Saṁvat 1052 expired, to Friday, 25th April A.D. 1130. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1053 expired, the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th April A.D. 1131, when the *yōga* was Vyatipāta for about the last quarter of the day. I believe this to be the day intended, but can give no reason why the writer should not have quoted Tuesday (the 14th April) on which the full-moon *tithi* ended. The date of No. 267 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1081 current, to Wednesday, 23rd April A.D. 1158; for Śaka-Saṁvat 1081 expired, to Tuesday, 12th May A.D. 1159; and for Śaka-Saṁvat 1082 expired, to Saturday, the 30th April A.D. 1160, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 hours after mean sunrise. In both dates the given Śaka year is short by 1 of the year of our Tables. This is not uncommon in dates from the eastern part of Eastern India."²

TEXT.³

A.—Front of Slab.

- 1 स्वस्ति समस्तभुवनाय
- 2 श्रीप्रिष्वीवल्लभ मङ्ग[ī*]राजा-
- 3 धिराज राजपरमेश्वर प-
- 4 रमभङ्ग[ī*]रक रविकुलतिलक चो-
- 5 ॐकुलसेखर⁵ पाण्ड्यकुलां⁶
- 6 त्तक समस्तराजाय राजरा-
- 7 जेंद्र वीरमहेंद्र विक्रमचो-

¹ Read *-durllabha*.

² "See e.g. my *List of North. Inscr.* Nos. 367 and 370.

³ From two inked estampages.

⁴ Read श्रीपृथ्वी°.

⁵ Read श्रीखर.

⁶ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 8 ८७ विजया[भ]रन¹ श्रीराजके-
- 9 ²सरिवन्मपेर्मनडिगलु गंगा-
- 10 कावेरीपय्यांत(क)³ श्रीम[त्*]त्रि[भु]-
- 11 वनचक्रवर्त्ति⁴ विक्रमचो-
- 12 ८७देवर ⁵प्रवर्द्धमानवि-
- 13 जयराज्यसंवत्सरंबु-
- 14 लु ८ अगुने[णिट] ⁶सक[व]-
- 15 रुषंबुलु १०४८ अ-
- 16 गु ⁷पुवसंवत्सर जेष्ट⁷ .
- 17 मास सोमग्रहननिमित्य⁸
- 18 सुन चेंब्रोलि श्रीकुमा-
- 19 [रखा]मिदेवरकुनख-
- 20 [ण्डव]त्तिदिवियकु सस्ति
- 21 समधिगतपंचमह[र]श-
- 22 ब्दमहामण्डलेश्वर कोल्लिपा-
- 23 कापुरवरेश्वर दुर्ज[य]-
- 24 कुलकुलाचलम्विगेंद्र⁹ स-
- 25 त्यहरिचंद्र ¹⁰क्रिष्णवेन्नान-
- 26 ¹¹दीदक्षिनतीरषट्सहस्र¹²
- 27 महीवल्लभ मल्लिका-

B.—Back of Slab.

- 28 वल्लभ मल्लनगंधवारन¹³
- 29 नामादिसमस्तप्रसस्तसहि¹⁴
- 30 तं ¹⁵श्रीमनुमह[र*]मण्डलेश्व-
- 31 र नंबय यिच्चिन गोळिय
- 32 ५० [र*] वीनिं चेकीनि संतानक्र-
- 33 मंबुनं गाचि मह[र*]सेन-

¹ Read °भरन्.

² Read °वर्म°.

³ Read °पय्यंत and add °धरिचीपति in accordance with some inscriptions of Kulōttunga-Chōla I.; see above, p. 221.

⁴ Read °प्रवर्द्धमान°.

⁵ Read शक°.

⁶ Read पुव°.

⁷ Read ज्येष्ठ° or, more correctly, ज्येष्ठ°.

⁸ Read °ग्रहण°.

⁹ Read °मगेंद्र°.

¹⁰ Read कृष्णवेन्नान°.

¹¹ Read °दक्षिण°.

¹² Read °सहस्र°.

¹³ Read °वारण°.

¹⁴ Read °प्रशस्ति°.

¹⁵ Read श्रीमन्°.

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14
 16
 18
 20
 22
 24
 26

28 ವೆಲ್ಲ ಬಹುಷನ ಗದವೆ ರಸ
ನಾಹಾ ಲಿನ ವಾಕ್ಯ ಸತ್ಯ ಸಹಿ
30 ತತ್ವವು ನವ ಪವಿತ್ರ
ರಸ ಬಯಯಿ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮನ ಗುಣ
32 ವಿನಿ ಬಹುಷನ ಗುಣ
ವು ಬ್ರಹ್ಮನ ಗುಣ ಪವನ
34 ವು ನಿನಗು ವು ನಿನಗು
ವಯ ನಲವಾ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮನ
36 ಯ ನಿನಗು ವು ನಿನಗು
ಲಿನವು ವು ನಿನಗು
38 ನಿನಗು ವು ನಿನಗು
ತೆವಲಿ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮನ ಗುಣ
40 ರದತ್ತವೆ ಯ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮನ
ನು ದರವಾ ಪಿ ಪವನ
42 ವು ನಿನಗು ವು ನಿನಗು
ಯ ತತ್ವವು ಬ್ರಹ್ಮನ

- 34 मुन नित्य मानेण्डु नेयि
 35 वीयंगलवाण्डु सूरवी-
 36 युनि कीमय [*] इंदुल
 37 स्थानपतुलु मुन्नूर्वुरु
 38 सानुलु मुन्नूर्वुरुयलु ब्र-
 39 तिपालिपंगलवारु । स्वदत्त¹ प-
 40 रदत्तं ग्वा यो हरेतु स्व-
 41 सुंदर [*] षषिं वरुषय-
 42 हयनि मिष्टयां जा-
 43 यते क्रिमि ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! In the 9th year of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the front-ornament of the race of the Sun, the crest-jewel of the Chôla family, the destroyer of the Pāṇḍya family, the asylum of all kings, *Rājarājendra*, *Vira-Mahendra*, *Vikrama-Chôla*, he whose ornament is victory, the glorious *Rājakēśarivarma-Permanadī*, [the lord of the earth] as far as the Gaṅgā and the Kāvērī, the glorious emperor of the three worlds, *Vikrama-Chôladēva*,—

(L. 14.) On the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month of Jyēshṭha in the *Plava-samvatsara* which was the Śaka year 1049,—

(L. 20.) Hail! the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nambaya*, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the lord of *Kollipākā*, the best of cities; the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a *Hariśchandra* in truthfulness; the lord of the country of six-thousand (*villages*) on the southern bank of the *Krishnavennā* river; the lover of the jasmine flower; (and) the scent-elephant of *Malla*,—

(Ll. 18-20 and l. 31 f.) gave 50 sheep to the temple of the god *Kumārasvāmin* at *Chembrôlu* for a perpetual lamp.

(L. 32.) Having received these (*sheep*), *Kommaya*, (*the son*) of *Sūra-Bôya*, with (*his*) descendants in succession, has to tend (*them*) and to supply daily to the *Mahāsēna* (*temple*) one *māna*² of ghee.

(L. 36.) The three-hundred temple servants (*sthānapati*) (and) the three-hundred dancing-girls of this place have to protect (*this grant*).

[Ll. 39-43 contain one of the usual minatory verses.]

B.—Śevilimēdu Inscription of the Sixteenth Year.

This inscription (No. 43 of 1900) is engraved on the west wall of the *Kailāsanātha* temple at *Śevilimēdu*, a village on the northern bank of the *Pālāru* and about 2 miles south-west of *Conjeevaram*.

¹ This well known Sanskrit verse is here full of mistakes.

² See above, p. 156, note 3.

The inscription consists of eight verses in quaint **Sanskrit**. The alphabet is **Grantha**. The Tamil letter *r* is used in *Kōmpura* (vv. 4 and 7). Final *m* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *chiram*, *vidushām* (v. 2) and *labdham* (v. 5). Instead of *prōdghṛishṭa* and *udbhava* we find *prōtghṛishṭa* (v. 1) and *utbhava* (v. 3). *Āmhvaya* occurs twice (vv. 1 and 2) instead of *āhvaya*, and *sā[r*]ddha* (v. 5) instead of *sārttha*. The Tamil names *Kirāñji*, *Ōdimūkki*, *Kodi*, *Ponnambi* and *Kōmbura* are spelt *Kirāñchi* (v. 8), *Ōtimūkki* (v. 4), *Koti* (v. 5), *Ponnampi* (v. 6) and *Kōmpura* (vv. 4 and 7), with *ch*, *t* and *p* instead of *j*, *d* and *b*.

The date is **Monday**, the day of **Uttara** in the second fortnight of **Vaiśākha** during the sixteenth year of the reign of **Vikrama-Chōladēva** (v. 3).¹ This king bore the surnames **Akalanka** and **Tyāgavārākara** (v. 1). According to Mr. Venkayya, the former is applied to Vikrama-Chōla in the *Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṇ-ulā*, an unpublished Tamil poem composed in honour of Kulōttuṅga II., and **Tyāgasamudra**, with which Tyāgavārākara is synonymous, occurs in the *Vikkirama-Śōlaṇ-ulā*² and in the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva.³

The inscription records that three persons assigned to the **Śiva** temple in the village of **Rājasundari** (v. 2) or **Nṛipasundari** (v. 3) some land (v. 3) and a garden (v. 5). The village of Rājasundari is evidently identical with **Śevilimēḍu**, and the temple of Śiva, to which the grant was made, is the **Kailāsanātha** temple⁴ on which the inscription is engraved.

Besides the subjoined inscription, six Tamil inscriptions have been copied in the same temple, the ancient name of which was **Mūlasthāna**. In three of them (Nos. 40-42 of 1900) the village is named **Śevānamēḍu**. It belonged to **Virpēḍu-nāḍu**⁵ or **Virpēṭṭu-nāḍu**, a subdivision of **Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam**,⁶ a district of **Jayaṅṇḍa-Chōla-maṇḍalam**, and bore the surname **Nagariśvara-chaturvēdimāṅgalam**.

TEXT.⁷

1 स्वस्ति श्री ॥— राजा विक्रमचोळ एष ज[य]ति प्राणेश्वरो भूयि-
योर्भ्यस्मन्नतराजमौलिमकुटप्रोत्पृष्टपादाम्बुजः⁸ [१*] दूरोत्सारि[त]पापराशिरतुल-
श्रीस्थागवाराकरस्सत्सम्पत्तिविवृद्धिहेतुरनिशन्देवोक्तंकाङ्क्षयः⁹ ॥— [१*]

2 पुण्यपण्यविपणिस्मरस्वतोवासभूमिरमला मुनीन्द्रधीः¹⁰ [१*] राजसुन्दरि-
समाह्वयस्त्रिरम्¹¹ ग्राम एष विदुषाम्¹² विराजते ॥— [२*] श्रीमद्विक्र[म]चोळदेव-
नृपतेर्वर्षे शुभे षोडशे ग्रामे श्रीनृपसुन्दरीति विदिते वैशाखमासेपरे [१*] पक्षे
सीत्तरचन्द्रवारविदिते काले शिवा-

3 यादिशन्¹³ कुण्डूत्तमवक्त्रमभट्टनिखिल[ल]यादेन लब्धाम् महीम् ॥— [३*]
कम्पत्तिप्रभवः कृष्णपुरदेवोक्तोक्तः [१*] आत्[त]कीम्पु[ण्ड]जो भट्टावोतिम्[क्षि]-

¹ Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 309 and note 1.

³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 228.

⁴ The present name of the temple is perhaps alluded to in verse 5 by the words "the ancient (god) who resides on the Kailāsa (mountain)."

⁵ The same *nāḍu* is mentioned also in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 117, and Corrigenda on p. 184. Virpēḍu is the modern Vippēḍu, 2 miles west of Śevilimēḍu.

⁶ The same district is referred to in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 84, 85, 147, 148, and Vol. III. pp. 2, 138, 142.

⁷ From three inked estampages.

⁸ Read °प्रोत्पृष्ट°.

⁹ Read °काङ्क्षयः°.

¹⁰ Read °विः°.

¹¹ Read °समाह्वयस्त्रिरम्°.

¹² Read विदुषां°.

¹³ The म of °द्विक्र[म]° is engraved below the line.

¹⁴ Read °रुद्रव°.

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 4.

1.
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1.
 2.
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 4.

तस्वेकटौ¹ ॥— [४*] प्रादुस्त्रयोपि त्रितयं स्वप्रं कैलासवासाय चिर[न्त]नाय
[1*] आर्द्धेन लब्धम्² कीर्तिवीरवत्सोः कृष्णाश्रया-

४ सं सतुरीयसाद्वम्³ ॥— [५*] पौन्रमपि[न]ान्ना ग्रामोणमद्भ्यस्तेन मया
त्विदम् [1*] साधुप्रियेण लिखितम् प्रमा[णं] साक्षिणः परे ॥— [६*] 'दक्षि-
णामूर्तिभट्टोयमळ्ळूहिजवरस्सुधीः [1*] कृष्णद्वैपायनो यज्वा वेदकोम्पुजन्नयः
[॥ ७*] त्वित् किराच्चिजनितावरुळाळसंचो तौ ताणकप्रभव-

५ रामयुतावितोमे [1*] लेख्यं ग[त]ास्सुकृतसाक्षिण एव धम्सं⁶ रक्ष-
न्विमन्नुपवराश्विवभक्तकाश्च ॥— [८*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (Verse 1.) Victorious is this king **Vikrama-Chôla**, the husband of the Earth and of Fortune, whose lotus-feet are frequently rubbed by the diadems on the heads of bowing kings, who has driven far away all sins, whose glory is matchless, the ocean of liberality (*Tyāgavārākara*) who continually causes the increase of the prosperity of good men, the king named **Akaṣaṅka**.

(V. 2.) Resplendent for a long time is this village of learned men, named **Rājasundari**, a market for the trade in good deeds, the pure place of residence of the goddess of learning, (and) the seat of lords of sages.

(V. 3 f.) In the auspicious **sixteenth year** (of the reign) of the glorious king **Vikrama-Chôladêva**, in the month of **Vaiśākha**, in the second fortnight, at the time known as **Monday** combined with **Uttara**,⁷— the two *Bhaṭṭas* **Kṛishṇapuradêva Arulāluka**, born at **Kammatti**, and **Ôdimûkki**,⁸ born at **Âttañ-Kômbura**, together with **Vênkaṭa**, assigned to **Śiva**, at the village known as the prosperous **Nṛipasundari**, land which (they) had received through the great piety⁹ of **Kṛishṇabhṭa**, born at **Kuṇḍûr**.¹⁰

(V. 5.) The same three persons gave to the ancient (god) who resides on the **Kailâsa (mountain)** their three-fold garden,¹¹ which (they) had received through the piety of **Kodi** and **Vīravali**,¹² in which *kôkilas* (*kṛishṇa*) lived on mango-trees, (and) which possessed a number of men of the fourth (caste) (as attendants).

(V. 6.) By me, the village arbitrator (*madhyastha*)¹³ named **Ponnambi**, the friend of good men, this document (*pramāṇa*) was written. Witnesses (are) the following.

¹ Read °स्वेकटौ.

² Read °सार्थम्.

³ Read ऋत्विक्.

⁴ Read लब्धं.

⁵ Read °मूर्ति°.

⁶ Read धम्सं.

⁷ *Uttiram* is the usual Tamil form of *Uttara-Phalgunî*. The Tamil form of *Uttara-Bhādrapadā* is *Uttirattādi*, and that of *Uttarāshādhā* is *Uttirādam*.

⁸ The same name, which seems to mean 'narrow-nosed,' occurs in an inscription at *Ukkal*; *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol. III. p. 6.

⁹ *Śrīddha* seems to be used incorrectly for *śraddhā*.

¹⁰ A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at *Maṇimāṅgalam*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 75.

¹¹ I take this meaning of *vapra* from Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*. The meaning 'field' does not fit here because mango-trees are stated to have grown in the *vapra*.

¹² The same name occurs in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 74.

¹³ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 2.

(V. 7 f.) Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Bhaṭṭa, a wise Brāhmaṇa of Allūr,¹ Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Yajvan, Jannaya Rītvij of Vēda-Kōmbura,² (and) the two persons named Aruḷāla, who were born at Kīrāñji,³ together with Rāma, born at Tāṇaka. These were written down as the only witnesses of (this) pious gift. Let the best of kings and the devotees of Śiva protect this grant !

No. 22.— KONDAVIDU PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA ;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1442.

By H. LÜDERS, Ph.D.; GÜTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of this inscription⁴ were sent to me by Dr. Hultsch through Prof. Kielhorn with the following note: "On four faces of a pillar near the *agrahāra* at **Konḍavidu**. The pillar is supported on two sides (north and south) by stones which made it impossible to copy and ink the top lines of the inscription in full."⁵

The inscription contains 166 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{4}$ ".—The alphabet is Telugu and, with few exceptions, resembles that of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.⁶ Several times *ka* appears here in the old form; see e.g. ll. 3, 6, 15, 16, 30, 43, 118, 145 (*ka*); 27, 111 (*kā*); 142, 146 (*ki*); 11 (*kī*); 17, 157 (*ku*); 7 (*kri*); 11 (*kē*); 142 (*kku*), while such forms as *ka* in ll. 7, 64, *ku* in l. 46, *kē* in l. 92, *kau* in l. 39, may be called transitional. The *sha* occasionally shows the younger form occurring also in the Vānapalli plates; see ll. 69 (*sha*); 24 (*shṭha*); 33 (*kshṃā*). *ḷa* appears throughout in the form of the Bīṭraguṇṭa grant and the Vānapalli plates. In *dha* the *ottu* is used only in *dhi* in l. 19 (*vārām nidhīr*), *dhī* in l. 72, and in the subscript *dh* of *dhdha* in l. 34. But in *gha* and *ḍha* it is used quite regularly, and in *bha* it is only missing in *bhū*, *bhu*, *bhō* in l. 163, and in *bhri* in ll. 5, 59 and *bhyā* in l. 7 on account of the subscript sign. In the groups *rma*, *rya* and *rva* the full sign of *r* is generally used, but in *ryū* in l. 20 and *rmmyai* in ll. 28, 92 it appears in the secondary form, as in all other combinations, and in *rvē* in l. 163 and *rma* in l. 165 it is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.—The language is Sanskrit from the beginning to l. 108, and again from the middle of l. 162 to the end. The rest is in Telugu.⁷ With exception of the concluding words *śrī śrī śrī* in l. 108, the Sanskrit portion is in verse, whereas the Telugu portion is in prose throughout.—The orthography calls for few remarks. In the interior of a word *k*, *g*, *ch*, *t*, *d* and *v*, if followed by a vowel, are generally doubled after *anusvāra*; exceptions are *śaṃkur* (l. 20), *-āṃkuraḥ* (l. 21), *-āṃka* (l. 34), *saptāṅgō-* (l. 29), *pañchā-* (l. 107), *maṃdāra* (l. 12), *Maṃdavōluṃ* (l. 102), and several words in the Telugu portion (see for *m* ll. 127, 145; *ṃg* ll. 113, 115, 130, 141, 156, 158; *mch* ll. 117, 118, 119, 145, 153, 157; *mḍ* ll. 111, 121, 135). *ḍ* also is doubled in *śrīkhamḍḍa* (l. 76), *Koṃḍḍavīṭī(ṭi)* (ll. 98, 111), and *dh* in *baṃdhḍhushu* (l. 40), *-āruṃdhḍhatī* (l. 41); compare also *chīmṭṭapaṃdhḍhu* for *°paṃḍu* in l. 134. *tr* is written *ttr*

¹ A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at Maṇimārgalam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 74. It may be identical with 'Allur' in the Maḍurāntakam tāluka between the 'Perumbair' and 'Olakur' railway stations.

² Compare Dvēdai-Kōmburaṃ in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 259 and note 3.

³ The same place is mentioned in an inscription at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 168.

⁴ No. 242 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

⁵ This defect is not very serious, as the few missing *akṣaras* in ll. 87-89 can easily be replaced from other inscriptions.

⁶ See my remarks, above, p. 108 f.

⁷ The text and translation of the Telugu portion have been contributed by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

after *anusvāra* in the word *mantrin* in ll. 30, 85, 103, but with a single *t* in ll. 40, 92. Final *anusvāra* has caused the doubling of *g* in *-ākaratvaṃ ggaṭāḥ* (l. 17). As first letters of a group *t* and *d* are doubled in *ttritaya* (l. 29), *puttrā-* (l. 35), *kaṭattri* (l. 43), *puttrāv* (l. 44), *ddrumam* (l. 7), *pāyādd=raghū-* (l. 8), *kalpaddrum* (l. 72), *ddyō-* (l. 80), whereas a double mute is represented by a single mute in *tatva* (l. 89) and *ujvalataram* (l. 98). After *r* a consonant is doubled in *-ārka* (l. 78), *mārggayaṃttē* (l. 33), *mārggaṃ* (l. 80), *mūrchechhan* (l. 78), *-ātivartti* (l. 38), *kirttiḥ* (l. 50), *kirtti* (ll. 54, 106), *harmmyair* (ll. 28, 92), and in the Telugu *samarppimchchi* (l. 121). *ddh* is always written *dhdh*. A superfluous *anusvāra* has been inserted in *prapaṃnnāḥ* (l. 68), *-ātikḥimnnāḥ* (l. 32) and some Telugu words in ll. 119, 125, 161. In *amṛitapallakunnu* (l. 119 f.) and *kārāmaḷlu* (l. 133), the double *ḷ* is expressed by *ḷ+ḷ*. In accordance with the pronunciation of Sanskrit in the Telugu country we find a nasal inserted before *h*, followed by a consonant, in *prāṃhv-ēmdrā-* (l. 3) and *grāṃhyā* (l. 164), and even with the complete loss of the *v* in *jimhālā-* (for *jihvālā-*; l. 58). On the other hand this pronunciation has led to the erroneous insertion of a *v* after an original *m* in *siṃhvāsana-* (l. 14). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhāna* are always written *maṇṭapa* and *prathāna*; compare ll. 95, 116; 23, 88, 113, 153.

The object of this inscription is to record some grants by Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa, the governor of Koṇḍavidu, during the reign of Krishnarāya of Vijayanagara. The inscription has much in common with the Maṅgalagiri and Kāzā pillar inscriptions edited above, p. 105 ff. Up to v. 26, it contains only 3 verses not found in those inscriptions (vv. 1, 3 and 7),¹ among which only v. 7 deserves to be noticed, as Krishnarāya is styled here a descendant of Yadu. This is apparently a mistake of the author; for, though Yadu was actually the reputed ancestor of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, the second dynasty, to which Krishnarāya belonged, traced their origin back to Yadu's younger brother Turvasu.² Nevertheless the inscription is of some importance because it clearly shows that in Śaka 1442 Gōpa was governor of Koṇḍavidu, the verses about Appa's dignities³ being omitted here altogether.

With v. 26 begins a list of some gifts made by Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa. V. 26 is identical with v. 29 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription and refers to the same gift as that mentioned in the next verse. Vv. 27-28 record that in the Śaka year counted by the eyes (2), the yugas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vikrama (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1442 expired), he presented, by order of Sālva-Timma, the minister of king Krishnarāya, an exceedingly high temple (*prāsāda*) furnished with nine gilt domes (*kalāṣa*), a gate-tower (*gūpura*), a wall (*prākāra*), and a festive hall (*utsava-manṭapa*), to the holy Rāmabhadra, and images for processions (*utsava-vigraha*), golden ornaments, two pearl necklaces, a great quantity of excellent beautiful ornaments, and the performance of *niyōga*, exceeding seventy-two,⁴ to Rāma in the town of Koṇḍaviṭi for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.⁵ V. 29 adds that, by order of Sālva-Timma, he assigned to the temple of the holy Rāghava, the lord of the town of Yajñavāti, the customs⁶ on all the roads in the country of Koṇḍaviṭi and the village of Mainḍavōlu, at the same time keeping up the former donation of the village of Lemballe.

The Sanskrit part of the inscription concludes with a verse in praise of Sālva-Timma (30) found also in the Maṅgalagiri inscription, and another (31) stating that the *mahōpādhyāya*, who

¹ Vv. 1 and 3 are in praise of Rāma. V. 1 alludes to the legend quoted above, Vol. III. p. 251, note 9.

² See e.g. Hampe inscription of Krishnarāya, above, Vol. I. p. 361 ff.; Saṅkalāpura inscription of the same, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 266 ff.; British Museum plates of Sadāśivarāya, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 1 ff.; Ūṇamāñjēri plates of Achyutarāya, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 147 ff.

³ Vv. 21 and 35 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.

⁴ Regarding this term see note 1 on p. 113 above.

⁵ Regarding this term see note 3 on p. 114 above.

⁶ *Māleṭsa* is a Telugu word about which see below, p. 232, note 6.

was acquainted with the doctrine of the five fires, the performer of the *dvādaśāha* ceremony, **Lōlla-Lakshmidhara Yajvan**,¹ was the author of the record.

In the **Telugu** portion (l. 109 ff.) the date given above is further specified, and a more detailed account of Gōpa's donation is given, especially as regards the establishment of the customs. It may also be noted that Nādiṇḍla-Timma is incidentally said here (l. 114) to have been a follower of the Yajuṣākhā and the Āpastambasūtra, and that Sāḷva-Timma's wife is called here **Lakshamma** (l. 155). Mr. H. Krishna Sastri contributes the following translation of the Telugu portion :—

(L. 109.) “Hail! Prosperity! On the auspicious occasion of a lunar eclipse, on Wednesday the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (half) of Vaiśākha in the (cyclic) year Vikrama which corresponded to 1442 of the years of the victorious and increasing Śālivāhana-Śaka,—Gōparsayyāṅgāru,²—the son of Nādiṇḍla-Timmarāja who belonged to the Kausika-gōtra, followed the Āpastambasūtra, and was a student of the Yajuṣākhā,—and the nephew of Sāḷva-Timmarayyāṅgāru, the glorious chief minister who bore the burden of the empire of the glorious Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāja,—built a spire for the sacred (temple) of the god Raghunāyaka of Yajñavāṭikā in Koṇḍaviḍu, carried out the whitewashing (in connection with other) spires, *maṇḍapas* and towers, set up golden pinnacles, built the hall surrounding the temple,³ and the enclosure (*prākāra*), presented idols (to be carried) in processions (*utsava-vigraha*), restored the village of **Lemballe** which had previously been granted (to the temple), and bestowed the village of **Maindavōlu** for all enjoyments,⁴ rice⁵ and festivals, [and assigned] *mūlavīsas*⁶ at all places in the country (*sīma*) of Koṇḍaviḍu where tolls were paid, (*viz.*) at *vasantagarutuvu*⁷ in (the town of) Koṇḍaviḍu, at water-sheds,⁸ at salt-beds and market-towns,⁹ and at roads frequented (by people), such as (these to) the **Tirumala** hills.¹⁰

(L. 125.) “at the rate of half a *paikamu*¹¹ on every bag of the following (articles): great millet, millet,, salt, mangoes, myrobolan fruits, brinjals, clearing-nuts, and *māvena*;¹² at one *paikamu* on every bag of the following: green gram, black gram, Bengal gram, horse-gram, red gram, wheat, sesamum seeds, oil seeds, black pulse, pulse, cotton, tamarinds, gall-nuts, myrobolan seeds, yam, *chāma*, (and) *chirugaḍam*

¹ [In the colophon of his commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's *Saundaryalaharī* (Dr. Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. I. p. 73, No. 333), Lakshmidhara-Dēśika calls himself the seventh in descent from the mahōpādhyāya Mahādēvācārya, who was ‘the founder of the doctrine of the Lōlla-kula’ and ‘the commentator on the *Lōllagrantha*.’ The author of the inscription, Lōlla-Lakshmidhara Yajvan, who also calls himself a mahōpādhyāya, may have belonged to the same school or sect.—H. Krishna Sastri.]

² The affix *ayyāṅgāru* or *ayyagāru* is the plural of *ayya*, a *tadbhava* of *ārya*. The appellation *ayyāṅgār* is now monopolised by a class of Śī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇas, while *ayya*, *ayyagāru* and its Tamil equivalent *aiyar* are restricted to non-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇas. That *ayyāṅgāru* and *ayyagāru* are both used in the inscription for the same person, shows that in the 16th century these two appellations bore no religious or sectarian significance.

³ *Tiruchuttumāle* or *tiruchuttumḍika* (above, Vol. IV. p. 330, text line 14) are corruptions of the Tamil *tiruchchurumḍigaḷ*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 139.

⁴ Regarding *aṅgarāṅgavaibhava* see above, Vol. IV. p. 269 and note 2.

⁵ For *amritapadi* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 82, note 5.

⁶ For the fiscal term *vīsa* see above, Vol. V. p. 23 and note 6.

⁷ This word is not found in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*. Perhaps it denotes a rest-house somewhat like the modern *vasantamaṇḍapa*, which, according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, means ‘a shed erected in gardens, near roads and temples, used during the hot weather for recreation's sake etc.’

⁸ *Āruvaṇṭya* is apparently the same as the Kanarese *aravaṇṭige*, *aravattige* or *aravaṇṭige*, which means ‘a water-shed.’ Another Kanarese word which occurs in this inscription is *āddi* (l. 125).

⁹ *Karavaṭa* is the same as the Sanskrit *kharvaṭa*, ‘a market-town.’

¹⁰ This refers to the hill of Tirupati in the Chandragiri tāluka of the North Arcot district.

¹¹ According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *paikamu* means ‘a small copper coin, a farthing, a half-penny.’

¹² This is perhaps the same as *māmēnu*, which means ‘a fragrant root like sarsaparilla.’

(roots); at one *damma*¹ on every bag of the following: onions, turmeric, dammer, fenugreek, cumin, mustard, *salagas*² of new gunny bags, green ginger, lime fruits, (and) cocoa-nuts; at two *dammās* on every bag of the following: jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, *saṅguḍi*,³ flowers of the *Bassia Latifolia* (tree), dry ginger, iron, and steel chisels; at three *dammās* on every bag of mango jelly; at four *dammās* on every bag of the following: sugar, areca-nuts, cotton thread, and betel leaves; at six *dammās* on every bag of the following: long pepper, pepper, sandal, cloves,⁴ nutmeg, mace, lead, tin, (and) copper; and at one *chavela*⁵ on a double bullock-load of women's garments:—the *mūlavīsas* levied at this rate from many (people) were granted (to the temple) by Nādiṇḍla-Gōparsayyaṅgāru for the merit of the glorious chief minister Saḷuva-Timmarsayyagāru and his wife Lakshamma.

(L. 157.) “If (any) Oḍḍa kings⁶ and Teluṅgu kings shall violate this charity, they shall incur the sin of killing cows on (the banks of) the Gaṅgā; if (any) Turuka (*i.e.* Musalmān) kings shall violate (this charity), they shall incur the sin of eating pigs.”

The inscription ends with one of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit and the first half of another. Although the Śaka year is called a current year, the addition of the cyclic year leaves no doubt that really the expired year was intended. For Śaka 1442 expired=Vikrama the date corresponds, according to Prof. Kielhorn's calculation, to Wednesday, the 2nd May A.D. 1520, when a partial eclipse of the moon, visible at Vijayanagara, took place 18 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

The village of Maindavōlu is the modern Mayidavōlu,⁷ 12 miles east-south-east of Narasaraṅgavēṭa. The village of Lemballe I am unable to identify. Yajñavātipura seems to have been the name of a quarter or a suburb of the town of Koṇḍavidu.

TEXT.⁸

North Face.

- 1 श्रीरामचंद्र[:*] श्रियमातनोतु सीता-
- 2 सहायो मुनिधर्मपत्न्याः । यस्यांनिपंकेरुहरे-
- 3 गुरासीदाश्मव्रतोद्यापनकर्महेतुः⁹ ॥ [१*] ¹⁰प्रह्वेद्रादिशिरो-
- 4 मणिच्छविरविप्रातर्मयूखारुणं भूषावृत्रभिदश्मरश्मिलह-
- 5 रोभृग्गाळिशृंगारितं । मंजीरकणितैर्मराळवनितामंजुख-
- 6 नैरञ्चितं वंदे रामपदारविद्मनघं वंदारुकल्प-

¹ This is apparently the same as *dramma*; see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. p. 21, notes 1 and 6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 168 f.; *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 130; and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. I. Introd. p. 8.

² According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *śalaga* or *śelaga* is 'a word used in measuring grain *etc.*, one lot from which a new reckoning begins.'

³ This term is not intelligible. It occurs in the obscure *biruda Saṅgaḍirakṣhapīlaka* of a Reddi king, in an unpublished Amarāvati inscription (No. 258 of 1897).

⁴ *Karāmbhu* is probably the Tamil *karāmbu* or *kirāmbu*, 'cloves.'

⁵ *I.e.* *chavalamu*, 'the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ (of a pagoda *etc.*). According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this is about one shilling.

⁶ *I.e.* kings of Orissa. The special mention of these kings and of the Muhammadans in the imprecation shows that they were continually disturbing the peace of Kṛṣṇanarāya's dominions.

⁷ See above, p. 84 and note 4.

⁸ From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

⁹ The last *akṣhara* has been corrected.

¹⁰ Read *प्रह्वेद्रा*

- 7 इमं ॥ [२*] यत्कटाक्षश्च कर्णक्रोधाभ्यां शबलीकृतः । विभो-¹
 8 षणे रावणे च स वः पायाद्भूदहः ॥ [३*] अव्यादादिवरा-
 9 हो वस्तरसामुदहन्महीं । निजांगसंगसंजात-
 10 सांद्रस्वेदोदयादिव ॥ [४*] उरसि निहितलक्ष्मीबाहुवल्लीयु-
 11 गेन स्वकरयुगळमेकीकृत्य केळीविनोदे । कुवलयदळदामा-
 12 ²नध्वमंदारमालां दधदिव वितनीतु श्रीकळां काकुळेशः ॥ [५*]
 13 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राजन्यचूळिकारत्न-
 14 नीराजितपदांबुजः ॥ [६*] ³सिंहासनानर्हतया द्वापरे लज्ज-
 15 या हलिः⁴ । कलौ सिंहासनासीनः कृष्णरायो यदूह-
 16 हः ॥ [७*] श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कवीनां गृह्णा नाना-
 17 रत्नविचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः । अद्भिः⁵ केवलनीर-
 18 पूरनिलयस्त्रंभाव्यते सज्जनैरंभोधिर्जलधिः पयोधि-
 19 रुदधिर्वां निधिर्वारिधिः ॥ [८*] आलानं रिपुदंतिनामरिप-
 20 शौर्यपूष्पमीकाध्वरे वैरिस्त्रांतनिखातशंकुरुदितो
 21 दीपः प्रतापांकुरः । पाताळाध्वरणीं⁶ वराहवपुषो दंष्ट्रा
 22 विभिद्योदता श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपस्य भाति विजयस्तंभः कळिंमंगणे ॥ [९*]
 23 महाप्रधानः⁷ श्रीसाङ्गवतिस्मस्यचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायन्-
 24 पतेस्त्राज्यमधितिष्ठति ॥ [१०*] श्रीसाङ्गवतिस्मसचिवः कौडिन्यकु-
 25 लशेखरः । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्यनंदनः ॥ [११*] वि-
 26 श्नो नैकं विशेषं वितरणविभवैर्विद्वदग्रेसराणां पद्मावाणी-
 27 विलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः पद्मलाक्षीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्राका-
 28 रहर्म्यैरतुलपरिकरैरश्चहस्यादियानैस्सम्यक्तेभ्यो विभेदं⁸
 29 समरविजयतस्माङ्गवतिस्मस्य जाने ॥ [१२*] सप्तांगोपेतशक्तिक्षि-
 30 तयचतुरपायैकमंक्षीशसाङ्गे तिस्राख्ये कौडवीट्यां
 31 गजपतिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृह्णीत्वा । धाटीमाटीक-
 32 माने परनृपतिखगाः क्षुत्पिपासातिखिन्नाः शाकाब्दान् मा-
 33 र्गयन्ते गिरिपुरजलधिस्त्रासु गूढं प्रलीनाः ॥ [१३*] साङ्ग-
 34 वांक्षकवत्सरगस्थाषाढशुभ्रहरिवासरसौरी⁹ । साङ्ग-
 35 तिस्रसचिवेन गृहीतं कौडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ॥ [१४*] पुष्पा-

¹ After विभो a superfluous व has been effaced.² Read नड्.³ Read सिंहा.⁴ Read हलिः?⁵ Read अद्भिः.⁶ Read °ळाङ्गणी.⁷ Read °प्रधानः.⁸ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁹ Read °शरी.

- 36 रामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधिः¹ काव्यं चे[ह परत्र]
 37 [सौख्य]जनकासंत्तानकास्य तान् । आ²त्तान् ग[णनातिव]-
 38 र्त्तिं कृतवानासेतुशीताचलं श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालमौळिसचि-
 39 व[ः*] श्रीसाङ्गवतिप्रभुः ॥ [१५*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो नादिङ्गु-
 40 कुलशेखरः । अस्ति तिम्रयमंजीशस्यमतस्सर्वबंधु³ ॥ [१६*]
 41 कृष्णांवारुंधती⁴ नूनं भर्तुवाक्यमरुंधती । अनसूया
 42 हि सर्वत्र ह्यनसूयेति गण्यते ॥ [१७*] नादिङ्गुतिम्रयामात्यः

West Face.

- 43 कळुची कृष्णमांबया ।
 44 तत्पुत्रावप्ययामात्य-
 45 गोपयामात्यशेखरी ॥ [१८*]
 46 जंभट्टिकुंभिकुंभद्व-
 47 यसचिवशचीचारुवक्षो-
 48 जकुंभव्यक्तव्यासानुलि-
 49 मप्रसृमरमसृणक्षोद-
 50 कर्पूरपूरः । यत्कीर्त्तिः
 51 कार्त्तिकेदुं परिहसति नि-
 52 जे[ः*] श्वेतिमाद्वैतवादैस्सोयं
 53 नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुमणि-
 54 रखिलस्तुत्यकीर्त्तिप्रतापः ॥ [१९*]
 55 'यध्वाटीघोटकीटीखरखु-
 56 रदळितस्मातलोधूतधूलि-⁵
 57 पाळीपाताळकेळीकृतधरणित-
 58 ले खड्गयुग्यस्य बाहुः । जिं-⁶
 59 हालाभीलभूभृङ्गजगप-
 60 रिवृढो लक्ष्यते 'सिध्दसंघेस्सो-
 61 यं नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुर-
 62 वनिभराधारबाहुप्रतिष्ठः ॥ [२०*]
 63 गोपो नादिङ्गुगोपख तुल्या-

¹ Read °निधि.

² Read °बंधु.

³ Read °बंधती.

⁴ Read यडाटी°.

⁵ Read °लोडूत°.

⁶ The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line; read जिह्वाला°.

⁷ Read सिद्ध°.

- 64 विति कथं ब्रुवे । एकसंत्तान-
 65 वान्पूर्वस्मत्संत्तानवान्परः ॥ [२१*]
 66 एके चाध्यापिता ये वितरण-
 67 निगमान्वेधसा सिंधुचंद्र-
 68 [प्रा]या जाद्यं प्रपन्नाः कति
 69 च पशुदृषद्दृष्टात्त्यातिमू-
 70 ढाः । धत्ते चाध्यापयंस्तान् वि-
 71 तरणनिगमान् गोपयार्यः क-
 72 रेभिं कल्पद्रुं कामधेनुं ह-
 73 दि वदनदृशोश्चंद्रचिंताम-
 74 णी च ॥ [२२*] यद्दैरिचोणिपालप्र-
 75 करपुरमहाचंद्रशालागृ-
 76 हांतः श्रीखंडुस्तंभशुं-
 77 भङ्गजगपरिवृढालीढदेहा-
 78 र्कवाहाः । मूर्च्छन्मोहा[*] ख-
 79 लंतस्मपदि गतविषा वैनते-
 80 येन सद्यो ह्योमार्गं यां-
 81 त्ति सोयं दिनमणि[वि]नुतो
 82 भाति नादिङ्गोपः ॥ [२३*] श्रीकृष्ण-
 83 क्षितिपालमौळिसचिवः श्रीसाळ्व-
 84 तिमप्रभुर्जामातर्यवरे धु-
 85 रंधरवरे श्रीगोपमंचीखरे ।
 86 प्रादत्ताखिलकोडवीटिनगरी-

South Face.

- 87 साम्राज्य[धौरेयतां मत्तेभाखप]दातिसैन्यकलितां प-
 88 क्षांक्षिका^१ चा[मरे ॥] [२४*] [श्रीकृष्णरायन]रनार्थशिरःप्रधानः^२ श्रीसाळ्व-
 89 तिमसचिवेख[रभागिनेयः । नादिङ्ग]गोपसचिवो नयतत्त्व^३
 90 वेदी श्रीकोडवीटिनगरैकधुरंधरीभूत् ॥ [२५*] राघवाय १४४२
 91 गणिते शकवर्षे राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्या । वप्रगोप-
 92 रयुतेनर्वहर्म्येर्गोपमंत्रितिलकेन सपर्या ॥ [२६*] शाका-
 93 न्देक्षियुगाब्धिचंद्रगणिते संवत्सरे विक्रमे श्रीकृष्णक्षिति-

^१ Read क्षिका.

^२ Read प्रधानश्रीसाळ्व.

^३ Read तत्त्व.

- 94 पालमौळिसचिवः^१ श्रीसाळ्वतिम्माज्ञया । प्रासादं नव-
 95 भिश्च हेमकलशैरत्युन्नतं गोपुरप्राकारोत्सवमंट-
 96 पैरूपचितं श्रीरामभद्राय च ॥ [२७*] ॥ रामायोत्सवविग्र-
 97 हांश्च कनकाकल्पांश्च मुक्तावळी मुख्यं चाभरणौघ-
 98 मुज्ज्वलतरं^२ श्रीकोंडवीटीपुरे । हाससत्यधिकां नियोग-
 99 रचनां नादिंडुगोपप्रभुर्लक्ष्मीनायकसाळ्वतिम्मावि-
 100 भवे पुण्याय कृत्वादिशत् ॥ [२८*] ॥ श्रीयज्ञवाटिपुरनायक-
 101 राघवाय श्रीकोंडवीटिसकलाध्वसु मूलवीसान् ।
 102 लेंबल्लेमादमनुपाल्य च मैदवोलुं श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मा-
 103 वचसादित गोपमंत्त्री ॥ [२९*] यावज्जङ्घसुतात्रियं-
 104 कसुताश्रीकृष्णवेण्णापयःपूरास्ते पुनते भुवं च विपुला^३
 105 श्रीकोंडवीटीपुरीं । यावत्काव्यसुधांबुराशिलहरी-
 106 हिलां विधत्ते कविस्तावत्साळ्वतिम्माकीर्त्तिलतिका पुष्पात्वज-
 107 स्तं भुवि ॥ [३०*] महोपाध्यायपंचाम्निदीक्षितो हादशाहकृत् [१*]
 108 लोल्ललक्ष्मीधरो यज्वा प्राहैतधर्मशासनं ॥ [३१*] श्री श्री श्री । [१*]
 109 स्वस्ति श्री [॥*] जयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्षबुलु १४४२
 110 अगुनेटि विक्रमसंवत्सर वैशाख शुद्ध^४ १५ बु^५ । सोमग्रहण-
 111 पुण्यकालमंदु कोंडवीटि श्रीयज्ञवाटिकारघुनायकुलकु
 112 श्रीकृष्णदेवमहारायल साम्राज्यधुरंधर श्रीम-
 113 न्महाप्रधान^६ साळ्वतिम्मासंख्यंगारि मेनल्लुडैन कौशिक-
 114 गोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र यजुःशाखाध्यायुलैन नादिंडु-
 115 तिम्यराजुंगारि कुमारांडैन गोपसंख्यंगार दे-
 116 वुनिकि शिखरसु गट्टिच्चि शिखरमंटपगोपुरालु सुन्न-
 117 वलु चेयिंचि प[यि]डिकुंडलु येत्तिंचि तिर-
 118 चुट्टुमालेनु प्राकारसुन्न कट्टिंचि उत्सवविग्रह[१]-
 119 ल समर्पिंचि अंमरंमवैभवालकुंनु अमृतपळ-
 120 [कु]नु उत्सवालकुंनु पूर्वान सागि वच्चि[न*] लेंबल्लेग्रामसु
 121 सागिंचि मैदवोलि ग्रामसु समर्पिंचि कोंडवीटि
 122 सीमलोनु संखमु^७ सागिन चोटनल्लानु मूलवीसालु
 123 [कों]ड[वी]डु[वु]डु वसंतगरुल्लानु आरुवंदालानु

^१ Read °सचिवश्रीसाळ्व°.^४ Read प्राहैतधर्म°.

e. l. °प्रधान.

^२ Read मुज्ज्वलतरं.^५ Read शुद्ध.^७ Read संखमु.^३ Read विपुला.^६ I.e. बुधवार.

- 124 [उप्य]ल[लु]कर[वठ]लालु तिरुमलपर्वतालु मोद[लै]न वच्चि [पो]-
 125 [इ]¹ हादि [म]ा [न नि]र्न[य] . . . जो[व]लु की[७७]लु आ . .

East Face.

- 126 उप्पु मामिडिकायलु उशि[रि]-
 127 केकायलु वीकायलु इ-²
 128 हुपुकायलु मावेन वीनिकि
 129 [गो]ने १ कि अरपैकं लेखनु³ । पेस-
 130 लु मिनुमुलु सनंगलु उलुव-
 131 लु कंदुलु गोधुम-
 132 लु नुवुलु आमदालु
 133 कारामळु अनुमुलु प्रत्ति
 134 चित्तपंध्रु⁴ करकाय उशिरि-
 135 केपप्पु कंद चाम चिरुगडं
 136 वीनिकि गोने १ कि 'पइकमुनु [१*] उल्लि प-
 137 सपु गुगिलं मेत्ति जिलक७७ आ-
 138 वालु कोत्तगोनेल सलग अल्लं नि-
 139 म्पण्डुलु टेकायलु वीनि[कि] गो-
 140 ने १ कि दम्भमुनु [१*] वेक्कमु दूदि [ने]-
 141 इ⁵ आमुदं संगडि इप्पू शो-
 142 ठि इनुमु उकुटुलुलु वीनिकि
 143 गोने १ कि दम्भालु रेडुनु [१*] मा[मि]-
 144 [डि]ताइ गोने १ [कि] दम्भ[१*]लु मुंडु⁷ [१*]
 145 पंचधार पोक्कलु नूलु तम-
 146 लपाकुलु वीनि गोने १ कि दम्भालु
 147 नालुगु [१*] पिप्पलि मिरियालु गं-
 148 धमु करांभुउ जाजिकाय
 149 जाजिपत्ति सोसमु तगरमु रा-
 150 गि वीनि गोने १ कि दम्भालु आरु [१*] को-
 151 कल मलगकु चवेल [१*] ई मर्याद-

¹ Read पोये.² Read लेकनु.³ Read नेयि.⁴ The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.⁵ Read 'पंडु.⁶ Read पैक°.⁷ Read मूडु.

- 152 नु पेकंङ्चात मूलवीसातु
 153 [इ]पिंचि श्रीमन्महाप्रधान¹ सा-
 154 ऋवतिमसंय्यगारिकिन्नि वारि दे-
 155 वुलु लक्ष्मन्मगारिकिन्नि पुण्यसु-
 156 [ग]नु नादिङ्गोपसंय्यगा-
 157 रु समर्पिचनु² । ई धर्मानकु श्री-
 158 ³डिराजुलु तेलुंगुराजुलु
 159 त[पि]रा⁴ गंगलोनु गोवृत्य⁵ चेशि-
 160 न दोषान बोवुवारु [1*] तुरुकरा-
 161 जुलु तप्पिरा पंदि दि[न्नि] दोषा-
 162 न ⁶बोउवारु ॥ ए[कैव] भगिनी लोके
 163 सर्वेषामे[व]⁷ भूभुजां [1*] न भोज्य[1]
 164 [न] करयाञ्छा⁸ देवदत्ता वसुंध-
 165 रा ॥ [३२*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये⁹ दाना-
 166 च्छेयोनुपालनं ॥

No. 23.—RADHANPUR PLATES OF GOVINDA III. ;

SAKA-SAMVAT 730.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription has already been edited, with a translation and a photo-lithograph, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 59 ff., by the late Professor Bühler, to whom the original plates were lent by the authorities of Radhanpur, a Native State under the supervision of the Political Superintendent of Palanpur, in the Bombay Presidency. As it is considered desirable to issue a true facsimile of this record, I now re-edit it from ink-impressions placed at my disposal by Dr. Fleet, who obtained the original plates on loan from the Political Superintendent of Palanpur in 1884. There is no information as to whom the plates may actually belong to.

The inscription is on two copper-plates the first of which is engraved on one side only. It is incomplete; the third plate that would have completed it is lost; and so are the ring and seal which probably accompanied the plates. Either plate measures about $11\frac{3}{4}$ " by $7\frac{1}{8}$ ". Their edges were fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; but the surfaces are a good deal corroded by rust—a fact which was altogether obscured by the manipulated photo-lithograph issued with Professor Bühler's paper in 1877—and some letters, in

¹ Read प्रधान.

² Read वेनु.

³ Read डोडरु.

⁴ Read तप्पिरा.

⁵ Read मोदल्य.

⁶ Read बोवु.

⁷ The *r* of सर्वेषा⁰ is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.

⁸ Read करयाञ्छा.

⁹ The *r* of पालनयोर्मध्ये is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.

consequence, are more or less illegible. The weight of the two plates is 4 lbs. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. The letters shew through faintly on the back of the first plate; they bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is between about $\frac{1}{16}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ ".—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may perhaps be drawn to the initial *ā* in *ā-chandr-*, l. 51; to *ñ* in *Vēṅg-iśvarō*, l. 34; *ja*, e.g. in *Krishṇarājah*, l. 3; *jī* in *jātu*, l. 8; *ñ* in *kin=n=ājñ=ēva*, l. 21, and *pañcha°*, l. 54; *tō* in *bhaṭōddhatēna*, l. 11; *ḍa* in *ṇaḍa*, l. 24; *ḍha* in *upagūḍha*, l. 2; the subscript *n* in *Krishṇa°*, l. 3, and *karṇṇa°*, l. 7; *pha* in *phalukē*, l. 25; and to the final *t*, e.g. in *bhrājītāt*, l. 3. The very rare letter *jh*, which occurs in *urjjhara*, l. 11, and probably in *duréjha*, l. 47, unfortunately in either case is not very distinct.—The language is Sanskrit, but some proper names from the southern vernaculars occur in the formal part of the grant, in lines 44-48. In respect of orthography the following points may be mentioned. The sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; *j* is used for *y* in *jātē*, l. 22; *chchha* for *tsa* in *ādhihchchhayā*, l. 22; and the vowel *ri* is seven times employed for *ri*, e.g. in *-bhay-āśrita*, l. 3, and *-śriyam=*, l. 15. An original final *n* before a following consonant is generally (altogether 14 times) wrongly changed to *anusvāra*, e.g. in *saṁ* (for *san*), l. 7, *sprishṭavām*, l. 12, and *tasmīn*, l. 21. *Visarga* is everywhere (permissibly) omitted before following *sth*, *sp* and *sph*, e.g. in *urasthala-*, l. 1, *ya sprishṭavām*, l. 12, and *‘bhūshītā sphutam=*, l. 19. The rules of *sandhi* have been frequently neglected, and occasionally an *akshara* has been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvindarāja [III.], or, as he is called in lines 39-41, the *Paramabhaddaraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* and *Prithivīvallabha*, the glorious *Prabhūtavarsha*, the glorious *Śrīvallabhanarēndradēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaddaraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Dhāravarshadēva*. After the word *ōm*, and the well-known verse *Sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhūma*, it has nineteen verses glorifying the kings *Krishṇarāja* [I.], his son *Dhōra* (*Dhruva*) *Nirupama* *Kalivallabha*, and his son *Gōvindarāja* [III.], the donor of the grant. With the exception of verses 7, 15 and 19, the first half of verse 12, and part of verse 13 of the present inscription, the same verses also occur in the Wanī grant, edited by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157 ff.; and all the nineteen verses are found—generally in a very corrupt form, yet with one or two more correct readings—in the Manne grant mentioned in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 5, of which a photograph, received from Mr. Rice, has been lent to me by Dr. Fleet. Verse 9 also occurs in the Śīrūr inscription, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 218, lines 2 and 3 of the text. An examination of the language and general style of most of these verses can leave no doubt that their author or authors¹ for their expressions and poetical devices are greatly indebted to such works as Subandhu's *Uśaradattī* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and *Harshacharita*; and to shew this, I have quoted in the notes on my translation some of the parallel passages which I have collected from those literary works. Regarding the facts recorded in the verses and their historical bearing, I could not add anything of value to what other scholars already have stated; but, concerned as I am with the proper interpretation of the text, I must submit here at least one short remark on the first words of verse 5, which I have found great difficulty in translating and may not perhaps have translated very satisfactorily. The words *jyēsthā-ōllan̄ghana* of that verse I have rendered, with reference to *Dhōra*, by 'the passing over of his eldest brother,' because, in regard to the moon with which *Dhōra* is compared, I had to translate the same words subsequently by 'after having passed *Jyēsthā*.' But I would not wish the reader to understand from my translation that the author must necessarily be taken to say that *Dhōra* immediately succeeded his father, to the exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. The words of the original text may equally well mean that *Dhōra* superseded his eldest brother after the latter had succeeded their father, or that he secured the throne for himself by revolting against that brother. The verb *ul-laṅgh* and

¹ In the verses 13 and 19 of the present inscription, their author—if my readings be correct—has employed a construction and a form for which analogies may be found in epic poetry, but which are contrary to the rules of classical Sanskrit; see my notes on the text.

ullaṅghana are generally equivalent to *ati-kram* and *atikrama*—in fact, I believe our author to have used *jyēsthōllaṅghana* in actual imitation of the expression *jyēsthātikrama* which occurs in the passage from the *Kādambarī* quoted in my notes—and may well convey the various meanings of the latter.¹ Nor would the circumstance that Dhōra's action is compared with a certain proceeding of the moon be at all calculated to enlighten us on what the author meant exactly to express by the word *ullaṅghana*, because, in accordance with the very nature of the figure of *ślēsha*, that word might denote one thing with regard to the moon, and something quite different in the case of Dhōra. The question, therefore, whether Dhōra immediately succeeded his father, or superseded his eldest brother after the latter had ascended the throne, cannot in my opinion be answered from a consideration of the words under discussion.

The *prasasti* which is spoken of in the above, and of which a full translation will be given below, is followed in line 38 of the plates by another, very common verse :—

(V. 21.) “Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he (Gōvindarāja) has devised this gift to a Brāhmaṇ, most meritorious on account of a donation of land.”

And in the prose passage which follows this verse, the king, here called **Prabhūtavarsha** (l. 40) and described as already stated above, in the usual terms issues an order to the *Rāshṭrapatis* and other officials, to the effect that, while in residence at **Mayūrakhaṇḍi** (l. 42), on the occasion of a solar eclipse on a date to be given below, he granted the village of **Rattajjuṇa** (or **Rattajjuṇa**, ll. 45 and 49), situated in the **Rāsiyana bhukti**, to **Paramēśvarabhaṭṭa**—a son of **Chandiyamma-Gahiyasāhasa**,² and son's son of **Nāgaiyyabhaṭṭa** who dwelt at **Tigavi** (l. 43), was a member of the community of *Trivēdins* (or students of the three Vēdas) of that place, and a student of the *Taittirīya Vēda*, and belonged to the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**—for the purpose of keeping up the so-called five great sacrifices.

The boundaries of the village of **Rattajjuṇa** (or **Rattajjuṇa**) were (l. 45) : on the east, the river **Sinhā** ; on the south, **Vavulālā** ; on the west, **Miriyāhāna** ; and on the north, **Varaṣa-grāma**, ‘the village of Varaha.’ And regarding the village it is further stated that it was (the village) of certain Brāhmaṇs—the chief of whom were **Anantavishṇubhaṭṭa**, **Viṭṭh-duvē[jha?]**,³ **Gōindamma-shadaṅgavid**, **Savvaibhaṭṭa**, **Chandaḍibhaṭṭa**, **Kuṇṭhanāgaibhaṭṭa**, **Mādhavairiyappu**, **Viṭṭhapu**, **Dēvaṇaiyyabhaṭṭa**, **Rēyaiyyabhaṭṭa**, etc.—associated with the forty **Mahājanas**.⁴ This latter remark I can only understand to mean that the people mentioned were settled at the village.

¹ From my first note on the translation of verse 5 it will be seen that the commentator of the *Nirukta* uses *ati-kram* with reference to the action of a younger brother who had himself crowned to the entire exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. But *atikrama* in *jyēsthātikrama* quoted *ibid.* from the *Kādambarī* is understood by the commentator merely to mean ‘the transgression of the commands’ (*nirdēśī-ōllaṅghana*) of an eldest brother. Similarly, *atikrama* is explained by *ājñātikrama* in the commentary on *Yājñavalkya*, II. 232; and in *Manu*, III. 63, *brāhmaṇ-ātikrama* is translated by ‘violence to Brahmins’ and ‘irreverence to Brāhmaṇas,’ while the different commentators on *Manu* paraphrase *atikrama* here by *adhikṣēp-ādi*, *tiraskār-ādi*, and *apūjana*.

² *Gahiyasāhasa* apparently is equivalent to *ghaisāsa* which we have in the names *Prabhākara-ghaisāsa* and *Vāsiyana-ghaisāsa*, above, Vol. III. p. 216, l. 11 of the text, and in other names, e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 305, and Vol. XIV. pp. 71 and 72. *Ghaisāsa* is a family name now found among Chitpāvan Brāhmaṇs; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 124.

³ The word affixed to the next name, *shadaṅgavid*, ‘knowing the six Vēdāṅgas,’ shews that the word affixed to the name *Viṭṭhu* most probably is some equivalent of the Sanskrit *dvivēda* or *dvivēdin*, ‘a student of two Vēdas;’ but I know no rule by which either could become *duvējha*. In the *Wanī grant*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 39, we have *duvēdi-* for *dvivēdi-*, and elsewhere (*ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 71, ll. 1 and 2) occur *dvēdi* and *duvē*. The last might suggest *Viṭṭhu-duvē*, but I do not see my way to connect the *akṣhara jha* (if it is really correct) with the following proper name which, standing for *Gōyindamma*, *Gōvindamma* (*Gōvindappa*), seems unobjectionable.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. p. 10, note 2, Dr. Fleet has stated that the *Mahājanas* of a village were the collective body of the Brāhmaṇs of the village. I cannot reconcile this statement with the circumstance that the present inscription speaks of the Brāhmaṇs of the village as associated with (or accompanied by) the forty *Mahājanas*.

Of the localities mentioned in the preceding, **Râsiyana**, from which the *bhukti* was named in which the village granted was situated, has been already identified by Prof. Bühler with the modern Râsin, a town in the Ahmadnagar Collectorate of the Bombay Presidency,¹ the 'Raseen' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, in lat. 18° 26', and long. 74° 59'. The village granted, **Rattajjuna** or **Rattajuna**, is identified in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. XVII. p. 352, with the village of 'Râtâjan,' the 'Râtanjan' of the Postal Directory, and 'Ratunjun' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, about 24 miles north-north-east of 'Raseen.' It lies on the western bank of the river Sînâ ('Seena') which is the **Sinhâ** river of the grant. Three miles almost exactly south of it is 'Baboolgaon,' the **Vavulâlâ** of the grant; and a little more than two miles west of 'Ratunjun' we find 'Meerujgaon,' which must be **Miriyathâna**. Lastly, the name of **Varaha-grâma** which was north of Rattajjuna survives in the names 'Wurgaon' and 'Wurgaon-kota-che,' which are found in the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, eight and five miles respectively north by west of 'Ratunjun.'—**Tigavi**, the place of residence of the grantee's grand-father and most probably his own, is suggested by Dr. Fleet to be 'Tugaon,' a village about eight miles north-east by north of Saṅgamnêr, the 'Sungumner' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 38; it would be distant about 80 miles north-west by north from 'Ratunjun.'—On **Mayûrakhaṇḍi** whence the grant was issued, see Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 396.

As has been already stated, the grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse; and the date on which this eclipse took place is given (ll. 53 and 54) as the new-moon *tithi* of the dark half of Śrâvaṇa in the (Jovian) year Sarvajit and the Śaka year 730 (given in words only). I have already had occasion to shew—see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 131, No. 108, and compare Vol. XXV. pp. 267, 269 and 292—that this date for Śaka-Saṃvat 730 expired corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 808, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India. At Râsin the greatest phase of this eclipse was about 5 digits, and the moment of the greatest phase was shortly after true sunrise. The year Sarvajit can be connected with the date only by the so-called northern system, because by the strict mean-sign system Sarvajit had ended on the 26th May A.D. 808, and by the southern system Sarvajit corresponds to Śaka-Saṃvat 730 current.

The second plate ends with the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee in the enjoyment of this grant, and the missing third plate may be assumed to have contained some similar remarks and a number of benedictive and imprecatory verses.

I consider it unnecessary to publish a full translation of the prose part of this inscription; as regards my translation of the introductory verses, I can only say:—*Yatnê kṛitê yadi na sidhyati kô 'tra dōshaḥ?*

TEXT.²

First Plate.

Om³ [||*] Sa⁴ vō=vyād=Vêdhasâ dhâma yan-nâbhi-kamalam kṛitam [I*]
 Hraś=cha yasya kânt-êndu-kalayâ kam=alamkṛitam [|| 1*] ⁵Bhûpō=bhavad=
 vṛi(bṛi)had-urasthala-râja-
 2 mâna-śri-kaustubh-âyata-karair=upagôdha-kapṭhaḥ⁶ [I*] satyânvitô vipula-chakra-
 vinirjit-ârichakrô=py=akṛishṇacharitô bhu-

¹ See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. XVII. p. 734.

² From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

³ Denoted by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

⁶ Originally the sign of *anusudra* was engraved above *ka*, but it has been struck out again.

- 3 vi **Kṛishnarājāḥ** [|| 2*] ¹ Pakshachchhēda-bhay-āsri(śri)t-ākshila-mahābhūbhṛitkula-bhrājītāt² durlaṅghyād=aparair=anēka-vimala-bhrājīshu-
 4 ratn-ānvitāt [||*] yaś=Chālukya-kulād=anūna-vivu(bu)dha-vrāt-āśrayō vāridhēr=
 Lakshmin(m)=Mandaravat=sa-līlam=achirād=ākṛishṭavāmn=³Vallabhah [|| 3*]
 5 Tasy=ābhūt=tanayaḥ pratāpa-visarair=ākṛānta-digmaṇḍalah⁴ chaṇḍāmśōḥ sadṛśō=py=
 achanḍakarātā-prahlāḍita-kshmatālah [||*] Dhōrō
 6 dhairya-dhanō vipaksha-vanitā-vaktrām(vu)ja-śrī-harō hārīkṛitya yaś[ō] yadiyam=
 anisām dig-nāyikābhīr=dhṛitām [|| 4*] Jyēsth-ō[||*]lāṅghana-
 7 jātay=āpy=amalayā lakshmyā samētō=pi sam⁵ yō=bhūn=nirmala-maṇḍala sthiti-yutō
 dōshākarō na kvachit [||*] karṇ-ādhashtita-dāna-sam-
 8 tati-bhṛitō yasy=ānya-dān-ādhiḥkām dānam vikshya su-la[j*]jitā iva disām prāntē
 sthitā diggajāḥ [|| 5*] ⁶ Anyair=na jātu vijitām
 9 guru-śaktisāram=ākṛānta-bhūṭalam=ananyasamāna-mānam [||*] yēn=ēha va(ba)ddham=
 avalōkya chirāya Gaṅga[m*]
 10 dūram sva-nigraha-bhiy=ēva Kalih prayātaḥ [|| 6*] ⁷Ēkatr=ātma-va(ba)lēna⁸
 vā[r]jinidhin=āpy=anyatra rudhvā⁹ ghanam nishkṛishṭā[si*]-¹⁰
 11 bhaṭ-ōddhatēna viharadgrāh-ātibhīmēna cha [||*] mātāmḡan=madavāri-nirjjhara-
 muchah prāpy=ānatāt=Pallavāt
 12 tach=chitram mada-lēsam=apy=anudinam ya sprishṭavām¹¹ na kvachit [|| 7*]
 [Hēlā]-svi[kṛi]ta-Gauḍa-rājya-kamalā-mattam pravēsy=āchirāt¹² du-
 13 rmāgam maru-madhyam=aprativa(ba)lair=yō Vatsarājām va(ba)lai[h] [||*]
 Gaudiyam śaradindu-pāda-dhavalām ¹³chchhatra-dvayam kēvala[m] tasmān=n=āhri-
 14 ta tad-yaśō=pi kakubhām prāntē sthitām tatksanāt [|| 8*] ¹⁴Lavdha(bdha)-
 pratishṭham=¹⁵achirāya Kalim sudūram=utsārya suddha-charitair=ddhara-
 15 nī-talasya [||*] kṛitvā punah Kṛitayuga-śri(śri)yam=apy=asēsham chitram katham
 Nirupamaḥ Kali-vallabhō=bhūt [|| 9*] ¹⁶Prābhūr=dhairyaavataḥ
 16 tatō Nirupamād=indur-yathā vāridhēḥ suddh-ātmā paramēśvar-ōnnata-śiraḥ-samsakta-
 pādah sutaḥ [||*] padm-ānandakarah
 17 pratāpa-sahitō nity-ōdayah sōnnatēḥ pūrv-ādrēr=iva bhānumān=abhimatō
 Gōvindarājah satām [|| 10*] Yasmi[m]¹⁷ sarva-
 18 guṇ-āśrayē kshitipatau śrī-Rāshṭ[r]akūṭ-ānvayō jātē Yādavavamsavan=Madhuri[pā*]v=
 āśid=alāṅghyāḥ paraiḥ [||*] dṛishṭ-āśā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 19 vadhayah kṛitāsyasādṛiśā¹⁸ dānēna yēn=[ō]ddhatā muktāhāravibhū[shītā]¹⁹
 sphuṭam=iti pratyarthi[nō=p]y=arthin[ō]=py=asy=ākāra-²⁰

¹ Metre of verses 3-5: Śārdūlavikṛidita.

² Read -bhrājītātā.

³ Read °śitavām.

⁴ Read °lat=chaṇḍāmśōḥ.

⁵ Read sam.

⁶ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Metre of verses 7 and 8: Śārdūlavikṛidita.

⁸ This reading is quite certain; Prof. Bühler read -eathēna.

⁹ Read ruddhōd.

¹⁰ Nishkṛishṭāsi- is the reading of the Manne grant. Prof. Bühler's text has nishkṛishṭāsi, and the photo-lithograph actually has the akshara ri at the end of line 10; but, so far as I can judge, that akshara was never really engraved, and owes its presence solely to Prof. Bühler's conjectural reading.

¹¹ Read sprishṭavāna. Prof. Bühler has suggested the reading yat=sprishṭa², but this alteration of the original text seems to me unnecessary.

¹² Read =dchirād.

¹³ Read chhattra.

¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁵ Originally the sign of anusvāra was engraved above shṭha, but it has been struck out again.

¹⁶ Metre of verses 10-20: Śārdūlavikṛidita.— Read prābhūd=dhairyaavataḥ.

¹⁷ Read yasmin.

¹⁸ Read kṛitāḥ susadṛiśā.

I should have expected °bhūshād; but the plate seems really to have °bhūshītā, which is the reading of the Waqf and Manne grants.

Read =arthindam [|| 11*] Tasy=ākāra.

- 20 m-amānusham tri(tri)bhuvaṇa-vyāpatti-rakṣa-ōchitam Kṛishṇasy=ēva nirīkshya
yachchhati pitary=aikādhipatyam bhuvaḥ [1*] āstām tāta ta-
- 21 v=aitad=apratihatā dattā tvayā kaṇṭhikā kin=n=ājñ=ēva mayā dhṛit=ēti pitaram
yuktam vachō yō=bhyadhāt [|| 12*] Tasmim¹ svarga-
- 22 vibhūshaṇāya janakē jā(yā)tē yaśaśśēshatām=ēkībhūya samudyatām² vasumatī-
sainhāram=ādhihchhayā³ [1*] vichehchayām⁴
- 23 sahasā vyadhata nripatīn=ēkō=pi yō dvādaśa khyātān=apy=adhika-pratāpa-
visaraiḥ samvartakō=rkān=iva [|| 13*] Yēn=ā-
- 24 tyanta-dayālun=ātha nigada-klésād=apāsy=āyatāt svam dēśam gamitō=pi darpa-
visarād=yaḥ prātikūlyō sthitaḥ [1*] yā-
- 25 van=na bhrutu(ku)tī lalāṭa-phalakē yasy=ōnnatē lakshyatē vikshépēṇa vijitya
tāvad=achirād=va(ba)ddhaḥ sa Gaṁgaḥ punaḥ [|| 14*] Sam-
- 26 dhāy=āśu śilīmukhām⁵ sva-samayām⁶ vā(bā)pāsanasy=ōpari prāptam varddhita-
vam(bam)dhujīva-vibhavam padm-ābhivṛiddhy-anvi-
- 27 tam [1*] sannakshatram=udīkshya yam śarad-ṛitum parjanyaavad=Gūrjarō naṣṭaḥ
kv=āpi bhayāt=tathā na samaram sva-
- 28 pnē=pi paśyéd=yathā [|| 15*] Yat-pādānatimātrak-aika-śaraṇām=ālōkya lakshmi[m*]
nijām dūrān=Mālava-nā-
- 29 yakō naya-parō yam prāṇamat=prāṇjaliḥ [1*] kō vidvām⁷ valinā sah=
āpa-va(ba)laka sparddhām vidhattē param⁸ ni-
- 30 tēs=tad=dhi phalam yad=ātma-parayōr=ādhikeya-samvēdanam [|| 16*] Vimdhy-
ādreḥ kaṭakē nivishṭa-katakam śrutvā charair=yam nijaiḥ svam dēśam
- 31 samupāgataṁ dhruvam=iva jñātv[ā] bhiyā préritaḥ [1*] Mār[āśa]rva-
mahīpatir=drutam=[ag*]ād=aprāptapūrvaiḥ paraiḥ⁹ yasy=ēchehchām=a-
- 32 nukūlayam¹⁰ kula-dhanaiḥ pādau praṇāmair=api [|| 17*] Nītvā Śrībhavanē
ghanāghana-ghana-vyāpt-āmva(ba)rām prāvṛisham tasmā-
- 33 d=āgatavām¹¹ samam nija-va(ba)lair=ā-Tuṁgabhadra-taṭam [1*] tatra-sthaḥ
svakara-ethitām=api punar=na(ni)śśēsham=ākṛishṭavām¹² vikshépair=api
- 34 chitram=ānata-ripur=yaḥ Pallavānām śri(śri)yam [|| 18*] Lēkhāhāra-mukhōdit-
ārdha-vachasā yat=aitya Vēṅg-iśvarō nityam kimkaravad=vya-

¹ Read *tasmim*=.

² Read *samudyatām*. From the St. Petersburg Dictionary it will be seen that *udgata*, *abhyudyata*, *praty-udgata*, *samudyata*, etc., occur in various epic and purāṇic texts where we should have expected *udgata*, etc. The case is the same with the word *samudyatām* in the present passage. Here the fact that the twelve princes are compared with twelve suns shews beyond a doubt—see the passages which will be quoted in connection with the translation of the verse—that we want a word which means “risen,” and this could only be *samudyatām*. I prefer this explanation to the assumption that *samudyatām* might have been erroneously put by the writer for *samudyatō* (from *sam-ud-i*).

³ Originally *vasumatīm* was engraved, but the sign of *anusvāra* clearly is struck out. In the two *akṣaras* *mddhi* the *d* of *mā* also looks as if it had been struck out, and *dhi* may perhaps have been altered, but I do not see what alteration could be resorted to. As the Maṇṇe grant actually has *vasumatī-sainhāram=ddhīsayd*—the Wanī grant, omitting part of the verse, has *vasumatī n=ēkō=pi yō dvādaśa*—I adopt the same reading also for the present grant; but it should be stated that the construction of a noun substantive like *ddhīsayd* (derived from the Desiderative) with the accusative case, though not unknown in epic poetry, is contrary to the strict rules of classical Sanskrit. Prof. Speijer in his *Sanskrit Syntax* quotes e.g. *Mahābhārata*, I. 113, 21, *jigīṣhaya māhīm*, ‘with the desire of conquering the earth’.

⁴ Read *vichehchayām*=.

⁵ Read *mukhām*=.

⁶ Read *mayām*=.

⁷ Read *vidvām=balinā*.

⁸ Originally *param* was engraved, but the vowel *a* of the second syllable appears certainly to have been struck out.

⁹ Read *parair*=.

¹⁰ Read *kūlayam*=.

¹¹ Read *tavām*=.

¹² Read *śhīlavām*=.

[illegible][illegible]

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- 35 dhād=avirataḥ karma svasarm-échchhayā [1*] vāhyāli-vṛtir=asya yēna
rachitā vyōm-āgra-lagn=ā[ra]chat¹ rātrau mauktika-²māli-
36 kām=iva vṛitā³ mūrdhastha-tārā-guṇaiḥ [11 19*] Saṁtrāsāt=para-chakra-rājakam=
agāt=tatpūrva-sēvavidhi⁴ vyāvaddh-āmjali-
37 śobhitēka(na) śaraṇam mōrdhnā yad-amhri(hri)-dvayam [1*] yad-yad-datta-
parārdhya-bhūshana-gaṇair=⁵n=ālamkṛitam [ta*]t=tathā mā bhaishī-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 38 r=iti satya-pālita-yaśasthityā yathā tad-girāt⁶ [11 20*] ⁷Tēn=ēdam=anila-
vidyu[eh*]-chamchalam=avalōkya jivitam-asāram [1*] kshiti-
39 dāna-paramapunyaḥ pravartitō vra(bra)hma-dāyō=yam [11 21*] Sa cha
paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīma-
40 d-Dhārāvarshadēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabharamabhaṭṭāraka-⁸mahārājādhirāja-para-mē-
śvara-prithivīvala(lla)bha-śrīmat-Prabhū-
41 tavarsha-śrī-Śrīvallabhanarēndradēvaḥ kuśalī sarvān=ēva yathā-samvadyamānakām⁹
rāshṭrapati-vishayapati-grāmakūtākūyu-¹⁰
42 ktaka-niyuktak-ādhikārika-mahattar-ādīm¹¹ samādiśaty=astu vaḥ samviditam yathā
śrī-Mayūrakhaṇḍi-samāvāsītē-
43 na mayā mātāpitrōr=ātmanāś=ch=aihi-āmushmika-punya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē¹²
Tigavivāstavya-¹³ta[t*]traividyaśamānya-Tē(tai)ttirīya-
44 ¹⁴yasavra(bra)hmachāri-Bhāradvājaśagōtra-Nāgaīyyabhaṭṭa-pautrāya
¹⁵Chandiyammagahiyasāhasa-putrāya Paramēśvarabha-
45 ṭṭāya Rāsiyanabhukty-antargata¹⁶ Rattajjuna-nāma-grāmaḥ tasya ch=āghāṭanāni
pūrvataḥ Sinhā nadī dakṣiṇataḥ Va-

¹ Read =*arachat*-. Instead of *rachat*, Prof. Bühler's text has *na chēt*, and in the photo-lithograph the first *akshara* of the group is figured as *na*. But in the original plate that *akshara* is very different from what it has been represented to be in the photo-lithograph in the *Ind. Ant.*, and certainly is not *na*. It looks like a *ru*, the *u* of which, as is shewn by the back of the paper impression, may have been struck out; the Munne grant also, after *lagnā*, has *rucham*. The consonant of the second *akshara* of the group is *ch*, with a mark above it which Prof. Bühler has taken to be the sign for *é*; but that mark is so far away from the *ch*, and differs so much from the sign for *é* generally here used, that I regard it as an accidental scratch. At any rate, I am convinced that, if *é* was really engraved, it has been struck out. The actual reading therefore is -*lagnārachat* or -*lagnādrachat*, and I adopt the latter because in *drachat* we obtain a verb that may govern the following accusative case *mauktika-mālikām* which otherwise, like *Trisāku*, would stand in the air — derived from the root *rach* which is frequently found in construction with *mālā*, 'a garland.' Compare e.g. *Harshach*. p. 167, *rachita-muṇḍamālaka*; *Kdd*. p. 139, *vāshpajalaviṇḍubhir=arachitām sphatikāśhamālikām*; and *Dakṣamōrach*., Prof. Bühler's 2nd ed., p. 45, *drachita-muṇḍamālā*, 'one who has assumed a beautiful garland.' The difficulty which remains is, that in classical Sanskrit *rach* is a root of the 10th class — compare e.g. *Harshach*. p. 158, *lavāṅgamālā rachayentibhiḥ* — and that our author, in writing *arachat*, would have used a form for which an analogy could be found only in epic poetry. For this compare the construction of *dhātā*, above, p. 244, note 3.

² Originally *mauktikā* was engraved, but the superscript *é* has been struck out.

³ Prof. Bühler gives *dhṛitā*, which would be a possible reading.

⁴ Read *vidhi-vyāvaddh*-.
⁵ Between *nai* and *rud* another *akshara* may have been originally engraved.

⁶ Read *tad-girāt*. ⁷ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁸ Read -*paramabhaṭṭāraka*-.
⁹ Read -*sambadhyamānakām*-. ¹⁰ Read -*grāmakūt-āyu*-. ¹¹ Read -*ādīm=samādiśati* | *Astu*.

¹² This mark should be struck out, and may have been struck out already in the original.

¹³ Prof. Bühler read the name of the village *Tigamāci*, but in the impression I fail to recognise any sign of *anuvāra* over the word.

¹⁴ The *akshara ya* has been wrongly repeated here and should be struck out.

¹⁵ Originally the sign of *anuvāra* seems to have been engraved over the first *ya* of this word. Prof. Bühler read the name *Chandriyamma*.

¹⁶ Here and in other places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

- 46 vulâlâ paschimataḥ Miriyaṭhâṇa uttarataḥ Varaha-grâmah¹ évam=ayam²
chaturâghâṭan-ôpalakshitaḥ tathâ A-
- 47 nantavippu(shnu)bhaṭṭa-Viṭṭhuduvê[jha] - ⁴Gôinda[m] mashaḍamga[v]i[t²⁵]-
Savvaibhaṭṭa-Chandaḍibhaṭṭa-Kunṭhanâgaibhaṭṭa-Mâdha-
- 48 vairiyappu-Viṭṭhapu-Dêvapaiyyabhaṭṭa-Râyaiyyabhaṭṭ-éty-évamâdi-pramukhâ nâ m (pâ m)
vrâ(bra)hmanâ-
- 49 nâm chatvârimsad-mahâjana-samanvitânâm Rattajuna-grâmah s-ôdraingah sa-
parikarah sa-
- 50 dasâparâdhaḥ sa-bhûtôpâtâpratyâyah s-ôtpadyamânavisṭikaḥ sa-dhânyahiranyâdêyah
a-châṭa-
- 51 bhaṭa-prâvêsyah sarva-râjakiyânâm=a-hastaparakshêpaniyah â-chandr-ârkk-ârṇava-
kshiti-sarit-parvata-
- 52 samakâlînaḥ putra-pautr-ânvaya-kram-ôpabhôgyah⁶ pûrvapratta-dêvavrâ(bra)hmadâya-
rahitô=bhyantarasi[d*]dhyâ bhû-
- 53 michchidra-nyâyêna Sa[ka*]nripakâl-âtita-samvatsara-sâtêshu saptasu
trim(trim)śad-uttarêshu Sarvajin-nâmni samvat[sa]-
- 54 rê Śrâvana-vahula⁷ amâvâsyâm sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi va(ba)li-charu-
vaiśya(śva)dêv-âgnihôtra-pañchamahâyajña-⁸
- 55 kṛi(kri)y-ôtsarpanârtham snâtv=âdy=ôdak-âtisargêṇa pratipâditaḥ [!*] Yatô=sy=ôchitayâ
vra(bra)hmadâya-sthityâ
- 56 bhumi-jatô bhôjayataḥ kṛishatô karshayataḥ pratidiśatô vâ na kaiśchid=alp=âpi
paripamthanâ kârîyâ

TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-20.

Ôm. (Verse 1.) May He⁹ protect you the lotus of whose navel was made by Brahmâ into his own abode, and Hara¹⁰ too, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent of the moon!

(V. 2.) There was on the earth a king Kṛishnarâja, whose neck was clasped by the outstretched hands of Fortune¹¹ shining on his broad chest, who was gifted with truth,¹² and who by his large armies defeated the armies of opponents—[and who thereby was like the god Kṛishṇa] whose neck is hidden by the long rays of the *Kaustubha* gem glittering on his broad chest, who is united with Satyâ, and who with his broad disc defeats hosts of enemies—yet whose deeds were not like Kṛishna's¹³ [i.e. whose deeds were not black (*kṛishṇa*)].

¹ Prof. Bühler read the name *Vaḍaha*, but the second *akshara* undoubtedly is *ra*.

² Prof. Bühler read *éam=éva*.

³ In the names in this line and the next Prof. Bühler read 14 *aksharas* differently.

⁴ I am not absolutely certain that the *akshara* in brackets is really *jha* in the original, but it certainly looks more like *jha* than anything else. See above, p. 241, note 3.

⁵ Very probably this final *t* was engraved above the line, between *vi* and *sa*, where the impression and the accompanying collotype shew a kind of blot which has been carefully effaced in the photo-lithograph accompanying Prof. Bühler's paper.

⁶ Originally *kramôpabhôgyah* was engraved.

⁷ Read *-bahul-âmâvâsyâm*.

⁸ Before this word one would have expected to read, as in the Wani grant, *-dgnihôtra-ditihi*.

⁹ I.e. Vishnu.

¹⁰ I.e. Śiva.

¹¹ Referred to the king, *śrī-kaustubha* would literally mean 'Fortune (as bright as) the Kaustubha gem,' and referred to the god Kṛishṇa it might mean either 'the glorious Kaustubha gem' or 'Lakshmi and the Kaustubha gem.' Similar compounds are most common; and so is the idea that Fortune rests on a king's breast.

¹² *Satyânvita* = *satya* + *anvita* and *Satyâ* + *anvita*, and *Satyâ* is a shorter form of the name *Satyabhâma*, denoting one of Kṛishṇa's wives. Compare *Vds.* p. 122, *Kṛishṇa* *iva satyabhâmôpêtah*, 'he was endowed with truth (*satya*), splendour (*bhâ*), and fortune (*mâ*), and therefore like Kṛishṇa who is united with Satyabhâmâ.'

¹³ Only for those who are not familiar with the devices of Indian poets, I would state that these words are by no means intended either to convey any censure of the god Kṛishṇa, or to draw a distinction between that god and the king. The poet merely employs the figure of speech termed *virôdhâ* (or *virôdhâbhâsa*). In saying that

(V. 3.) Aided by¹ the total number of his wise men, He easily and swiftly drew to himself, **Vallabha** as he was,² Fortune from the **Chālukya** family, which was illustrious because all the families of great monarchs resorted to it from fear of being shorn of their partisans, was difficult to be thwarted by others, and possessed of many stainless brilliant treasures³—just as the **Mandara** mountain,⁴ supported by the whole assemblage of the gods, easily and swiftly drew **Lakshmi** forth from the sea which glittered with the throng of all the great mountains that had sought refuge with it from fear of having their wings clipt,⁵ is difficult to be crossed by others, and full of many flawless sparkling gems.

(V. 4.) He had a son who—though like the cruel-rayed sun which with the intensity of its ardour torments the quarters all around, he dominated the circle of the regions by the excess of his prowess—yet delighted the dwellers of the earth by his mild taxation:⁶ **Dhōra**, who, setting store by fortitude only, robbed of their beauty the lotus-faces of his opponents' wives, (and) whose fame the guardian mistresses of the quarters incessantly wore as their garland.

(V. 5.) United with Fortune unblemished, even though attained by the passing over of his eldest brother, [and thereby like the moon] when she shines with a pure lustre even after having passed **Jyēshthā**, yet [surpassing the moon, whose orb is not spotless, who was wanting in continence, and is ever 'the maker of night'] He kept those around him free from blemish, was endowed with steadfastness, and noways a source of vice.⁷ Seeing that His liberality exceeded the

Kṛishṇarāja was like the god **Kṛishṇa**, and that yet his deeds were not like **Kṛishṇa's**, he expects the reader to reconcile the two apparently contradictory statements by taking the second of them to mean that his deeds were not black. Compare *Kād.* (here and below, except when otherwise stated, Prof. Peterson's edition), p. 10, *ati-buddha-svabhāvam api kṛishṇa-charitam*, 'although his character was very pure, his deeds were black' [i.e., really, his deeds were like **Kṛishṇa's**].

¹ The compound ending with *āraya* I of course take as a *Bahuvrīhi*. For the double meaning of *vibudha* compare *Vās.* p. 14, *Mēruḥ iva vibudhālayaḥ*, 'he was a home of the learned, and therefore like the *Mēru* which is the habitation of the gods.'

² By the way in which the poet pointedly places the word *Vallabhah*, at the end of the verse, and in close proximity to the word *ākṛishṭavān*, I understand him to suggest that **Kṛishṇarāja**, just because he was **Vallabha**, had a right, or was particularly qualified, to draw to himself Fortune from the **Chālukya** family. And he had this right or qualification, and Fortune came to him willingly, because he was 'the favourite' of **Lakshmi**, *īryō vallabhah*, as he is called in another inscription (above, Vol. III. p. 107, l. 26 of the text).

³ *Ratna*, 'a jewel,' may be used to denote any possession of great value ('*ratnaṁ īrēshthē maṇḍa=api*' *iti Vīṇavā*). The epithet *ratna-vīśha-bhāj* in the *Raghuvamśa*, XVI. 1, is explained by *tattachchkrēshthā-vastu-bhājīn*. In *Kād.* p. 80, the prince **Chandrāpīḍa** looks upon the horse **Indrāyudha** sent to him by his father as one of the king's *sakalatribhuvana-durlabdhāni ratnāni*; and in the gloss on *Harshach.* p. 142, horses, elephants and a beautiful woman are enumerated among the *mahā-ratnāni* of monarchs.

⁴ Compare *Harshach.* p. 109: the king **Pushabhūti** (*Pushyabhūti*) was *Mandaramaya iva lakshmi-samākarṣhaṇē*.

⁵ In *Kād.* p. 90, the author describes the royal palace as *udadhim iva bhayāntaḥpravishṭa-sapaksha-bhūmibhṛit-sahasra-saṅkulam*.

⁶ Or by the leniency with which he took tribute from those whom he had subjugated.

⁷ In this first half of the verse the poet uses the figure of *vyatirēka*. In one respect **Dhōra** was like the moon, but in others he surpassed that luminary. The clouds generally begin to gather and to hide the moon at the beginning of the month of **Āshāḍha**—compare the *Mēghadūta*, v. 2, *Āshāḍhasya prathama-divasē mēgham ālishta-samam . . . dadarśa*—which follows immediately upon **Jyāishṭha**; yet occasionally the moon may be clearly visible even in the rainy season. Similarly, it has ever been considered sinful for a younger prince to set aside in the succession—compare *Nirukta*, II. 10, *adharmas teyā charitō jyēshtham bhrātaram antaritya=abhīshēchitam*, where *antaritya* is paraphrased by *atikramya*—or generally to act in opposition to, an elder brother; yet in the case of **Dhōra** who was guilty of such conduct, his action—the wording of the verse does not make it certain wherein it exactly consisted—and the personal advantage derived from it, were regarded as free from blemish. On the other hand—so the poet suggests—the moon's orb always has a dark spot; (in carrying off **Bṛihaspati's** wife **Tārā**, though he had many beautiful wives of his own) the Moon was wanting in continence; and the very name *dōshākara*—really 'the maker of night'—of the moon shews its possessor to be 'a mine of vice.' **Dhōra's** qualities on the contrary, as may be seen from the translation, were the very reverse of all these blemishes.—As regards particulars, compare in the first instance *Kād.* p. 56, *fatirō jyēshthātīkramah*; in **Tārāpīḍa's** reign

liberality of others, while their own practice of liberality lagged behind that of Karna¹ [*i.e.* while the stream of their rutting-juice flowed beneath their ears (*karna*)], the elephants of the quarters, utterly abashed as it were, posted themselves at the confines of the quarters.

(V. 6.) The Kali age—witnessing how the **Gaṅga**, who, of consummate strength, had never been conquered by others, and who, having overrun the face of the earth, was filled with unparalleled conceit, at last by Him was imprisoned—fled far away, for fear, as it were, of being chastised in its own body.

(V. 7.) Having closely hemmed in the **Pallava**, on the one side by his army abounding in warriors with drawn² swords, and on the other by the sea fearful with sporting sharks, and having received from him, bent in submission, elephants shedding streams of rutting-juice, He, strange (*to record*), day after day touched never even an atom of rutting-juice³ [*i.e.* He betrayed never even an atom of pride].

(V. 8.) By his matchless armies having quickly driven into the trackless desert⁴ **Vatsarāja** who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of royalty of the **Gaṇḍa**, He in a moment took away from him, not merely the **Gaṇḍa's** two umbrellas of state, white like the rays of the autumn moon, but his own fame also that had spread to the confines of the regions.

(V. 9.) Since by the pure conduct of the dwellers of the earth He swiftly drove far away the Kali age that was established here, and completely reinstated the glory of the golden age,⁵ it is marvellous how **Nirupama** came to be **Kali-vallabha**, 'the Favourite of the Kali age.'

(V. 10.) As the moon, whose rays cling to Paramêśvara's⁶ lofty head, emerges bright from the sea, and as the sun, causing joy to the lotus, day by day rises brilliant from the high orient mount, so from that **Nirupama**, firm of character, was born a son of pure disposition, whose feet

the moon indeed passed Jyêsthâ, but otherwise there was not found on the earth any *jyêsthâtîkrama*, *i.e.* overstepping or, as the commentator puts it, transgression of the commands (*nirdêśôllanghana*) of an eldest brother. For the moon's behaviour towards Brihaspati's wife compare *Vās.* p. 273, *Gurudâra-grahanam dvijarājô 'karôti*; *Harshach.* p. 97, *dvijândm râjâ Gurudâra-grahanam akârôti*; and especially the beautiful story told *ibid.* p. 281. For *dôsha*, 'vice,' and *dôshâ*, 'night,' see *e.g.* *Kād.* p. 37, *gharmakâla-divasa iva kshapita-bâhu-dôshah*, 'he had subdued many vices, and was therefore like a summer day which shortens the long night;' and for the double meaning of *maṇḍala* compare *Vās.* p. 189, *surôjêva rakta-maṇḍalah . . . rajanipatiḥ*, where *maṇḍala* is paraphrased by *bimba*, 'orb,' and *amâtýâdi-samûha*, 'the collection of ministers *etc.*'

¹ The adjective ending with *-samtatibhritah* can only be taken to qualify *diggajdh*. Employed in accordance with the figure of *kavyalinga*, it gives the poet's reason why the elephants were ashamed and retired to the confines of the quarters. The king's liberality exceeded that of all others, theirs was inferior at any rate to that of Karna. Karna is well-known as a pattern of munificence. For the double meaning of the word *karna* compare *Vās.* p. 62, *Suyôdhana-dhritim iva karna-vîrônta-lôchandm*, 'her eyes extended to her ears (*karna*), and she therefore was like Suyôdhana's firmness which left him when he saw Karna;' for that of *dâna*, *ibid.* p. 74, *matla-mâtanga iva . . . adharakrîta dânah*, 'he eclipses the liberality (of others), and is therefore like a rutting elephant whose rutting-juice is flowing down;' *Kād.* p. 90, *diggajam iv=ôvichchhinna-mahâdâna-samtânâṃ*; *etc.*

² The ordinary Sanskrit expression for 'to draw' the sword is *ut-khan*, and the dictionaries give no quotation to shew that *nish-kriṣh* has the same meaning; but the latter verb is used *e.g.* in *Harshach.* p. 130, *nishkriṣhta maṇḍalâgrau*, 'with drawn swords.'

³ In *Harshach.* p. 220, it is similarly said of Skandagupta, the commandant of Harsha's elephant troop: *âtmaṣṭha-samasta-matla-mâtanga-sddhanô 'py=aspriṣhîô madêna*, 'with a whole army of rutting elephants at his disposal, he was yet untouched by rut' (*i.e.* presumption; compare Prof. Cowell's Translation).

⁴ Or 'Maru country' (*Mârvâd*); and 'the king of the Vatsas.'

⁵ Beneath the rule of Prabhâkaravardhana 'the golden age (*krîta-yuga*) seemed to bud forth in close packed lines of sacrificial posts, the evil time (*kali*) to flee in the smoke of sacrifices meandering over the sky;' see *Harshach.* p. 133, and Prof. Cowell's Translation.

⁶ *I.e.* Śiva's. For the double meaning of *paramêśvara* compare *e.g.* *Harshach.* p. 162, *iddntm tv=śat=śva śirasâ paramêśvarêṇ=dsi vôdhanyô jdatāḥ*, 'but now you are one to be supported by the king, like the moon by Paramêśvara (Śiva), on his head;' for that of *pâda*, *ibid.* p. 215, *kshamâpa/ntm śiraḥsu śara/savit=êva laldâṃ-tapân prayachchhâ pâda-nydân*, 'like the autumn sun, set your forehead-burning footsteps (rays) upon the heads of kings (the tops of mountains).'

rest on the proud heads of monarchs, who causes delight to millions,¹ is endowed with valour and ever rising—**Gôvindsarāja**, the beloved of the good.

(V. 11.) When this king, the resort of all that is excellent, was born, the glorious **Râshtrakûṭa** lineage became unsurpassable by others, as the Yâdava clan did on the birth of Madhu's foe;² a king who—causing haughty adversaries to seek the confines of the regions and to relinquish food and ornaments by his harassment³—clearly made even them quite like unto the suppliants, who see their desires granted to the full and are adorned with pearl-strings by his munificence.

(V. 12.) When, seeing his superhuman form, like that of **Kṛishṇa**, fit to ward off calamity from the three worlds, his father offered to him the sole sovereignty of the earth, He addressed to him the seemly words: "Let it be, dear father! This is yours. Have I not worn, like a command unchallenged, the necklet (of heir apparent)⁴ which you have given to me?"

(V. 13.) When, to adorn the heavens, that father of his had gone to that state where nothing but his glory was left, He, though unaided, by the profusion of his superior splendour at once deprived of their lustre the twelve princes, famous though they were, who jointly rose with the desire of appropriating his land, just as the world-destroying fire does to the twelve suns⁵ which rise together to bring about the destruction of the earth.

(V. 14.) Afterwards, when in his infinite compassion He had released the **Gaṅga** from the long suffering of captivity and sent him to his own country, and when that **Gaṅga** in the excess of his arrogance nevertheless continued in hostility, He, even before a frown appeared on his high broad forehead, defeated him by a raid⁶ and again threw him into prison.

(V. 15.) As the rains cease on the approach of the starry season of autumn, which, having quickly placed its bees on *bâna* and *asana* flowers,⁷ enhances the beauty of the *bandhujîva* flower

¹ The word *padma*, in the sense in which I take it here, denotes really 1,000 millions or billions; compare above, Vol. V. p. 120, note 6.

² I.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa.

³ Commentators would paraphrase *dâna*, as used here, by *khandana* and *vitranā*. Passages in which the word is similarly employed are *Vās.* p. 11, *Nṛisinhā iva darṣita-hiranyakaṣipukṣhêtra-dâna-vismayaḥ*, 'he caused astonishment by granting gold, food and clothing, and land, and was therefore like the Man-lion (Viṣṇu) who did so by mangling the body of Hiranyakaṣipu;' and p. 128, *lakṣhadâna-chuutiḥ sdyakânīm*, 'missiles failed to hit their aim—the bestowal of lacs (of money) never failed.'—The word *dât* often conveys the two meanings which it has in this verse; see e.g. *darṣitâta* in the verse in *Kād.* p. 149. With *muktâhâra*^o one may compare *vimuktâhâra* in the verse *ibid.* p. 12.

⁴ On *kanṭhikâ* see above, Vol. V. p. 138, note 2.

⁵ These twelve suns are mentioned frequently; compare e.g. *Vās.* p. 160, *pralayaklôdita-doddâsaravi-kirankalâpa-tloravirahigai-dahyamânam atikrikâm viprânâm iva tanum bibhrati*; and *Harshach.* p. 209, *kṣhapa-dioasa iv=ôdita-doddâsadinakara-durnirtkshya-mûrtih*.

⁶ So the word *vikshêpa* is translated (in my opinion, correctly) by Prof. Cowell in *Harshach.* p. 170, *adharmavikshêpair=iva lunthitam*, 'sacked by the raids of demerit;' and the same meaning (in addition to its ordinary sense) the word even more clearly has in *Kād.* p. 107, *dûrasthildany=api phalân=iva danda-vikshêpair matâkuldni sâtayanti*, 'by the raids of their troops they humble great families, even though they be far away, as by throwing sticks one brings down fruit that grows on a high (tree).' Compare below, v. 18.

⁷ To make it convey this meaning, I take *bândasana* of course as a *Dravda* compound. The *bâna* and *asana* flowers are mentioned in the *Sîmapâlavadhâ*, VI. 46 and 47, both as blossoming in autumn. With the whole passage compare especially *Kād.* p. 21 of the Calcutta ed. of Samvat 1919, *samarôdyata-patâkin=iva bândasan-drôpita-sîlmukhâ*, the Vindhya forest 'where bees are settled on *bâna* and *asana* flowers, and which therefore is like an army intent on battle where arrows are placed on bows;' (Prof. Peterson in his ed., p. 19, has adopted the wrong reading *bâna-samârôpita*); compare also the similar passage *ibid.* p. 127 of Prof. Peterson's ed., *samaramukhair=iva pûnâdga-samâkrishta-sîlmukhaiḥ . . . pādapaih*. A passage in which, in addition to the *bâna* and *asana* flowers, three others are mentioned in a similar way occurs in the *Nalachampû*, p. 26. In inscriptions, we have the same double meanings of *sîlmukha* and *bândasana* (with special reference to the autumn) in the description of Dhruvasêna III. of Valabhi, e.g. in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 88, ll. 37 and 38 and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 176, l. 36; and in the Kûram plates, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 149, l. 27, we find, instead of *bândasana*, *śarâsana*, used similarly in a double sense.

and favours the growth of the day-lotus, so the Gūṛjara—on seeing how He, who made the lives and wealth of relatives prosper, and was favoured by increase of fortune, and before whom warriors desponded,¹ had come near, quickly placing on his bow the arrows aimed at himself—in fear vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle.

(V. 16.) Seeing that the sole way to preserve his fortune was to bow down at His feet, the lord of Mālava, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands. What wise man, whose power is small, will compete with one powerful? For that is the prime result of the rules of policy, to know the superiority in strength of oneself and one's adversary.

(V. 17.) Having heard through his spies that his camp was pitched on the ridges of the Vindhya mountain, and apprehending that He was moving towards his own country like (the comet) Dhruva,² king Mārāsarva, driven by fear, quickly went to conciliate³ his mind by choice heir-looms, such as He had never received before, and his feet by prostrations.

(V. 18.) Having passed the rainy season, when the sky is densely covered with thick clouds, at Śrībhavana, He thence went with his forces to the banks of the Tūṅabhadra; and staying there, He, strange⁴ (to say), even by flinging it away, again completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas though it was already in his hand—his enemies having submitted.

(V. 19.) Thither the lord of Vēṅgi repaired when (the king's) letter-carrier had only half uttered the command, and longing for his own comfort, steadily like a servant without ceasing did such toil that the enclosure constructed thereby for His camp,⁵ touching the summit of the sky, at night seemed to assume a garland of pearls,⁶ surrounded as it was by the groups of stars above it.

(V. 20.) With their heads embellished by their hands folded then for the first time⁷ to render

¹ The word *sannakshatra* represents both *san* (i.e. *sat*) + *nakshatra* and *sanna* + *kshatra*; compare *Vās.* p. 28, *Trisāṅkur=iva nakshatrapatha-skholitah*, where *nakshatrapatha* is both *nakshatra-patha* and *na kshatra-patha*. *San-nakshatra* would of course be equivalent to *vidyamāna-nakshatra*; and *sanna-kshatra* would have to be dissolved by *sannaṁ kshatram yēna*, and might also be translated by 'he by whom warriors were humbled, or destroyed'; compare with it *sanna-śatru* in the *Raghuvamśa*, VII. 61.

² Compare the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XI. 42, Prof. Kern's Translation in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. V. p. 71: "But the princes on whose warlike equipments, the countries on whose dwellings, trees, and hills, and the householders on whose implements this luminary (*viz.* the comet Dhruva) is seen, are doomed to destruction."

³ In the Sanskrit text the Present Participle is accounted for by Pāṇini, III. 2, 126.

⁴ The strangeness in the first place lies in the fact that he drew to himself something by flinging it away (*vikshēpa*); and secondly in the circumstance that this thing which he drew to himself already was in his hand (*kara*). His action ceases to be strange as soon as we take the words *vikshēpa* and *kara* to mean 'raid' and 'tribute':—"He by his raids completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas which was tributary to him" (or, as we should say, who were his tributaries).—On *vikshēpa* see the note on v. 14. The double meaning of *kara* is most common; compare *e.g.* *Kād.* p. 10, *akaram api hastasthita-sakalabhuvanatalam*, 'although he had no hands, the whole extent of the earth was in his hand,' *i.e.* 'the whole extent of the earth was in his hand and he took no tribute from it.'

⁵ For the use of the word *rāhyāḍī* (or *bāhyāḍī*) which I have translated by 'camp,' I only can refer the reader to the passages quoted in von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary*. The word occurs in the *Rājatarangīni* (Dr. Stein's edition), VII. 392; 976; 986; and VIII. 46. *Śīva-rāhyāḍī* we have in line 11 of the *Uttamacharitra-kathānakam* (*Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wiss.* 1884, Part I. p. 276), meaning something like 'stabling for horses,' or 'horse-barracks'; and its synonym (though explained differently by the commentator in the Nirṇaya-sāgar Press ed.) *turaṅga-rāhyāḍī* occurs in *Kād.* p. 75, l. 1, *uparachita-turaṅgarāhyāḍī-vibhāgam . . . vidyā-mandiram*.

⁶ Pearls and stars are frequently compared with each other; but while as a rule the stars are the *upamāna* and pearls the *upamēya*, here the reverse is the case (*viparyāsōpamā*). The stars which the enclosure seemed to wear on its crest were like a pearl-garland. Compare *Vās.* p. 85, *muktāphala-sabalitāṭikharatayā śirō-lagnaṁ tārā-gaṇam iv=ōdvahan*; *ibid.* p. 220, *śikharagata-muktājāla-rytjēna . . . tārā-gaṇam iv=ōdvahadbhīḥ . . . prāsādair=upasōbbhitam . . . Vāsavadattā-bhavanam*.

⁷ *I.e.* they never before had rendered obeisance to any king. For the use of *tatpūrva* compare—I take this quotation from the St. Petersburg *Dictionary*—*Raghuvamśa*, II. 42, *iṣṭu-prayōgē tatpūrva-saṅgē*, 'in the discharge of the arrow which (discharge) then for the first time was checked'; and *Kumārasambhava*, V. 10, *atpūrva-mibaddha*, 'then for the first time tied on.'

obeisance, the kings of hostile realms in their terror approached for protection His feet, which became less adorned by the many exquisite ornaments presented, than by His own words "Do not fear!", the trustworthiness of which guards the stability of his fame.

No. 24.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE DHARWAR DISTRICT.

By J. F. FLEET, I C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

A.—AN INSCRIPTION AT DIDGUR.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 below) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887.

Didgūr is a village about thirteen miles towards the south-west from Karajgi, the headquarters of the Karajgi tāluks of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Dindgoor,' with a nasal in the first syllable for which it is difficult to account; and moreover, as compared with the map that I mention next, it transposes the position of it with the position of a neighbouring village named Timāpur. The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deergoor.' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Didgur.' Line 3 of the record, taken in connection with the general purport and with its existence at Didgūr, suggests that **the earlier name of the place was Mugunda**. And the reference to the governor Dosi has the effect of placing Mugunda, and the other village that is mentioned, Saṅgavūr, **in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province**. The inscription is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No. 1 of Didgūr.

At the top of the stone there are **sculptures**, which shew, in the centre, a seated figure, squatting and facing full-front, on a seat of three tiers, and holding in each hand apparently some weapon which looks like a short spear; on the proper right of this figure, there is a boar, standing to the proper left, *i.e.* towards the central figure; and on the proper left there is some animal which, in the drawing submitted to me, looks more like a badly sketched horse or donkey than anything else, standing to the proper right, *i.e.* again, towards the central figure.—The extant portion of the **writing** covers an area ranging in breadth from about 10" in line 8 to 2' 3" in line 2, by about 1' 9½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and is legible with certainty almost throughout. But, owing to parts of the stone having been broken away and lost, letters are missing at the ends of the lines from line 4 onwards, and at the beginning of lines 7 and 8. And there must have been originally at least one more line, containing the usual end of the imprecatory verse of which there is a remnant in line 8.—The **characters** are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them¹ ranges from about ⅝" in the *r* of the *re* in *tereya*, line 3, to about 1¼" in the *s* of the *sā* in *sāsi[ra]*, line 6; and the *bi* in line 2, No. 17, is about 4" high, on the slant. The superscript long *ī* is used throughout, for the short *i* as well as for the long vowel. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is used; and it is very pointedly marked in the *ḍi* of *keḍisi[domge]*, line 5, No. 15. There is a final form of the *l* in line 4, No. 12, in *grahana[do]l*. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* and *ñ* do not occur.² The *j* occurs twice, in lines 1 and 3, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed; it can be seen best in the *ja* of *mahājanadā*, line 3, the last *akshara* but one. The *b* occurs seven times, and is, throughout, of the old square type, closed; but the actual form of it, being mostly composed of curves rather than of straight lines, must be looked on as a somewhat cursive form of the old square

¹ See page 41 above.

² In *kādonge*, line 5, where either the guttural nasal or the *anusvāra* would be permissible, the writer mistakenly used the dental nasal.

type : the intended form can be seen best in the upper *b* of the *rbba* in *sāsirbbar*, line 6, No. 5 ; and a noticeable feature in it, is the marked crook, halfway up the left side of the letter, with which the formation of the character commenced : we can see that the writer began at that point, and formed the rest of the character by one steady sweep of the pen, running along the top, down the right side, along the bottom to the left, and then up to the starting-point ; and it is easy to realise that the later cursive type may have been developed almost directly from this particular form of the old square type, by making the downstroke immediately after completing the crook, and then forming the rest of the character to the right instead of to the left. We have the *l* in the *la* of *kālam*, line 4, No. 3 ; and it, also, is of the old square type : it occurred again in *phalam*, line 5 ; it is almost entirely destroyed there ; but such traces as are discernible in the impression, indicate that there, also, the old square type was used.— We have the remains of a Sanskrit imprecatory verse in line 8. But the language of the body of the record is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In *Mugundadul*, line 3, we have the somewhat exceptional locative ending *ul* ;¹ but we have the usual ending *ol* in [*Vāra*] *nāsiyoḷ* in line 6, and apparently also in *grahana[do]l*, line 4.— The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king Kattiyara, under whom a certain Dosi was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. The object of it was to record a general assignment of some tax under the orders of the king, and the special assignment by Dosi of a quarter-share of the tax of the village of Saṅgavūr to the Mahājanas of Mugunda,—doubtless for expenditure by them on communal objects.²

Of the two villages mentioned in the record, Saṅgavūr is evidently the modern ‘Sungoor’ of the maps, about two miles on the north of Diḍgūr.³ Mugunda seems to be the earlier name of Diḍgūr itself. The record tacitly, but plainly, places both these villages in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. And it seems likely that the Mugunda mentioned here is the town from which there was named a group of villages called the Mugunda twelve, of which mention is made in an inscription of A.D. 1075 at Baḷagāmi. That record registers the grant, for the temple of the god Nārasimha at Baḷligāve, of a town or village (*bāḍa*) named Kundavige in “the Mugunda twelve which was a *kampaṇa* of the Banavase nād.”⁴ The maps do not shew any such names as Mugunda and Kundavige in the neighbourhood of Baḷagāmi. Diḍgūr is only twenty-four miles away towards the north-by-east from Baḷagāmi. And, though there, also, the maps do not shew any such names now, there is no objection, such as on account of excessive distance from the temple to which the grant was made, to locate Kundavige somewhere near Diḍgūr.⁵

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to closely about A.D. 800. The names of the king and of the local governor are not known as yet from any other records. It seems impossible to explain the existence of this record in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory and in the period to which it must be referred, except on the supposition that Kattiyara was one of the twelve confederate kings and princes, headed by Stambha-Kambayya, who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III.⁶ And, in my opinion, that is certainly the explanation of the matter. Further, it seems likely that, of the emblems on the stone, the boar belongs to the king Kattiyara, and the other animal to the

¹ See page 99 f. above.

² Compare page 102 above.

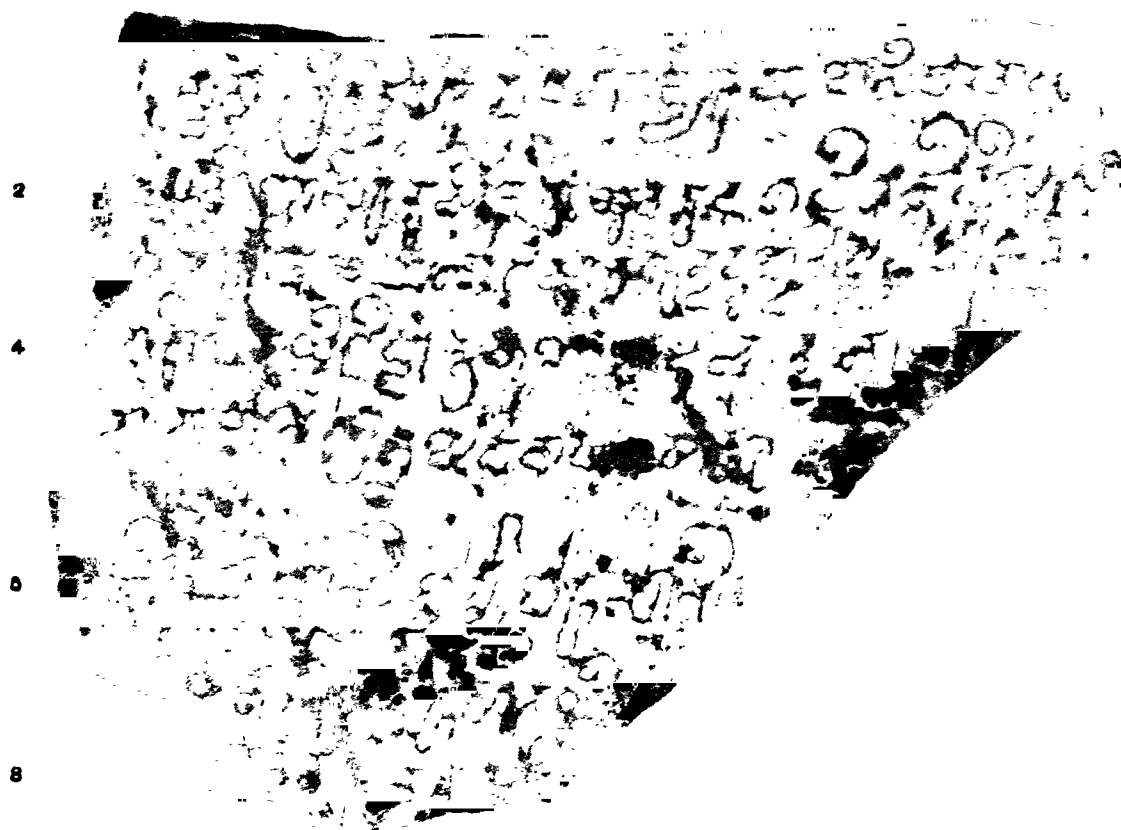
³ There are inscriptions at ‘Sungoor’ and at the neighbouring village of ‘Koolenoor,’ which might possibly throw further light on the matter of the present record.

⁴ *P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 161, lines 33, 34 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. pp. 209, 211 ; and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 143.

⁵ Moreover, there are various indications that the names of places in that neighbourhood have changed very considerably in the course of time,—probably through the splitting up of towns into small villages.

⁶ See page 197 above ; also page 249 above, where we have Prof. Kielhorn’s translation of the verse, No. 13, in the Rādhapur plates.

Inscription at Didgur.



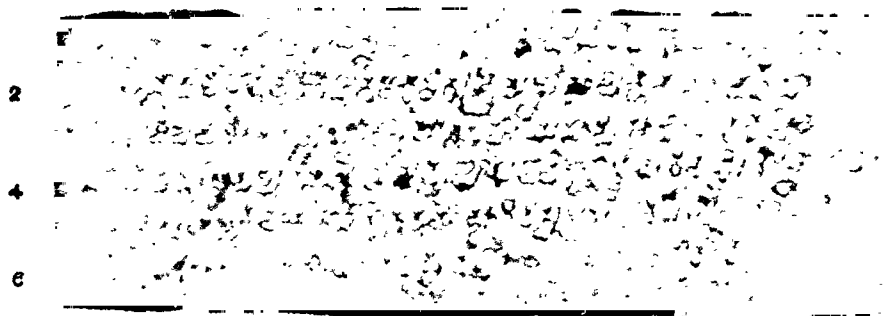
SCALE 20

Inscription at Gudigere.



SCALE 20

Malgund Inscription of Panchaladeva—A.D. 975.



governor Dosi. From this it would follow that **Kattiyara** was a **Chalukya**, descended from, or at least connected with, the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, and that we have in him the **Kattiyaradēva** who is mentioned as an ancestor of the later Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāni in the Managōli inscription of A.D. 1161¹

TEXT.²

1	Svasti ³	Śrī-Kattiyara	prithivi-rājyam-keye	Dosi	Banavāsi-
2	panniḥchāsiranum ⁴ =āle	nū(?) ⁵ ruvaka(?)ra:lagaḍigal=biḍise			Sam-
3	gavūr[ā]	teṇeya	bhāgamān=Mugundaduḥ=Dosi		mahājana-
4	dā kālām kalchi biṭṭon=grahana[do]l	chandra-sūrya[ra]m-[baram]	[||*]	[I]-	
5	dān=kādonge ⁶	aśvamēdhadā	pha[la]m=akkum	keḍisi[domge	Vāra]-
6	nāsiyoḥ=sāsirbbar=ppārbbaram	sāsi[ra	kavileyumam		konda]
7	[p]āpam=akkum yu . . vūrumān=aḷi . . . [||*]				[Sva-dattām para-dattām]
8	[vā yō]	harēta vasundharām sha[shṭ]i			

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! While the glorious **Kattiyara** was reigning over the earth ; and while **Dosi** was governing the **Banavāsi** twelve-thousand :— On (**Kattiyara**) causing to be assigned⁷⁸ **Dosi** laved the feet of the *Mahājanas* at **Mugunda**, and assigned (*to them*), at the time of an eclipse, a quarter⁹ of the tax of **Saṅgavūr**, [to continue as long as] the moon and sun [may last].

(Line 4.) To him who protects this, there shall accrue the reward of an *aśvamēdha*-sacrifice ; to him who destroys it, there shall attach the guilt of [killing] a thousand Brāhmanas and a thousand [cows] at Vāraṇāsi !¹⁰

(Verse 1 ; line 7) [He who] confiscates land [that has been given, whether by himself or by another],

B.—AN INSCRIPTION AT GUDIGERE.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. It was originally brought to my notice by the then Māmlatdār of Lakshmēshwar, in February, 1883. I edit it, and the accompanying collotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1892.

Gudigere is the head-quarters town of an outlying tāluka of the same name belonging to the Junior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Goodagerree,' in lat. 15° 26', long. 75° 6', six miles towards the west of Lakshmēshwar. The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Goodeegeree.' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Gudgiri.' The Railway

¹ Above, Vol. V. p. 16, text line 5 ; note 4 below the translation on page 20 may now be cancelled.

² From the ink-impression.

³ The sign for the superscript long *ṣ* is used throughout to denote the short *i* also. It does not seem necessary to encumber the text by shewing the long vowel in each case and entering the corrections.

⁴ Read *panniḥchāsiranam*.

⁵ This is rather a nondescript *akshara*. It looks more like *nū* than anything else. But it may possibly be *ku* or *kū*.

⁶ Read *kādonge*, or *kādomge*.

⁷ For the meanings given to *biḍisu* here and to *biḍu* in line 4, see page 107 above, note 4.

⁸ The word before *biḍise* is unintelligible.

⁹ *Bhāga* seems to be used in this specific sense (for which see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary), rather than in the vague meaning of 'a share.'

¹⁰ The original contained some words here, — perhaps introducing the name of another village, or perhaps only deprecating the destruction of the village itself, — of which not enough remains to make the sense intelligible.

Officials have adopted the form 'Gudgeri'.¹ We already know one record from this place,—the inscription of A.D. 1076-77,² which gives its name in the Kanarese form of **Guḍigere** and in the Sanskritised form of **Dhvajataṭṭāka**. An earlier mention of it is found in the Tālgund inscription of A.D. 997,³ which mentions, as a feudatory of the Western Chālukya king Taila II., a certain Bhīmarasa,⁴ with the *biruda* of Tailapanaṅkakāra or "the champion of Tailapa," who was then governing the [Banavā]si twelve-thousand, the Sātālige thousand (the Sātālige thousand of other records),⁵ the Ki[sukā]ḍ seventy, and an **agrahāra** the name of which is either **Samasi-Guḍigere** or possibly Savasi-Guḍigere.⁶ The first component of this name evidently denotes the modern 'Sownshee' of the maps, seven miles north-west-by-north from **Guḍigere**. The two villages thus constituted in ancient times an *agrahāra*, which was named after both of them. And, as the Tālgund record cites, among the witnesses to the matter which it registers, (the people or elders of) the *padīnent-agrahāra*, it would appear that the **Samasi-Guḍigere agraḥāra** was one of the eighteen agraḥāras. The present inscription is on a stone on the north side in front of a temple of Kalamēśvara at Guḍigere.

The sketch submitted to me shews a narrow high stone, with a tall panelled head, probably about four feet high, rounded at the top. At the bottom of the outer panelling, on each side there is a full-blown water-lily; and at the bottom of the middle panel there is a large circle, with a big dot in the centre of it, standing on a square or rectangular pedestal, from each side of which there projects a floral ornamentation. Then comes the writing, immediately below the above, on the bottom part of the panelled head. Below the writing the stone contracts to a square face, probably about one foot square, on which there is the **sculpture** of an elephant, standing to the proper left, with his trunk hanging down and the tip of it turned up inwards, and, in fact, depicted very similarly to the elephant at the top of the stone at Baḷagāmi which contains the inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogilli,⁷ and—(except that there is a band or strap round the body of the elephant)—to the elephant at the top of the Peggu-ūr Gaṅga inscription of A.D. 978.⁸ Below

¹ It may be remarked that the name-boards exhibited at railway stations, while large enough and clear enough, are anything but a safe guide to the actual forms of place-names, though they are likely to do more than anything else towards perpetuating certain erroneous or imperfect forms. I have seen, more than once, the same name exhibited in three different spellings on the same platform,—in one form in Kanarese characters, in another in Marāṭhi characters, and in still another in English characters,—and not one of them absolutely correct in all details.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 35.

³ *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 214; and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 186.—Here, as in various other cases, the details given by me from the photographs of the records are not all presented in *Mysore Inscriptions*. No doubt, more complete and correct accounts of the contents of the records included in that book, will be given when Mr. Rice issues the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* which will deal with the Shimoga and Chitaldroog districts. Meanwhile, his *Mysore Inscriptions* still serves as an index and guide to the use of the photographs from Colonel Dixon's collection which were reproduced in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*.

⁴ He is probably described as a *Mahāśtanta*; but the last four syllables cannot be read with certainty in the photograph.

⁵ The photograph seems to distinctly give the name here as Sātālige.—without any nasal after the *ḍ*.

⁶ In the second syllable of the first component of the name, the original has a character, namely, the mediæval form of *m* or of *v* noticed on page 258 below, which in the photograph may be read either as *m* or as *v*. It is probably *m*. But an ink-impression is required, to settle the point definitely.

⁷ For a photograph, shewing the elephant, see No. 98 of Colonel Dixon's collection, reproduced as No. 152 in my *P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* For the bearing of the emblem on the Baḷagāmi inscription, see page 72 above.

⁸ See the lithographs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, and *Coorg Inscr.*, opposite p. 5.—There is a very similar elephant on the stone that contains the Gaṅga inscription at Kyātunaballī (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Sr. 147, lithograph); where, however, it is depicted with its head raised and its back sloping.—For another Gaṅga elephant, see the lithograph of the Tāyalūr inscription (*ibid.*, Md. 14); but that one differs from the others, in being represented as walking or running and with the tip of its trunk turned up forwards.—Sir Walter Elliot has given us a representation of the elephant-seal of one or other of the spurious grants of the Gaṅga series, in his *Coins of*

this, the stone widens out again to the same breadth as above the facet containing the elephant; and the sketch indicates that here there was a continuation of the writing, which, however, is now altogether illegible: it also indicates that, after a space representing about ten lines of writing, the remainder of the stone is broken away and lost.—The extant portion of the writing, represented in the collotype, covers an area about 2' 1" broad by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any uncertainty.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about $\frac{5}{8}$ " in the *ya* of *hesadeyara*, line 2, to 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ " in the *l* of *dle*, line 3; and the *ṇṭi* of *mēṇṭi*, line 2, and the *nnā* in line 3, are 2" high. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is very clear in lines 2 and 3. There is a final form of *n* in line 1, and of *r* in line 2. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* and *l* do not occur. The *j* occurs twice, in line 1, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed; in the collotype, it can be seen best in the *jya* of *rājyaṇ*, line 1, No. 17. The *ñ* occurs in the same word, in the *akshara ṇge*, line 1, No. 18; and, following the *j* in the usual manner,¹ it, also, is of the old square type, closed. The *b* occurs once, subscript, in the *akshara lba*, line 1, No. 7; and it, again, is of the old square type, closed.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record presents, in line 2, *mēṇṭi*, as a variant of *mēṭi*, 'a big man, a chief, a head, a head servant.' And it includes, in line 2, a word, *gōśāsa*, which is not found in dictionaries, and in respect of which we can only conjecture that it is an amplified form of *gōśa*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *gōshṭha*, 'a cow-pen, a station of cow-herds.'²—The orthography does not present anything calling for comment, except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Subhachandra*, line 1.

The extant portion of the inscription is only the opening passage of a record, introductory to matter which is now lost. It refers itself to the reign of a king named the Mahārāja

Southern India, Plate iii. No. 120; here, the elephant seems to be "caparisoned." And Dr. Burnell has given us the seal of apparently another grant of the same series, in his *South-Indian Palæography*, the Plate opposite p. 106, the seal marked Chēra; here, again, the elephant has a band or strap round apparently the throat. In both these instances, the elephant is standing, and has the tip of its trunk turned up inwards.

¹ See a remark on page 46 above.

² As, however, this meaning is not conclusively established yet, the word itself will be used, without translation.—Other cases in which the same word, *gōśāsa*, occurs, are as follows:—(1) The Pattadakal inscription of the time of Dhruva; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, text line 5. Here, the harlot Bāḍipoddi or Bālipoddi is mentioned as having given to the temple (of Lōkēśvara) an *uttama-gōśāsa*, "an excellent *gōśāsa*, a *gōśāsa* of the best kind," and a horse-chariot and an elephant-chariot, and as giving some land and an *ubhayamukhī* or pregnant cow.—(2) An inscription of the time of Amōghavarsha I. at Chīñchli in the Gadag tāluka, dated in the Vijaya *samvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Samvat 793 by mistake for 795 (expired) in A.D. 874: not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. This inscription records that, on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna, someone, whose name is illegible in the ink-impression, fasted and, having laved the feet of the fifty-seven *Mahājanas* of Chīñchli and having given them a thousand cows, gave them a *gōśāsa*; and it further records that a son of one of the village-headmen gave a *gōśāsa*, together with a tank and a garden (*drame*; perhaps here meaning, rather, a pasture-ground). This latter record, in particular, tends to connect *gōśāsa* with cows. And, considering how important a part the cow plays in the private as well as the religious life of the Hindūs, we may easily imagine that in former times the cows at night, instead of being brought home to individual houses inside the villages and towns as is done now, were kept and guarded all together in large communal cow-pens in charge of regularly appointed officials, and that the gift of such a cow-pen, whether to the establishment of a temple or for a whole village, would be a highly meritorious act.—From *gōśāsa* we have, with the affix *īga*,—an affix which forms nouns denoting "makers, changers (dealers), persons in employment," etc. (see Dr. Kittel's edition of the *Śabdamañidarpana*, p. 232, sūtra 197).—*gōśāsiga*, which seems to mean 'a person in charge of a *gōśāsa*,' and to be equivalent to the *gōśāsada mēṇṭi* of the present record; it occurs in the Aihole inscription of the time of Vijayāditya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, text line 3), where mention is made of "Maruvarma, of the *Gōśāsiga*s of Śūraja."—And we also have *gōśāsi*, apparently as a shorter form of *gōśāsiga*. This word occurs, qualifying a proper name, in an inscription at Nirālgi, to be published hereafter. And an inscription of A.D. 1060 at Sūḍi in the Rōṇ tāluka—(not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression)—mentions, among the boundaries of a village named Sivanūr, a tank called *gōśāsiga-keṛe*, "the tank of the *Gōśāsi* or of the *Gōśāsiga*."—It may be added that the Bombay Postal Directory shews a village named 'Gosāsi' in the Khēḍ tāluka of the Poona district.

Mārassaḷba, under whom a certain **Daḍigarasa** was governing the district,— meaning, of course, the district that included the village at which the record is ; the name of it is not specified.

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to **closely about A.D. 800**. And there can be no doubt that the person whom it mentions as **Mārassaḷba** is to be identified with the **Mārāśarva** of a verse, used in the account of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda III.** in the **Waṇi** and **Rādhapur** grants of A.D. 807,¹ which runs :—“ Having heard, through his own spies, that he (**Gōvinda III.**) was encamped on a slope of the **Vindhya** mountains, and recognising that (*though so far away*) he had (*practically*) arrived at his own territory just as if it were **Dhruva** (*on a previous occasion*), king **Mārāśarva**, impelled by fear, quickly went to satisfy his (**Gōvinda's**) desires by (*giving up*) his choicest heir-looms, such as had never been amassed before, as well as to propitiate his feet by doing obeisance to them.” Further, we may safely take it that **Mārassaḷba-Mārāśarva** was, like the **Kattiyara** of the **Diḍgūr** inscription, one of the twelve confederate kings and princes headed by **Stambha-Kambayya**, who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of **Gōvinda III.**² And, as the elephant, depicted so prominently on the stone, can hardly be taken as the emblem of the **Daḍigarasa** of the record, who was plainly a person of very minor rank and importance, we can only understand that it stamps **Mārassaḷba-Mārāśarva** as belonging to the family of the **Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ.**³ We shall have to consider hereafter who, exactly, **Mārassaḷba** may have been. He may be some member of the **Gaṅga** family whose existence the **Mysore** records have not yet disclosed. Or the name may possibly be another appellation of **Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa**, who in the course of his career did unquestionably find an opportunity to assume the paramount power and titles. Or it is possible that it may be the name from which, first by substituting the synonymous *śiva* for the *śarva* of its Sanskritised form, and then by metathesis, the persons who fabricated the spurious records of the **Western Gaṅga** series may have obtained the name of **Śivamāra II.** as an alleged son of **Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa**.

In connection with the general history of the period, it is convenient to make here a note regarding the identification of a place which is mentioned in the verse in the **Waṇi** and **Rādhapur** grants which comes next after the verse that mentions **Mārassaḷba-Mārāśarva**. The verse tells us that **Gōvinda III.** spent a rainy season at a place named **Śrībhavana**, and then marched thence, with his army, to the **Tuṅgabhadra**, where he conquered and despoiled the **Pallavas**.⁴ Mr. Wathen was told that **Śrībhavana** denotes “**Cowldurga**, in **Mysore**, south of the river ;”⁵ that is to say, apparently, **Kavalēdurga**, near the north bank of the **Tuṅga**, in the **Tirthahalli tāluka** of the **Shimoga** district, about seven miles on the west of **Tirthahalli**. Dr. Bühler felt certain that **Śrībhavana** is not ‘**Cowldurga**,’ but could not himself identify the place.⁶ Pandit **Bhagwanlal Indraji** proposed to identify **Śrībhavana** with ‘**Sarbhon**’ in the

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 25 ff. and Vol. VI. p. 67, verse 17 ; also page 250 above, Prof. Kielhorn’s rendering. Prof. Kielhorn has detected what I and Dr. Bühler had not recognised, namely, an astrological allusion to the comet **Dhruva**. But I consider that there is certainly also a secondary reference to the king **Dhruva**. I hold that, just as the astrological allusion to the asterism **Jyēsthā**, in verse 5, was suggested, to the composer of the verses, by what **Dhruva** had done to his elder brother, so, also, the allusion here to the comet **Dhruva** was suggested by something that he had done to the territory of **Mārāśarva**, and the verse contains a secondary reference to it.

² See page 252 above.

³ It is possible that **Daḍigarasa**, also, was a **Gaṅga**. But, even so, it is very unlikely that a **Gaṅga** should, at that time, be exercising local authority so far to the north of the real **Gaṅga** territory, unless his paramount sovereign also was a **Gaṅga**. And it seems more probable that this **Daḍigarasa** was a member of the **Bālivamśa** of the **Daḍigamāṇḍala** country, in **Mysore**, which is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1113 or 1114 at **Sūḍi** in the **Rōṇṇ tāluka** (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 111).

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 162, and Vol. VI. p. 71, verse 18.

⁵ *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. V. p. 352, note.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 63, note.

Âmôd tâluka of the Broach district.¹ But a village in Gujarât, below the Ghauts, is hardly the locality that would be selected for the halt of an army during the rains; especially, as the preliminary to operations on the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The verse about Mārassaḷba-Mārāsārva, with the light that is thrown on it by the present record from Guḍigere, shews that a sudden and rapid incursion was made by Gôvinda III., from a distant encampment in the Vindhya mountains into the heart of the Dhârwar district. And it seems clear to me that Śribhavana is to be identified with the modern Shiggaon, the head-quarters of the Baṅkâpur tâluka of the Dhârwar district, only about thirty miles distant from the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The ancient forms of the name of Shiggaon would be Sirigâve and Śrigrâma, or in Sanskrit Śrîpura. And the composer of the verse used *bhavana*, 'a place of abode, mansion, home,' etc., instead of any other ending, to suit his metre.

TEXT.²

1 Svasti Śrî-Māra³ssaḷba-mahârâjan pr[i]thuvî-râjyaṅ-geye Su(śu)bhachandra-
paṇḍitarâ⁴ râ-

2 he⁵sadeyara Indamma gôśâsa⁶ mēṇṭi Daḍig-arasar

3 nnâḍ⁶-âle Ôm⁷

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the glorious *Mahârâja Mārassaḷba* was reigning over the earth; and while *Daḍigarasa*, the headman of the *gôśâsa*⁸ of Indamma who was of⁹ of Śubhachandrapaṇḍita, was governing the district. Ôm!

C.—MULGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PANCHALADEVA; A.D. 975.

This inscription has been brought to notice by me in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 307, and in Vol. V. above, p. 172. It is now published for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 above) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1883-84 or 1884-85.

Mulgund is a village about twelve miles towards the south-west-by-south from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tâluka of the Dhârwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Moolgoond.' The official compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878) wrongly certifies it as 'Mulgund,' with *l* instead of *ḷ*. The existence of the place is carried back to A.D. 866 by the Nilgund inscription, which mentions it as **Mulgunda** and marks it as the chief town of a circle of villages known as the **Mulgunda twelve**, including Nirgunda-Nilgund, and lying in the Belvola three-hundred district.¹⁰ We already know one record from this place,—the inscription of the time of the Râshtrakûṭa king Kṛishna II., dated A.D. 902-903,¹¹ and there are some twenty other records there. The present inscription is on a stone at a temple of Râmadêva at Mulgund.

¹ *History of Gujarât* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I.), p. 123.—There is also a Sarbhôn (so certified, with the lingual nasal, in *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*) in the Bârdôli tâluka of the Surat district.

² From the ink-impression.

³ This syllable, *ra*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather small, below the *â* of the *mâ*.

⁴ It seems that at first *ra* was written, and then an attempt was made to correct it into *rd*. But it is possible that the *akṣhara* was abandoned, as being badly formed and not clear, and that the following *rd* was then formed as the final *akṣhara* of *paṇḍitarâ*. In that case, the next word is *hesadeyara*,—not *râhesadeyara*.

⁵ This is rather an anomalous character. The vowel *e* is quite distinct, before the *h*. At the bottom of the *h*, towards the right, there is a loop which seems to be intentional; but, whether it was meant to modify the *e* into some other vowel, or what else may be the purport of it, is not apparent.

⁶ Read *nâḍ*; or else *arasar=nnâḍ*, instead of *arasar nnâḍ*.

⁷ Represented by a plain symbol.

⁸ See page 255 above, and note 2.

⁹ The meaning of the genitive plural *râhesadeyara* or *hesadeyara* (see note 4 above) is not apparent; except that it seems to give the name of a sect.

¹⁰ See pages 98, 107, above.

¹¹ *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 167, 190. It will shortly be re-edited in this journal.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, of which the principal one, in the centre, is a *linga* on its *abhishēka*-stand. On the proper right, there is an image of some god, squatting and facing full-front; beyond this there is a worshipper, kneeling towards the god; and above these there are the sun and moon. On the proper left, there is a cow, standing towards the *linga*, and with a calf sucking at her udder; and above these there is the bull Nandi, recumbent and similarly facing towards the *linga*. These sculptures are all inside a panel, above the centre of which there is some ornamental device, of a circular shape, the exact nature of which is not recognisable.—The writing covers an area about 1' 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any doubt, except in the first eight or nine letters of line 7, the lower parts of which are broken away. It is, however, only a fragment, the body of the record having been broken away and apparently lost.—The characters are Kanarese, well formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about $\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{7}{8}$ ". They present nothing calling for comment, except the use of the somewhat rare mediæval forms of *m*, in the upper *m* of *varmma* and *dharma*, line 1, and of *v* in the upper *v* of *pūrvāpara*, line 4, which have been noticed in Vol. V. above, p. 237.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 3, we have *siṃgha* as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *siṃha*, 'a lion,' and *komaraka* as a fuller form of *komara*, = *kuvara*, a *tadbhava*-corruption of *kumāra*, 'a prince,' and *bīma*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of *bhīma*, 'terrible.' In *peḷḍore*, line 4, we have the somewhat unusual form *peḷ* for *per*, 'great.' In line 5, we have *bīdiye*, as a variant of *bīdige* which is the more usual *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *dvitīyā*, 'the second *tithi*.'¹ In line 6, we have *baḷa* as a variant of the better known *baṇa*, which is in use to the present day, in the Kanarese country, to denote sometimes the different branches of the families of hereditary Pāṭils and Kuḷkarpis (especially of Pāṭils), and sometimes the different families that have shares in the *watans*, as, for instance, when there are both a Jain *baṇa* and a Liṅgāyat *baṇa* of Pāṭils;² and, in respect of the whole word *baḷanuv*, we may note that, though it is a neuter nominative, it is formed with *n* instead of the more usual *m*, and that, for the final of the copulative ending *uṃ*, there has been used in *saṃdhi* *v*, instead of the *m* which was more usual in the archaic language. And, in the same line, we have a word *eḷeya-bhoja[ga]* (apparently equivalent to *eḷegāra*, *tambuliga*, 'a seller of betel-leaves'), the second component of which does not seem to be explained in dictionaries.³—In respect of orthography, there is nothing to be noticed except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Saka*, line 5.

¹ Under *bīdige* in his Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, Dr. Kittel has quoted *vidige* as the Telugu form, and *vidiyai* as the Tamil form.

² *Baḷa* occurs, in the same sense, in line 45 of one of the inscriptions at Naregal in the Rōṇ tāluka, where mention is made of "the two *baḷas* of Narayaṃgal" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 238). And lines 49, 51, and 52 of the same record present it in another sense, namely to denote the rent-free service-lands of certain *Gaḍvaṇḍas* or Pāṭils. In the latter sense, it occurs also in line 81 of the Saundatti inscription of A.D. 1228 (*id.* Vol. X. p. 270, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 114); and this record uses, in line 70, also the exactly equivalent word *gaḍvaṇḍanya*. The case used in the Saundatti record is formed with *n*, as in the present instance,—*baḷaṇ=ojaga*. The cases used in the Naregal record are formed with the more customary *ḍ*,—*baḷaḍ=ojaga*, *baḷaḍim*.—The word *baṇa* is also used, I think, in the general meaning of 'a faction.' Dr. Kittel's Dictionary gives *baṇa* as the Southern Marāṭha form of *paṇa*, 'any tribe; a sectarian division.'

³ In this record, the second component of *eḷeya-bhojaga* is distinctly written with the aspirated *ḷ*. I am not sure whether the vowel should be taken as the short *o* or as the long *ḷ*.—With the unaspirated *ḷ*, we have the same word, *eḷeya-bhojaga* in lines 21-22 and 28-29 of the Koḍikop inscription of A.D. 1144, which mentions "the five-hundred-and-four *Eḷeyabojagas*" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 254, 257). In this form, *bhojaga*, the word is given in Dr. Kittel's Dictionary; but only as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *bhojaga*, *bhojamaṅga*, 'a snake.' He also gives *bhojagatana* in the sense of 'lechery.' The Abīḍr record of A.D. 1104 presents a word which appears as *bhojamaṅgatana* or *bhojamaṅgatana* in line 82 of one version, and as *bhojagatana* in line 86 of the other version (see Vol. V. above, p. 231, note 9). There can be hardly any reference there to lechery; and the word seems to stand there for *eḷeyabhojagatana* or *eḷeyabhojagatana*, 'the occupation of a seller of betel-leaves,' or else to denote some impost on that trade.

The inscription is a fragment, of which but little more than the introductory passages is extant. It refers itself to the reign of a certain **Pañchaladēva**, whom, from his appellations of **Satyavākya** and **Koṅguṇivarma** and his titles of lord of the town **Kuvalāla** and of the mountain **Nandagiri**, we recognise as a member of the family of the Western Gaṅgas of **Talakād**.¹ It mentions, by three well known *birudas*, his predecessor, the great **Notambāntaka-Mārasimha II**. Among the epithets that it applies to **Pañchaladēva**, it styles him **Chālukyapañchānana**, "a very lion to the Chālukyas;" which, perhaps, involves a play on his name, and indicates **Pañchala** as a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit **Pañchānana**.² And it represents him as reigning over the whole territory between, on the north, "the great river," that is to say the **Kṛishṇā**,³ and on the east, south, and west, the ocean. This assertion is hyperbolic in the latter part, except possibly in respect of the alleged western limit. But, as **Mulḡund** itself, where this record is, is on the north of the **Tuṅgabhadra**, there is no objection to accepting it as a fact that **Pañchaladēva** did hold for a time all the territory from the south of **Mysore** as far north as the river **Kṛishṇā**.

The record is dated at the time of the **Kanyāsamkrānti**, or entrance of the sun into **Virgo**, on **Bṛihaspativāra** or Thursday coupled with the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month **Bhādrapada** (August-September) of the **Yuvan samvatsara**, Śaka-Samvat 897 (expired, according to the southern luni-solar system). And the corresponding English date is **Thursday, 26th August, A.D. 975**. On this day, the given *tithi* ended at about 15 hours 39 minutes after mean sunrise (for **Ujjain**), and the **Kanyāsamkrānti** occurred at 16 hours 5 minutes.⁴

TEXT.⁵

- 1 Om⁶ Svasti Satyavākya-Koṅguṇivarmma-dharmmamahārājādih[i]rāja Kuvalāla-
puravar-ēśva-
- 2 ra Nandagiri-nātham chaladuttaraṅga-jagadēkavira-śrīman-Noḷa[m]bakuḷān-
takadēva-pādapa-
- 3 dm-ōpajīvi paḍe-nōḍe-gaṇḍam gaṇḍara-siṁghan-asahāya-sāhasam komaraka-bīmaṁ bira-
- 4 da-selevom Chālūkyapañchānana[m] śrīmat-Pañchaladēvar-pūrvv-āpara-dakṣiṇ-
ārpav-āva[dh]i-
- 5 yi[m] peldore maryyādey-āge nirākūlam=āḷutt-ire [||*] Svasti Sa(śa)ka-varsham-
eṭṭu-nūra tombhatt-[ē]-
- 6 laneya Yuva-samvatsarada Bhādrapada bahuḷa bidiye Bṛihaspativāram Kanyā-
samkrāntiyu[m]
- 7 ? [nagara]-mahājana-pramu kham=ayd[um]-balanuv=
iḷd=eleya-bhoja.⁸

¹ For what is known about **Pañchaladēva** from other sources, reference may be made to pages 71 f., 83, above, and to Vol. V. above, p. 172 f.

² **Pañchānana** occurs, not exactly as a proper name of Śiva, but as an appellation of him which could be used in the place of his proper name. As a proper name, it occurs in the cases of "an author and other men" (see **Monier-Williams'** Sanskrit Dictionary, revised edition, under *pañcha*).

³ See Vol. V. above, p. 169, note 6. The word used here is *peldore*, instead of the more customary *perdore*.

⁴ Probably, more exact calculations would make the *tithi* still current at the moment of the *samkrānti*.

⁵ From the ink-impression.

⁶ Represented by a plain symbol.

⁷ Eight or nine *akṣaras* are illegible here, the lower parts of them being broken away and lost. As the *nakṣatra* at the time of the *samkrānti* was **Rēvatī**, which the moon entered at about 2 hrs. 22 min. after mean sunrise (for **Ujjain**), we might suggest *Rēvatī-nakṣatramum=āgi*, which would suit both the space and the context. But such remains of the *akṣaras* as are discernible, hardly adapt themselves to that reading.

⁸ The fragment ends here. The next line began, of course, with the *ga* of the word *bhojaga* in one or other of its cases, singular or plural.

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! While the *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* **Satyavākya-Koṅṇivarma**, the lord of **Kuvalāḷa**¹ the best of towns, the lord of the mountain **Nandagiri**,— he who (*had*) subsisted (*like a bee*) on the water-lilies that were the feet of the lintel of firmness of character,² the sole hero of the world, the glorious **Noḷambakuḷāntakadēva**-(**Mārasimha II.**),³— he who is a hero when he sees an army, he who is a very lion of heroes, he who is daring even without companions, he who is terrible to princes, he who attracts bravery, he who is a very lion to the **Chālukyas**, the glorious **Pañchaladēva**, was governing, without any disorder, from the limits of the eastern and the western and the southern oceans with the great river as the boundary (*on the north*):—

(Line 5) Hail! [When it was] Thursday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of the month **Bhādrapada** of the **Yuvan saṁvatsara**, which was the eight hundred and ninety-seventh **Śaka year**, and when there was the **Kanyāsaṁkrānti**,
 the whole of the five divisions,⁴ headed by the **Mahājanas** [of the town], being convened,⁵ the sellers of betel-leaves

No. 25.—**SRIKURMAM INSCRIPTION OF NARAHARITIRTHA;**
SAKA-SAMVAT 1203.

By **H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.**

The subjoined record⁶ is in the **Kūrmēśvara** temple at **Śrikūrmam** in the **Chicacole tālu**ka of the **Gaṇjām** district. It is inscribed on the east and north faces of one of the black granite pillars⁷ which support the hall enclosing the temple, and is written in clear **Telugu** characters.

The inscription consists of nine **Sanskrit** verses in various metres. It mentions first an ascetic **Purushōttama-mahātirtha**, who is represented to have been an incarnation of the god **Vishṇu** (v. 1) and to have composed a commentary (v. 2) which is not known from other sources. His pupil was **Ānandatirtha**, who explained the *Vyāsasūtras* in accordance with the principles of the **Dvaita** school (v. 3) and who bore the title *Bhagavatpāddachārya* (v. 5). His pupil **Naraharitirtha** (v. 8) seems to have been the governor of the **Kāliṅga** country (v. 6) and to have defended **Śrikūrmam** against an attack of the **Śabaras**⁸ (v. 7). On **Wednesday**, the eighth tithi of the bright fortnight of **Mēsha** in **Śaka-Samvat 1203**, he built a shrine of **Yōgānanda-Nṛsimha** in front of the temple at **Śrikūrmam** (v. 9).

¹ This name is usually found with *l* in the last syllable; see, for instance, page 43 above text line 2, **Kuvalāḷa**, and page 54, line 5, **Kōḷāḷa**. Here, however, we distinctly have *ḷ*. The vowel of the first syllable, when the name is written in four syllables, is sometimes *u* and sometimes *o*.

² This and the following two *śirudas* were appellations of the Western **Gaṅga** prince **Mārasimha II.**; see Vol. V. above, p. 168.

³ From *chaladuttaraṅga* to *śpajīri* is one word, a compound. The *asusvāra* of *ndīham*, which seems to be quite distinct, separates the preceding matter (also really a compound) from that compound, and makes it apply to **Pañchaladēva**, not to **Noḷambakuḷāntakadēva**.—As regards my supplying the word “*had*” before “*subsisted*,” it is to be remembered that **Mārasimha** had either died or abdicated before June-July, A.D. 974 (see Vol. V. above, pp. 152, 168), more than a year before the date of this record. The allusion is to **Pañchaladēva** having served under him in A.D. 971 and 973 (see *ibid.* pp. 172, 173).

⁴ *Baja*; see page 258 above.

⁵ *Ilḍu* is equivalent to *oḍan-iḍu*; see page 68 above, note 6.

⁶ No. 290 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

⁷ On the west and south faces of the same pillar is another inscription (No. 291 of 1896) of **Naraharitirtha**, the pupil of **Ānandatirtha**, which is dated in **Śaka-Samvat 1215** and records the setting up of images of **Bāma**, **Śiśā** and **Lakshmaṇa** in the **Kūrmēśvara** temple.

⁸ The **Śabaras** are the savage inhabitants of the forests of the **Gaṇjām** district.

Among the three Vaishṇava teachers named in the inscription, Purushôttama-mahâtîrtha is not mentioned in the lists of the Mâdhva teachers preserved in the *Maṭhas*,¹ which begin with Ânandatîrtha. The *Madhvavijaya*,² a *kāvya* by Nârâyanapaṇḍita, the son of Trivikramapaṇḍita, which describes in detail the life of Ânandatîrtha and his dialectical victories over the *Mâyāvādins* or followers of Śaṅkarâchârya, mentions as the spiritual *Guru* of Ânandatîrtha a certain **Achyutaprêkshâchârya**, who had the surname of **Purushôttamatîrtha**,³ by which he is referred to in verse 1 of the subjoined inscription.

Ânandatîrtha, the second of the teachers mentioned in the inscription, is the famous founder of the **Dvaita** school of philosophy and occupies in the history of Indian religion a position not in any way unequal to those of the great Śaṅkarâchârya and of Râmânujâchârya. Vaishṇavism, the most characteristic feature of which is *bhakti*, or love for god, that may be freely practised by one and all, irrespective of creed and caste, was first started by Râmânujâchârya in the 11th century, was eagerly spread by Ânandatîrtha in the 13th century, and eventually assumed large proportions in the 16th century under Kṛishṇa-Chaitanya, the celebrated Vaishṇava teacher of Bengal. Ânandatîrtha is known by three other names, viz. **Pûrṇaprajña**, **Madhvâchârya** and **Madhyamandâra**. His system has been explained in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of Sâyanâchârya under the heading *Pûrṇaprajña-darśana*. Ânandatîrtha's direct disciples were Padmanâbhatîrtha, Naraharîrtha, Mâdhavâtîrtha and Akshôbhyatîrtha, who succeeded one after the other to the pontifical seat after the death of Ânandatîrtha.⁴

Several interesting facts regarding the life of **Naraharîrtha**, the third teacher mentioned in the inscription, are recorded in a *stôtra* entitled *Naraharîyatistôtra*, which is included in the *Stôtramahôdadhi*, Part I.⁵ It states that, before conversion to the Mâdhva faith, the *Tîrtha* was called **Śâmasâstrin**,⁶ and that he was styled Naraharîrtha after receiving initiation from **Pûrṇaprajña**. The latter ordered his pupil to go at once to the capital of the **Gajapati** king and to be a ruler there. Naraharîrtha, who had learnt the true import of the *Bhâshya*⁷ from his teacher, would have preferred to become a *saṁnyâsin* and said:—"Lord! what do I gain by ruling a kingdom?" The master replied:—"There in the Gajapati kingdom are the images of Râma and Sîtâ, which you must try to acquire with great skill, in order that I may worship them." Accordingly Naraharîrtha went to the country of the Gajapati king and was hailed there by the people and the infant king as a fit ruler for their country. The *stôtra* continues to say that the teacher ruled the **Kaliṅga** country for twelve years. When the prince attained his majority, he handed back the kingdom to him and, as a present and compensation for the services rendered, requested the king to give him the images of Râma and Sîtâ, which were in the royal treasury. These being secured, Naraharîrtha returned and gave them to his master Ânandatîrtha. The latter worshipped the images for 80 days and made them over to his first pupil, **Padmanâbhatîrtha**, who in his turn worshipped them for six years and handed over the charge of

¹ Several *Maṭhas* or schools of the Mâdhvas are known to exist. The Karmâṭaka and Dêśastha Brâhmanas follow three of them, viz. the Uttarâlimatḥa, Vyâsarâyamatḥa and Râghavêndrasvâmiyatḥa. Most of the Śivallî, Kôta and Kôtêśvar Brâhmanas of South Canara are adherents of nine other *Maṭhas*, viz. eight *Maṭhas* at Udipi and one at Subrahmanya (with a branch at Bhaṇḍârakêri near Bârukûr). Lists of Mâdhva *Gurus* are preserved in each of the three chief *Maṭhas* and are available for inspection. A similar list has been published by Dr. Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1892-93*, Appendix II. p. 203.

² The chief incidents in the life of Madhvâchârya as related in the *Madhvavijaya* have been put together in a pamphlet entitled "Madhwacharya.—A short historic sketch," by Mr. C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A., of the Coimbatore College.

³ *Madhvavijaya*, vi. verse 33.

⁴ The nine *Maṭhas* of South Canara recognise only Padmanâbhatîrtha and their nine founders as direct disciples of Ânandatîrtha.

⁵ Printed at Bombay by the Nirṇayasâgara Press in 1897.

⁶ The lists (see note 1 above) give the name Râmasâstrin.

⁷ This probably refers to the commentary of Ânandatîrtha on the *Prasthânatraya*; see below, p. 265, note 5.

them to **Naraharītīrtha** in the *Raktākṣi-saṃvatsara*. Having thus acquired the images and having become the preceptor of the world,¹ Naraharītīrtha went about touring and preaching. While resting for the night in a certain town, he dreamt of an image of Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) merged in a tank near that town. The next day he had the image taken out, consecrated it, and called the town in consequence of that incident **Nārāyaṇadēvarkere** (i.e. 'the tank of the god Nārāyaṇa'). This place still exists under the same name in the Hospēt taluka of the Bellary district. Having made over the charge of the images to **Mādhavatīrtha**, the third pupil of Ānandatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha retired to the banks of the **Tuṅgabhadra** and died there in the cyclic year *Śrīmukha*. To this the lists of the *Maṭhas* add that, at **Chakratīrtha**² on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, Naraharītīrtha established a *Maṭha*, occupied the *sthānādhipatya* or pontifical seat for a period of nine years, and wrote a commentary on the *Bhāṣya*, probably that of his teacher Ānandatīrtha.³

This traditional history of Naraharītīrtha's life agrees with the statement made about him in verse 6 of the inscription and fully accounts for the existence in the **Kaliṅga** country of several inscriptions which record his gifts to temples.⁴ It will be seen from the sequel that Naraharītīrtha succeeded to the pontifical seat in A.D. 1324 and died in A.D. 1333. His governorship in the Kaliṅga country, which took place before his becoming a *Guru*, must therefore be placed in the period before A.D. 1324. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that Naraharītīrtha's inscriptions in the Kaliṅga country range between **Śaka-Saṃvat 1186** and **1215** (= A.D. 1264 and A.D. 1294).⁵

Before discussing the dates of Ānandatīrtha and his successors, I have to draw attention to the fact that the Śaka dates, which are assigned to the pontificate of each teacher in the lists of the *Maṭhas*, are to be accepted with caution. Dr. Bhandarkar⁶ says that "in the older lists the year of the cycle of sixty years in which each high-priest died was alone given, and from this was determined the Śaka year. But this method is uncertain and liable to error if in any case the pontificate of any one of these extended over more than sixty years." It will be seen from what follows that such an error has actually been committed and that the dates given in the lists for each *Guru* will have to be pushed forward by two full cycles, i.e. one hundred and twenty years. According to the traditional lists preserved in the three chief *Maṭhas*, Ānandatīrtha was born on the 4th *tithi* of the dark half of Āṣāḍha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1040, the *Vilambi-saṃvatsara* (= A.D. 1118) and died on the 9th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1119, the *Piṅgala-saṃvatsara* (= A.D. 1197).⁷ In his *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*⁸ Ānandatīrtha is

¹ It may be noted that this transmission of the images from teacher to pupil is still going on in the existing *Mādhva Maṭhas*. The installation of a new *Guru* means, among other things, the receiving over of the charge of the images to be regularly worshipped. The same custom obtains among the Smārta (Advaita) *Maṭhas* as well. There arises often a dispute among the *Maṭhas* as to whether the images worshipped therein are the same as those which were worshipped by the first teacher, the founder of the *Maṭha*, or are imitations acquired second or third hand.

² This place is said to have been situated at Hampi between the temples of Virūpākṣa and Viṭṭhala.

³ At Uḍipi I was told that Naraharītīrtha's *Tippant* on Ānandatīrtha's *Bhāṣya* is still in existence.

⁴ An inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1214 at Sīmbāchalam (No. 305 of 1900) shows the great influence that Naraharītīrtha exercised on the people of that country; for it records a grant to the Lakṣmi-Narasimhaśvāmin temple at Sīmbāchalam, made by the Matsya chief Jayanta of Oḍḍavādi at the instance of Naraharītīrtha. Another inscription at Śrikūrmam (No. 367 of 1896), which records a gift of gold by Naraharītīrtha, is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1215 and in the 18th year of the reign of Vira-śrī-Naraṇārasimhadēva, i.e. the Gaṅga king Narasiṃha II.

⁵ The *Narahariyatistōtra* quoted above says that the *Tīrtha* ruled the Kaliṅga country for 12 years, while his inscriptions in that part of the country range over 30 years.

⁶ See his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1882-83*, p. 16.

⁷ See Dr. Bhandarkar, *ibid.* p. 202.

⁸ Chapter xxxii. verse 131, which runs as follows :—

चतुस्त्रयसु विंशतीन्नेरते संवत्सराणां तु कलौ पृथिव्याम् ।
जातः पुनर्विप्रतनुस्त्वमीमी दमेर्निगूढं हरितस्त्वनाम् ।

supposed to have given the date of his own birth as Kali 4300 (= A.D. 1198).¹ Thus a difference of 80 years exists between the date found in the lists and the date contained in the *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*. Even the second date cannot be reconciled with the dates of the inscriptions of Ānandatīrtha's pupil Naraharītīrtha and is perhaps due to an interpolation. As regards the dates given in the lists, I am inclined to adopt Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the Jovian years may be perfectly reliable while their Śaka equivalents are later inventions, and to accept the statement of the lists that Ānandatīrtha was born in the year *Vilambin*, lived for 79 years, and died in the year *Piṅgala*. The lists further state that he was succeeded by his pupil Padmanābhatīrtha, who occupied the seat for seven years and was followed by Naraharītīrtha in the cyclic year *Raktākshin*. This teacher occupied the seat for nine years and died in the year *Śrīmukha*. He was succeeded by Mādhavatīrtha, who in his turn occupied the seat for seventeen years and was followed by Akshōbhyatīrtha, who occupied the *sthānādhipatya* for another seventeen years. With the help of these statements the actual time of Ānandatīrtha can be easily determined by calculating backwards from the dates of Naraharītīrtha's inscriptions. Two other facts derived from different sources are also of some value in this direction, viz. the statement in the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*² that Akshōbhyatīrtha was a contemporary of Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāraṇya, and the statement in the *Madhvavijaya*³ that a certain king Īśvaradēva in Mahārāshṭra tried in vain to take Ānandatīrtha into his service. Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāraṇya was the minister of the Vijayanagara king Bukka I. whose inscriptions range between A.D. 1353 and A.D. 1371.⁴ Roughly, therefore, Akshōbhyatīrtha, a contemporary of Mādhavāchārya, will have to be assigned to this period. To get to the time of Ānandatīrtha, the total period of the *sthānādhipatya* of the intervening teachers, Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha and Mādhavatīrtha, viz. 33 years, will have to be deducted, say, from A.D. 1362; and this brings us to A.D. 1329. Now the nearest year to A.D. 1329 which corresponded to *Piṅgala*, the traditional date of the death of Ānandatīrtha, was A.D. 1317. As noted above, Ānandatīrtha is supposed to have lived for 79 years, and consequently the date of his birth, the cyclic year *Vilambin*, would correspond to A.D. 1238. The statement of the *Madhvavijaya* confirms this date; for Īśvaradēva of Mahārāshṭra has been identified by Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyar⁵ with the Yādava king Mahādēva of Dēvagiri, who reigned from A.D. 1260—1271.⁶ Ānandatīrtha's date being thus fixed, the dates of his successors can be easily determined with the help of the lists which give the traditional Jovian years for each teacher's succession to the pontifical seat and for his death. Thus Naraharītīrtha, the second in succession, must have ascended the pontifical seat in A.D. 1324, the year *Raktākshin*, and died in A.D. 1333, the year *Śrīmukha*.

TEXT.⁷

East Face.

- 1 देव[:*] श्रीकमलाविलासलहरीपात्रं कलिप्रो[न्मि]लत्क्षेशक्लिष्टजनेखिलक्षि[ति]-
तले संज्ञीलबो[धो].⁸

¹ With this agrees a statement of the Mādhva Svāmin at Phalmāru near Mulki in South Canara, who told me that, according to the tradition of his *Maṭha*, Ānandatīrtha was born in Śaka-Saṃvat 1119, *Piṅgala*, *Māgha-suddha* 7, and died in Śaka-Saṃvat 1199, *Īśvara*, *Māgha-kṛishṇa* 9.

² Madras edition, p. 108.

³ Chapter x. verse 3 f. Two other names mentioned in the *Madhvavijaya*, if identified, may also help in fixing the date of Ānandatīrtha, viz. a king Jayasimha who restored the library to the teacher, and a *Guru* of the Saṃkarāchārya-Maṭha at Śrīngēri who had a dispute with Ānandatīrtha at Trivandrum. The former has not been identified; but Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyar of the Coimbatore College identifies the latter with a certain Vidyāśaṃkara, who is supposed to have occupied the Śrīngēri seat from A.D. 1228—1333, i.e. for no less than 105 years (!).

⁴ See above, Vol. III. p. 36.

⁵ See his pamphlet "Madhwaacharya.—A short historic sketch," p. 14.

⁶ See Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 519. ⁷ From two inked estampages prepared in 1896.

⁸ Read संज्ञील^०.

⁹ The *ākṣara* बो of बोधो has both an *au* and an *o* attached to it.

- 2 ¹दये [i*] स्वीयश्रीपदपङ्कजैकशरणान्² [सं]रक्षितुं सन्मुनिर्जात[:*] श्री-
पुरुषोत्तमाभिध[म](r)-³
- 3 हा[ती]र्त्यस्मृत्यग्रणीः । [१*] यन्मुनिभाषितभाष्यं बाध्यं⁴ किल तीर्थिक-
प्रवरसंग्रहेः [i*] उ-
- 4 न्मदवादिद्विरदप्रतिकुम्भमकुशं भवति⁵ ॥ [२*] तस्य ज्ञानकलाकलीदय-
कलो वैय्य[r]-
- 5 सीक⁶ गोगणं (i) मन्दै[र्भि]न्नपथप्रधारितमलं⁷ सुव्यक्तभेदे पथि । नेतुं
संष्टतदंड-
- 6 मंडितकरो यः प्रादुरासीन्मुनिव्रातैस्त्रेव्यपदारविह्युगळादानंदती[र्त्यं सु]-
7 निः । [३*] यन्मुखनि[:*]ष्टतभाषा ललिता ललितप्रकारपदविन्यासा [i*]
कमलाप[ति]पदकमलं भ-
- 8 जते भजमानभवभयारा[ति] । [४*] आनन्दतीर्थभगवत्पादाचार्यसरस्वती [i*]
लोकेत्र
- 9 हरिपादाब्जयुगळप्राप्तये न⁹ सा । [५*] तस्माद्भोक्तुसुरक्षणातिनिपुणात्संप्राप्तक-
10 र्त्तव्यधीदेधामुत्र⁹ तधात्र¹⁰ योवति जनान् ¹¹क[i*]लिङ्गभूंसंभ[व]ान् [i*]
पित्र्याचारमुपैति
- 11 सू[तु]रिति सन्नीतिस्थितो धर्मतश्चनुष्मापतिवर्गदुर्गनिवहान् भीतानभीत[:*]
स्वयं । [६*] यश्च
- 12 ¹²श्रीकमठाधिनायकमहाकायैकवद्व्रतस्तस्य प्र[च्यु]तिवारणाय शबरानीक-

North Face.

- 13 क्षितीप्राशनिं [i*] धत्ते [स]त्करवालमस्य त[टि]ता¹³ संत्यक्तजीवे रिपौ
हंतव्यानवशेषणा-
- 14 त्रिजविधिक्षी¹⁴ यस्य बोध्यस्तरां । [७*] तेनानेन श्रीमन्नरहरितीर्त्ताव्यमुनि-
वरेष्येन¹⁵ [i*] क-
- 15 लिसमयप्रज्ञादप्रभावपरितोषनृहरिरूपेण¹⁶ ॥ [८*] स्वस्ति श्रीशकवत्सरे हुतवह-

¹ Lines 2, 3, 4 and 5 are written between parallel lines.

² The final न् is inserted below the line.

³ The *akshara* सा at the end of the line appears to be corrected from ध. ⁴ Read भाष्यं.

⁵ In the second half of this verse the metre requires one or more additional syllables which are missing in the original.

⁶ Read वैयासिकं.

⁷ Read प्रसारितं.

⁸ Read नु.

⁹ Read धीर्देधा.

¹⁰ Read तथात्र.

¹¹ The syllables कलिङ्गभूंसंभवा are written on an erasure.

¹² Read कार्त्तिकं.

¹³ Read तडिता.

¹⁴ Read विधिक्षी.

¹⁵ Read तीर्त्ताव्यं.

¹⁶ Read प्रभावं.

- 16 व्योमहयस्त्रायुते मेघे 'शुक्लशशांकशेखर[दि]ने वारे [च*] सौम्ये वरे [।*]
 प्रासादं कमठा[धि]-
 17 पञ्च पुरतो निर्माय शर्मप्रदो योगानन्दसिंह³ ए[ष*] भगवान् प्रीत्या
 प्रतिष्ठापि-
 18 तः । [८*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) The god (Vishṇu), (*who is*) the recipient of the abundant dalliance of the goddess Kamalâ (Lakshmi),—in order to protect those whose only refuge are his divine lotus-feet on the whole surface of the earth where men were oppressed by the suffering produced by the Kali (*age*), (*and*) where the rise of knowledge had ceased,³—took birth (*in the person of*) a great saint (*mahâtîrtha*) named the holy Purushôttama, a pious ascetic (*and*) a leader of the wise.⁴

(V. 2.) The commentary (*bhâṣya*)⁵ pronounced by this sage is, indeed, worthy of being repeated by crowds of chiefs of saints (*tîrthika*), (*and*) a goad on every frontal globe of the furious elephants—proud disputants.⁶

(V. 3.) From the pair of lotus-feet of this (Purushôttama), which is worthy to be worshipped by crowds of sages, was produced⁷ the ascetic Ânandatîrtha, who caused the rising of the moon of wisdom,⁸ (*and*) whose hand was adorned with a staff⁹ held (*in it*), (*and who was therefore*) able to lead on the easily distinguishable path¹⁰ the cows of Vyâsa,¹¹ which had been enticed on the wrong path by ignorant men.¹²

(V. 4.) The charming speech proceeding from his mouth (*and*) consisting of words arranged in a charming manner resorts to the lotus-foot of (Vishṇu) the lord of Kamalâ, which destroys the fear of rebirth of (*its*) devotees.

(V. 5.) The speech of the holy preceptor (*Bhagavatpâdâchârya*) Ânandatîrtha (*leads*) indeed (*already*) in this life to the attainment of the pair of lotus-feet of Hari (Vishṇu).

¹ The rest of the inscription after शर्म is engraved very faintly. The letters can however be read from the back of the estampage.

² Read °दृसिङ्ग.

³ The reason assigned in this verse for the *avatâra* of Vishṇu agrees with what Kṛishṇa says in the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*, chapter iv. verse 7 f. :—

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत । अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ।
 परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् । धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥

⁴ The word *sumati*, 'the wise,' seems to have been a standing designation of the followers of the Dvaita doctrine, just as *bhavya* is applied to the Jainas; for the Râghavêndrasvâminimâtha at Nâijangûd, one of the three chief *Mâthas* of the Mâdhvas, is otherwise called Sumatîndramâtha.

⁵ The commentary referred to may be assumed to have been one on the *Brahmasûtras*, the ten important *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*—collectively known by the name *Prasthânatraya*; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1882-83*, p. 18.

⁶ The 'proud disputants' are the followers of the Advaita system of Śaṅkarâchârya.

⁷ I.e. 'his pupil was.'

⁸ *Kaldkala* may be taken in the sense of *kaldâhara*. The rising moon assists the cows which are mentioned afterwards in finding their way, and the wisdom is required for the explanation of the *Vyâsasûtras*.

⁹ The staff is one of the attributes of an ascetic; but the cowherd's stick is also implied here.

¹⁰ Or, 'on the path where the distinction (*bhêda*) (between *Jivâtman* and *Paramâtman*) is quite clear,' i.e. the Dvaita system.

¹¹ Or, 'the words of Vyâsa,' i.e. the *Vyâsasûtras*, on which the Advaita, Viśiṣṭâdvaita and Dvaita systems are based.

¹² These negligent cowherds are the followers of Śaṅkarâchârya.

(V. 6.) From him (*vis.* Ānandatīrtha), who was very experienced in well protecting men, has obtained the knowledge of duty he (*vis.* Naraharītīrtha), who protects the people born in the Kāliṅga country both in the next (*world*) and in this; who as a (*dutiful*) son follows the profession of (*his*) father,¹ practising high politics in a righteous manner (*and*) himself facing the frightened garrisons (?) of the fortresses of crowds of hostile kings;

(V. 7.) And who, being devoted exclusively to the great service of the lord of Śrīkamāṭha,² holds, in order to prevent the ruin of this (*temple*), an excellent sword (*which is*) a thunderbolt to the mountains—the bands of Śābaras,—(*but*) the proper action of which was totally imperceptible because no victim was left, the enemy having lost his life through its (*mere*) flashing.³

(V. 8.) This best of sages, called the holy Naraharītīrtha, a man-lion incarnate, who is to be worshipped by those who possess the power of Prahlāda⁴ in the Kali age,—

(V. 9.) Hail! in the prosperous Śaka year joined with the fires (3), the sky (0), the pair (2), and the earth (1),—(*i.e.* 1203),—in (*the month of*) Mēsha, on the day of the moon-crested (Śiva),⁵ in the bright (*fortnight*), and on an excellent Wednesday,—having built a temple in front of the lord of Kamāṭha, consecrated (*therein*) with pleasure this god Yôgānanda-Nṛisimha, the bestower of bliss.

POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remark on the date of the preceding inscription:—

“In Śaka-Saṃvat 1203 expired the 8th *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Mēsha ended 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281; and in Śaka-Saṃvat 1203 current the same *tithi* ended 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 9th April A.D. 1280. As all the other inscriptions of Naraharītīrtha (see below) quote expired Śaka years, the day intended by the date would be expected to be Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281; but if it were so, the word *Saumyē* of the date would have to be altered to *Saurēr*= (*i.e.* ‘of Saturn’).”

Besides this inscription, the Vaiṣṇava temples at Śrīkūrmam and Simhāchalām (in the Vizagapatam district) contain five other inscriptions recording gifts by Naraharītīrtha. I subjoin their dates, which Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to calculate as well.

1.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam.⁶

- 5 U(ṭ)na-chaturdaśa-varshê dvādaśa-śata-vatsarê [I*]
 6 Kanyā-māsê-sitê pakshê trayōdaśyām Kavêr-ddinê [II*]
 9 Svasti śrī-Śaka-varuṣhambulu 1186 n=āmṭṭi
 10 Kanya-kri(kṛ)shṇa 13 Śukravāramuna

“In the (Śaka) year twelve hundred less fourteen years, in the month of Kanyā, in the dark fortnight, on the thirteenth *tithi*, on Friday.”

“On Friday, the 13th (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Kanyā in the Śaka year 1186.”

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 expired the date corresponds to Friday, the 19th September A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise. The day by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 23rd day of the month of Kanyā.—F. K.

¹ It follows from this statement that both Naraharītīrtha and his father were ministers of the king of Kāliṅga.

² *I.e.* Śrīkūrmam; compare above, Vol. V. p. 35, note 1.

³ By this the poet means to say that Naraharītīrtha, though he wore a sword, was not put to the necessity of using it and thereby avoided incurring the sin of destroying life.

⁴ Prahlāda was the son of the demon Hiranyakaśipu who was killed by Viṣṇu in his Nṛisimha *avatāra*.

⁵ *I.e.* the eighth *tithi*; see above, Vol. V. p. 168, note 4.

⁶ No. 369 of 1896.

2.—In the Lakshmi-Narasimhasvâmin temple at Simhâchalam.¹

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śāk-âbdê Râma-dhâtrî-nayana-śasi-mitê Paushya-mâsi prasiddhê . ś[â]pât-²
 Ârkavâra-
 2 Śravaṇa-parinatê śaśvad=Arddhoday-âkhyê | bhûya[h*] ³Svarbbhâma-bhânugrahaṇa-
 ja-samayê
 3 tat-ti[thau] Sôma-vârê puṇyê kâla-dvayê=pi
 7 . . Svasti śrî-Śaka-varushambulu 1213 gun=êmtti Paushya mâsamuna Śravaṇa-
 Vyatipât-Ârkavâra-sa-
 8 hitam=aina Arddhodayam=anu përam gala [a]mâvâsya nâmdunu i(i) divasamuna
 sûryyagrahaṇa-sa-
 9 hitam=aina Sôma-vâramu nâmd[u]nu

"In the Śaka year measured by the Râmas (3), the earth (1), the eyes (2), and the moon (1),—(i.e. 1213),—in the well-known month of Paushya, on (*the occasion*) called **Arddhodaya**, ever brought about by (*the union of the yôga*) **Vyatipâta**, a **Sunday** and (*the nakshatra*) **Śravaṇa**,—again on the occasion arising at the sun's eclipse by Râhu, on the *tithi* of this (*eclipse*), on **Monday**,—at both of these auspicious times."

"In the month of Paushya of the Śaka year 1213, on the day of the new-moon *tithi* bearing the name **Arddhodaya**, combined with **Śravaṇa**, **Vyatipâta** and **Sunday**, and on **Monday** combined with an eclipse of the sun on this day."

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1213 expired the two days quoted by the original date correspond to **Sunday**, the 20th January, and **Monday**, the 21st January, A.D. 1292. On the **Sunday**, the new-moon *tithi* of Paushya commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Śravaṇa** for 22 h. 20 m., and the *yôga* **Vyatipâta** for 18 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. As therefore during the new-moon *tithi* of Paushya, on a Sunday in day-time, the *nakshatra* was **Śravaṇa**, and the *yôga* **Vyatipâta**, the coincidence is correctly described as **Arddhodaya** (compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 186, Pausha-kṛishnapaksha XV.).—On the **Monday**, at 3 h. 39 m. after sunrise, there was an annular eclipse of the sun which was visible in India. For a place in Southern India of longitude 77° and latitude 15° the magnitude of the greatest phase was about six digits.—F. K.

3.—In the Lakshmi-Narasimhasvâmin temple at Simhâchalam.⁴

- 7 Śāk-â[bdê] Vêda-chandra-dyuman[i]-sugapitê Śrâvaṇê mâsi śu-
 8 klê Vishṇôr=ahny=[Â*]rkkivârê
 11 Svasti śrî-Śaka-varushambulu 1214 gu-
 12 n=êmtti Śrâvaṇa-śukla âkâśaiyun Śanaishcharavâramu nâmdu

"In the Śaka year well reckoned by the Vêdas (4), the moon (1), and the suns (12),—(i.e. 1214),—in the month Śrâvaṇa, in the bright (*fortnight*), on the day of Vishṇu,⁵ on **Saturday**."

"On **Saturday**, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Śrâvaṇa in the Śaka year 1214."

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1214 expired the date corresponds to **Saturday**, the 26th July A.D. 1292, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.—F. K.

4.—In the Kûrmêśvara temple at Śrikûrmam.⁶

- 1 Svasti śrî-Śaka-varushambulu 1215 gun=êmdu Vira-śrî-Na-
 2 ranârasimhya(ha)dëvaru(ra) vijaya-râjya-sa[râvva]tsarambula-7

¹ No. 311 of 1900.² Read *Vyâtîpât*.³ Read *Svarbbhâma*.⁴ No. 305 of 1900.⁵ I.e. the eleventh *tithi*.⁶ No. 267 of 1896.⁷ Cancel the syllable *le* at the end of the line.

3 lu 18 gu śrāhi Ri(ri)shabha-śukla-paurṇa(rṇa)miyu Guruvā-
4 ramuna

"In the Śaka year 1215 (*and*) in the 18th year of the victorious reign of the glorious Vīra-Naranārasimhadēva,—on **Thursday**, the full-moon *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of **Rishabha**."

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to **Thursday**, the **21st May A.D. 1293**, when the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise. The day by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 27th day of the month of **Rishabha**.—F. K.

5.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrikūrmam.¹

1 Svasti śrī-Śaka-vatsarē śara-dharā-tigmāṃsu-śa(sa)mky-ānvitē
4 Svasti śrī-Śaka-varuṣaṃbulu 1215 gun=ēmtti Mā-
5 [gha]-śukla-paṃchchamiyu Raviv[ā*]ramunay=aṃddu

"In the Śaka year joined with the number of the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the suns (12),—(*i.e.* 1215)."

"On **Sunday**, the fifth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha in the Śaka year 1215."

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to **Sunday**, the **3rd January A.D. 1294**, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.—F. K.

No. 26.—TSANDAVOLU INSCRIPTION OF BUDDHARAJA; SAKA-SAMVAT 1093.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

This inscription (No. 249 of 1897) is engraved on three faces of a pillar opposite the Liṅgōdbhavasvāmin temple at Tsandavōlu in the Rēpalle tāluka of the Kistna district. The alphabet is Telugu. The inscription consists of 13 Sanskrit verses, a passage in Telugu prose (ll. 56 to 81), and two Sanskrit verses at the end.

The inscription is dated at the winter-solstice (*Saumyāyana*, v. 13, or *Uttarāyana*, l. 70 f.) in Śaka-Saṃvat 1093 (in numerical words, v. 13, and in figures, l. 70) and records the grant of a field at Nādiṇḍla (v. 13 and l. 72) and of a lamp to the Śiva temple of Paṇḍīśa (v. 13) or Paṇḍīśvara (ll. 69 and 79) at Dhanadapura (v. 13), Dhanadaprōlu (l. 69) or Dhanadavrōlu (l. 78 f.) in Velanāṇḍu (v. 13). Nādiṇḍla is the modern Nādeṇḍla in the Narasārāṇḍa tāluka of the Kistna district.² As stated before,³ Dhanadapura or Dhanadaprōlu is the modern Tsandavōlu, which was the capital of the chiefs of Velanāṇḍu.⁴ According to an inscription which is now built into the roof of the Liṅgōdbhavasvāmin temple, the temple of Paṇḍīśvara was named after one of the chiefs of Velanāṇḍu.⁵

The donor of this inscription was Buddhārāja (vv. 9, 12 and 13) or, in Telugu, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddhārāja (l. 67 f.), who bore the surnames Aniyāṅka-Bhima (l. 60 f.), Eladāyasimha (l. 61 f.), and 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family'⁶

¹ No. 291 of 1896.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 37, and Vol. VI. pp. 111 and 115.

³ Above, Vol. IV. Additions and Corrections, p. v.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁵ Above, Vol. V. p. 151.

⁶ This was also a surname of the chief Nambaya; see page 227 above. And the Kākatya king Gaṇapati traced his descent to an ancestor named Durjaya; above, Vol. V. p. 142. Though Gaṇapati claims to be a descendant of the Sun, Manu and Raghu (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 201, and above, Vol. V. p. 142), the Kākatyas must have belonged to the Śūdra caste, because they intermarried with Śūdra chiefs (above, Vol. III. p. 94, and Vol. VI. p. 147). In the Yenamadala inscription, which chronicles the marriage of Gaṇapāmbā to Bēta, both parties preserve a discreet silence regarding their Śūdra descent.

(l. 59). As he calls himself a 'worshipper of the feet of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva**' (l. 57 f.), it may be assumed that he or his predecessors had been vassals of the Chālukya-Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II. Among his remaining *birudas* we find **Giripaśchimaśāsana**, 'the ruler (of the country) west of the hill' (l. 64), and **Śailapāśchātyadipa**, 'the light (of the country) west of the hill' (v. 12). These are Sanskrit equivalents of the Telugu term **Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi**, '(the ruler of the country) west of the hill,' which is prefixed to his name in line 68. When editing the Amarāvati inscription of Kēta II., I pointed out that the district of **Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi** corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tāluka.¹ Hence the expression 'west of the hill' must refer to the **Koṇḍaviḍu hills**, which form part of the eastern boundary of that district.

Buddharāja's ancestor **Buddhavarman** belonged to the **Chaturthābhijana** (v. 2), i.e. to the Śūdra caste, and was a servant (v. 3) of king **Kubja-Vishṇu of the lunar race** (v. 1), i.e. of the Eastern Chālukya king Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., who conferred on him 'the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages' (v. 4). The immediate descendants of Buddhavarman are not mentioned by name in the inscription, which passes on to the **Maṇḍalēśvara Maṇḍa I.** or Maṇḍana, who "was born from that family," his son **Gaṇḍa**, (v. 5), and his grandson **Maṇḍa II.** (v. 6). Buddharāja was the son of Maṇḍa II. and **Kundāmbikā** (v. 8), and the brother of **Aṅkama** (v. 12), who became the wife of **Rājendra-Chōḍa**, the son of **Goṅka** (v. 11). This chief has to be identified with Rājendra-Chōḍa, the son of Goṅka II. of **Velanāṇḍu**, and his wife Aṅkama with **Akkāmbikā** or **Akkama**, whose name occurs in verse 49 of the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription of Prithviśvara² and in a fragmentary inscription at Bāpaṭla.³ The son of Rājendra-Chōḍa, Goṅka III., followed the example of his father in marrying **Jāyāmbikā**, who belonged to the family of the chiefs of 'the country west of the hill.'⁴

In the foot-notes on the text I have quoted the various readings of two **Nāḍaṇḍia** inscriptions of Buddharāja, of which the first (No. 233 of 1892) contains verses 1-10 of the subjoined inscription, and the second (No. 228 of 1892) the list of *birudas* (ll. 56 to 68).

TEXT.⁵

West Face.⁶

- 1 श्री⁷ [॥*] अस्ति श्रीस्तनकुंकुमांकितविराज[ब्यू]-⁸
- 2 डवत्तस्थलो देवशीतमयूख-
- 3 वंशतिलक[:*] श्री[कु]ञ्जविष्णुर्निपः⁹ । य-¹⁰
- 4 स्यरातिनरेंद्रहर्म्यविलस[द्वृ]र्वा-

¹ Page 148 above.

² Above, Vol. IV. pp. 35 and 51. I avail myself of this opportunity for issuing a collotype plate of the four Piṭhāpuram pillar inscriptions between pages 270 and 271.

³ This inscription (No. 181 of 1897) refers itself to the reign of "Chōḍa-Goṅka-mahārāja, the son of Akkama-mahādēvi, the younger sister of [Budda]-mahārāja."

⁴ *Parvat-āpara-mahāt*; above, Vol. IV. p. 51.

⁵ From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

⁶ The symbols of the sun and the moon—implying that the grant is to continue *ā-chandr-ārkaṁ*—are engraved at the top of this face.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

No. 233 of 1892 reads °द्वृपः.

⁸ No. 233 of 1892 reads °विराजि°; read °ब्यूड°.

¹⁰ Read यस्स्यराति° (?).

- 5 [भि]लावीप्रतचीभोव्मङ्गुरंगशीत-¹
 6 किरणस्याख्ये[यशोभां]² दधौ । [१*] आसीच्चतु-
 7 र्याभिजनाव[तंस][ः*] [त्री]बुध्वर्मा[१]³ कृत-
 8 पुष्यकर्मा [१*] [सं]यामरंगे निजनायवर्मा
 9 संपादिताशेषक[र्वी]द्रवर्मा । [२*] भृत्यकृत्य-
 10 विनयेन रंजयन्नुनेय⁴ इव राव-
 11 णच्छिदं [१*] वैनतेय इव चक्रिणं च तं सार्वभौ-
 12 मतिलकं स [शोभते]⁵ । [३*] त्रिसप्ततिग्रामवतीम्-
 13 हीमहीपतिप्रसादोपनताञ्जताहितः [१*]
 14 गिरिप्रतीवीविजराजसांश्चनैश्च पालयामा-
 15 स विलासवासवः । [४*] वंशकर्तृषु⁶ गतेषु केषुचि-
 16 त्तत्कालादजनि [मं]भूपतिः [१*] मंडलीश्च-
 17 रसिखंडमंडनो⁷ मंडनादजनि गंडभू-
 18 पतिः । [५*] अथ रविरिव ⁸पूर्वशैलश्रिंगा[त्तुहि]न-
 19 मरोचिरिवांबुधेः कुमारः [१*] ⁹शरवन[वन]-
 20 [जा]दिवोष्यवार्थं समजनि मंडविभुर्वि-
 21 भोरमुष्मात् । [६*] अस्व¹⁰ खड्गलतिकात्रि-
 22 ता जय(१)त्रीर्भुजात्रितभुवादिराज-¹¹
 23 ¹²भिर्भुक्तवत्यपि पतिव्रता कृता तन¹³ राज-
 24 तनयेन मानिना ॥ [७*] पुरंहरस्त्रेव¹⁴ पु-
 25 लोमपुत्री सीतेव रामस्य रमेव शौरेः [१*]
 26 बभूव¹⁵ देवी जनपत्य तस्य कुंदाभिका¹⁶
 27 राजसूतोभिकेव¹⁷ । [८*] ताभ्यामुभाभ्यां ज-
 28 गदुत्सवाय ¹⁸त्रीबुद्धराजोजनि
 29 कीर्त्तिदानी¹⁹ [१*] तेनैव जातास्तद्वदहमा-²⁰

¹ No. 233 of 1892 reads °चीनो°.

² Read °यशोभां°.

³ No. 233 of 1892 reads सीते.

⁴ No. 233 of 1892 reads °विखंड°.

⁵ No. 233 of 1892 reads शरवण°.

⁶ Read °त्रीर्भुजा°.

⁷ No. 233 of 1892 reads तेन.

⁸ No. 233 of 1892 reads बभूव.

⁹ No. 233 of 1892 reads °विदेव°.

¹⁰ No. 233 of 1892 reads °जानि[ः*]°.

¹¹ No. 233 of 1892 reads °लाक्ष्ययशोभां°.

¹² Read °यशोजनेय°.

¹³ No. 233 of 1892 reads °बभूव°.

¹⁴ Read पूर्वशैलश्रिंगा°.

¹⁵ No. 233 of 1892 reads यत्न.

¹⁶ Read °भिः । सुत°.

¹⁷ No. 233 of 1892 reads °रस्येव°.

¹⁸ No. 233 of 1892 reads कुंदाभिका°.

¹⁹ No. 233 of 1892 reads त्रीबुद्ध°.

²⁰ No. 233 of 1892 reads वदहमा°.

- 30 न[१*]स्त्याज्जित(१)त्यागपराक्रमाश्च^१ [॥ ८*]
 31 येस्यासीत्यविदारितारिकरटिप्रस्यो-^३
 32 'तकुंभस्थलस्थालोत्थूलविमुक्तमुक्त-
 33 निकरास्थूरी^५ विकीर्णा र[ण] [१*] वाह-^६
 34 लोखरविखलेखनद[ल*]द्रक्तप्रसिकत्ति-^७
 35 तौ (१) प्रत्युपा^८ इ[व] कीर्त्तिबोजम[ण]यो भां-^९
 36 [त्ति] ष^{१०} [षो]मांकुराः । [१०*] श्रीमत्संग्रामवो-
 37 [र]क्षितपतिरभवद्देहिभू[प]ाल[पु]त्र[ः*]

South Face.

- 38 ^{११}श्रीमान्विचारिभोगः ^{१२}प्रभलरिपु-
 39 ^{१३}विपांभोजपुंजामितांशु[ः*]^{१४} [१*] ग्रश्च्छो-
 40 कं[१]तभक्तो गुणनिधिरमलो वाक्पतिः
 41 पुण्यमूर्त्तिधोमद्भूदेवद्वयस्य^{१५}
 42 कलजननुतो भाति ^{१६}राजेद्रचोडः [॥ ११*]
 43 तस्योर्व्विवल्लभस्य प्रियवरललना
 44 ^{१७}[व]धपट्टाङ्गमाख्या भाति श्रीसन्नि[भा]-
 45 ^{१८}तिसुरितनिखिलदिक्पूर्व्वसत्कीर्त्ति-^{१९}
 46 वल्लो [१*] तद्भाता बुद्धवू^{२०} नरपतिति-
 47 लकश्चैलपाश्चात्यदीपः सम्मानो[द्य]-
 48 [दि]कीर्त्तिर्गुणमणिनिकरो राजते
 49 [पु]ण्यमूर्त्ति[ः*] । [१२*] शाकाब्दे शक्तिनन्दां-
 50 वरशशिगणिते [भू]रिसौम्यायने
 51 वा चैत्रवादिङ्गु[पु]र्य्या धनधपु-^{२१}
 52 रेमधिस्थाय पंडीशनाम्ने [१*] नैवेद्या-
 53 त्यग्नर्हत्मा^{२२} भिरतरमनियं खड्ग[कं]

^१ No. 233 of 1892 reads 'लोर्जित'.

^३ No. 233 of 1892 reads 'प्रस्यो'.

^५ Read 'राक्षुर्' विकीर्णा रणे.

^७ No. 233 of 1892 reads 'प्रसिक्त'.

^९ The *anusotra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^{१०} No. 233 of 1892 reads 'षा' बामांकुराः.

^{१२} Read 'प्रवल'.

^{१४} Read 'मूर्त्तिर्डीम'.

^{१६} Read 'स्मुरित'.

^{१८} Read 'धनदपुरमधिष्ठाय'.

^३ No. 233 of 1892 reads 'यस्यासिप्र'.

^५ Read 'कुंभ'.

^७ No. 233 of 1892 reads 'वाहाली'.

^९ No. 233 of 1892 reads 'प्रत्युपा'.

^{११} Read 'श्रीमान्वचारि'.

^{१३} Read 'वपा'.

^{१५} Read 'राजेद्र'.

^{१७} Read 'दिक्पूर्व्व'.

^{१९} Read 'अग्नर्हत्मा चिर'.

^{१६} Read 'जामतांशु'.

^{१८} Read 'वड'.

^{२०} Read 'बुद्धवू'.

- 54 बाहुसंख्यं दीप¹ प्रादादखंडं [ख]-
 55 यमपि वेलनांडभूतले बुद्ध[भू]पः
 56 ॥ [१३*] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-
 57 [ह्र]मंड[लि]खर² कुलीतुंगाची[ड]देवर³
 58 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परबलसाध-
 59 क दुर्जयकुलाचलमृगेन्द्र सत्यह-
 60 रिखंद प्रतिज्ञापदसराम⁴ अनियं-
 61 कभीम सत्यराधेय श्रीचंगांभेय⁵ ए-
 62 लदायसिंह विक्रमत्रिसिंह⁶ सुज-
 63 नजनवनवसंत कांताजयंत वि-
 64 वेकपद्मासन गिरिपश्चिमशासन वित-
 65 रणरणविनोद⁷ कस्तुरिकामोद ह-
 66 यवत्तराज राजमनोज नामादि-
 67 समस्तप्रशस्तसहित⁸ श्रीमन्महामं⁹
 68 डलेखर कौंडपड्मटिबुद्धराजुलु
 69 धनदप्रोलि श्रीपंडीखरमह[१*]देव-
 70 रकु शकवर्धबुलु १०८३ नैटि [उ]त्त(१)-
 71 रायणनिमित्तमुन निवेदार्थमु-
 72 नकु नादिंङ्गु बेटिन¹⁰ भूमि ख २ [॥*]
 73 इ¹¹ देवरक अखंडवर्त्तिदीपंबुनकु¹²

East Face.

- 74 बेटिन गोठियलु ५५ [१*] वीनिं जेको-
 75 नि चामेनबीयुनि कोङ्कु सूर्य-
 76 बीयिनि पंठनु कोम्भनबीयिनि कोङ्कु
 77 भीमनबीयुंडु तन पुत्रानु-
 78 पौत्रिकमु आचंद्रार्कमु धनदप्रो-
 79 लि श्रीपंडीखरमहादेवरकुनखं-
 80 डवर्त्तिदीपंबुनकु नित्य मा[निं]डु

¹ Read दीप.

² No. 228 of 1892 reads °देवदिव्यश्रीपादाराधक.

³ No. 228 of 1892 reads °परशुराम.

⁴ No. 228 of 1892 reads °नृसिंह.

⁵ No. 228 of 1892 reads °प्रशस्ति°.

⁶ Read बेटिन.

⁷ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁸ No. 228 of 1892 inserts वीरमहेश्वर.

⁹ No. 228 of 1892 reads श्रीचंगुनेय (!).

¹⁰ No. 228 of 1892 reads कस्तुरिका°.

¹¹ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹² Read ई देवरकु.

- 81 नेयि पीयंगलवांडु ॥ स्वदत्तां प-
 82 र[द]त्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [1*] षष्टि¹
 83 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्षमिः [॥ १४*]
 84 बहुविर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिच्चा[नु]-³
 85 पालिता [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त-
 86 स तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [१५*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 praises king Kubja-Vishnu, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the ornament of the Chaturthâbhijana, i.e. of a family belonging to the fourth (Śûdra) caste (v. 2 f.).

(V. 4.) "He to whom enemies bowed, (and who resembled) Vāsava (Indra) in happiness, protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of the king along with his royal emblems."

(V. 5.) "After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Maṇḍa [I.], the crest-ornament of rulers of provinces (*maṇḍalêśvara*); (and) from Maṇḍana was born king Gaṇḍa."

His son was Maṇḍa [II.] (v. 6), who married Kundâmbikâ (v. 8). Their son was Buddhârāja (v. 9). His sister Āṅkama was the wife of Râjêndra-Chôḍa, the son of Goṅka (v. 11 f.).

(V. 13.) "In the Śâka year counted by the powers (3), the Nandas (9), the sky (0), and the moon (1),— (i.e. 1093),—and at the great Saumyâyana,⁴ the high-minded king Buddha himself gave to (the god) named Paṇḍîśa, who resides at Dhanadapura in the country of Velanâṇḍ[ul], a field (of) two *khaṇḍukas*⁵ in the town of Nâdiṇḍla for (providing) offerings uninterruptedly for a very long time, and a perpetual lamp."

(Line 56.) "Hail! The glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddarāja, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a Paraśurâma in (keeping) vows; Aniyâṅka-Bhima; a Râdhêya (Karna) in truthfulness; a Gâṅgêya (Bhishma) in purity; Eladâyasimha; a Nṛsimha in valour; the season of spring to the forest—virtuous men; a Jayanta to (the eyes of) women; a Brahmâ in wisdom; the ruler (of the country) west of the hill; he who delights in making gifts and in (fighting) battles; he who is fond of musk;⁶ a Vatsarāja in (the management of) horses; and a Cupid among kings,—in the Śâka year 1093, on the occasion of the Uttarâyana,—gave to the god Paṇḍîśvara-Mahadêva at Dhanadaprôlu 2 *kha[ṇḍî]* of land at Nâdiṇḍla for (providing) offerings."

(L. 73.) "To the same god (he) gave 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these (sheep),—Sûrya-Bôya, the son of Châmena-Bôya, standing security,⁷—Bhîmana-Bôya, the son of

¹ The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² Read वसुभिः.

³ Read °भिच्चानु°.

⁴ This term is synonymous with Uttarâyana (l. 70 f.).

⁵ Literally, 'the *khaṇḍuka* whose number were the (two) arms.'

⁶ The *śirûḍa* Kastûrikâmôḍa makes me suspect that Kastûrikâmôḍinî, one of the queens of Anantavarman alias Chôḍagaṅga of Kâlînga (Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 53, No. 367), was the daughter of one of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chiefs.

⁷ *Pâṇḍya* is the same as *pâṇḍya*, on which see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.

- 54 बाहुसंख्यं दीप¹ प्रादादखंडं [स्व]-
 55 यमपि वेलनांडभूतले बुड[भू]पः
 56 ॥ [१३*] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-
 57 [हा]मंड[लि]खर² कुलोत्तुंगचो[ड]देवर³
 58 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परबलसाध-
 59 क दुर्जयकुलाचलमृगेंद्र सत्यह-
 60 रिखंद्र प्रतिज्ञापकसराम⁴ अनियं-
 61 कभीम सत्यराधेय श्रीचंगांगेय⁵ ए-
 62 लदायसिंह विक्रमत्रिसिंह⁶ सुज-
 63 नजनवनवसंत कांताजयंत वि-
 64 वेकपद्मासन गिरिपश्चिमशासन वित-
 65 रणरणविनोद⁷ कस्तुरिकामोद ह-
 66 यवत्सराज राजमनोज नामादि-
 67 समस्तप्रशस्तसहित⁸ श्रीमन्महामं⁹
 68 डलेखर कीडपड्मटिबुहराजुलु
 69 धनदग्रोलि श्रीपंडीखरमह[१*][देव-
 70 रकु शकवर्षबुलु १०८३ नेटि [उ]त्त(१)-
 71 रायणनिमित्तसुन निवेद्याल्यसु-
 72 नकु नादिंङ्क वेटिन¹⁰ भूमि ख २ [॥*]
 73 इ¹¹ देवरक अखंडवर्त्तिदीपंबुनकु¹²

East Face.

- 74 वेटिन गोठियलु ५५ [१*] वीनिं जेको-
 75 नि चामेनबोयुनि कोड्कु सूर्य-
 76 बोयिनि पूंटनु कोम्भनबोयिनि कोड्कु
 77 भीमनवीयुंडु तन पुत्रालु-
 78 पौत्रिकमु आचंद्रार्कमु धनदग्रो-
 79 लि श्रीपंडीखरमहादेवरकुनखं-
 80 डवर्त्तिदीपंबुनकु नित्य मा[निं]डु

¹ Read दीपं.

² No. 228 of 1892 reads °देवदिव्यश्रीपादाराधक.

³ No. 228 of 1892 reads °परशुराम.

⁴ No. 228 of 1892 reads °नृसिंह.

⁵ No. 228 of 1892 reads °प्रशस्ति.

⁶ Read वेटिन.

⁷ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁸ No. 228 of 1892 inserts वीरमहेश्वर.

⁹ No. 228 of 1892 reads श्रीचांगुनेय (!).

¹⁰ No. 228 of 1892 reads कस्तुरिका°.

¹¹ The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹² Read ई देवरकु.

- 81 नेयि पीयंगलवांडु ॥ स्वदत्तां प-
 82 र[द]त्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्वरां [1*] षष्टि¹
 83 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्षमिः [॥ १४*]
 84 ²बहुबिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिच्चा[नु]-³
 85 पालिता [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त-
 86 स्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [१५*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 praises king Kubja-Vishṇu, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the ornament of the Chaturthābhijana, i.e. of a family belonging to the fourth (Śūdra) caste (v. 2 f.).

(V. 4.) "He to whom enemies bowed, (and who resembled) Vāsava (Indra) in happiness, protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of the king along with his royal emblems."

(V. 5.) "After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Maṇḍa [I.], the crest-ornament of rulers of provinces (*maṇḍalēśvara*); (and) from Maṇḍana was born king Gaṇḍa."

His son was Maṇḍa [II.] (v. 6), who married Kundāmbikā (v. 8). Their son was Buddhārāja (v. 9). His sister Aṅkama was the wife of Rājendra-Chōḍa, the son of Goṅka (v. 11 f.).

(V. 13.) "In the Śaka year counted by the powers (3), the Nandas (9), the sky (0), and the moon (1),— (i.e. 1093),—and at the great Saumyāyana,⁴ the high-minded king Buddha himself gave to (the god) named Paṇḍiśa, who resides at Dhanadapura in the country of Velanāṇḍ[u], a field (of) two *khaṇḍukas*⁵ in the town of Nādiṇḍa for (providing) offerings uninterruptedly for a very long time, and a perpetual lamp."

(Line 56.) "Hail! The glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddarāja, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a Paraśurāma in (keeping) vows; Aniyāṅka-Bhima; a Rādhēya (Karma) in truthfulness; a Gāṅgēya (Bhīshma) in purity; Eladāyasimha; a Nṛsimha in valour; the season of spring to the forest—virtuous men; a Jayanta to (the eyes of) women; a Brahmā in wisdom; the ruler (of the country) west of the hill; he who delights in making gifts and in (fighting) battles; he who is fond of musk;⁶ a Vatsarāja in (the management of) horses; and a Cupid among kings,—in the Śaka year 1093, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana,—gave to the god Paṇḍiśvara-Mahādēva at Dhanadaprōlu 2 *kha[ṇḍi]* of land at Nādiṇḍa for (providing) offerings."

(L. 73.) "To the same god (he) gave 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these (sheep),—Sūrya-Bōya, the son of Chāmena-Bōya, standing security,⁷—Bhimana-Bōya, the son of

¹ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² Read षष्टि°.

³ Read °भिच्चानु°.

⁴ This term is synonymous with Uttarāyana (l. 70 f.).

⁵ Literally, 'the *khaṇḍuka* whose number were the (two) arms.'

⁶ The *biruda* *Kastūrikāmōḍa* makes me suspect that *Kastūrikāmōḍini*, one of the queens of Anantavarman alias Chōḍagaṅga of Kalinga (Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 53, No. 367), was the daughter of one of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chiefs.

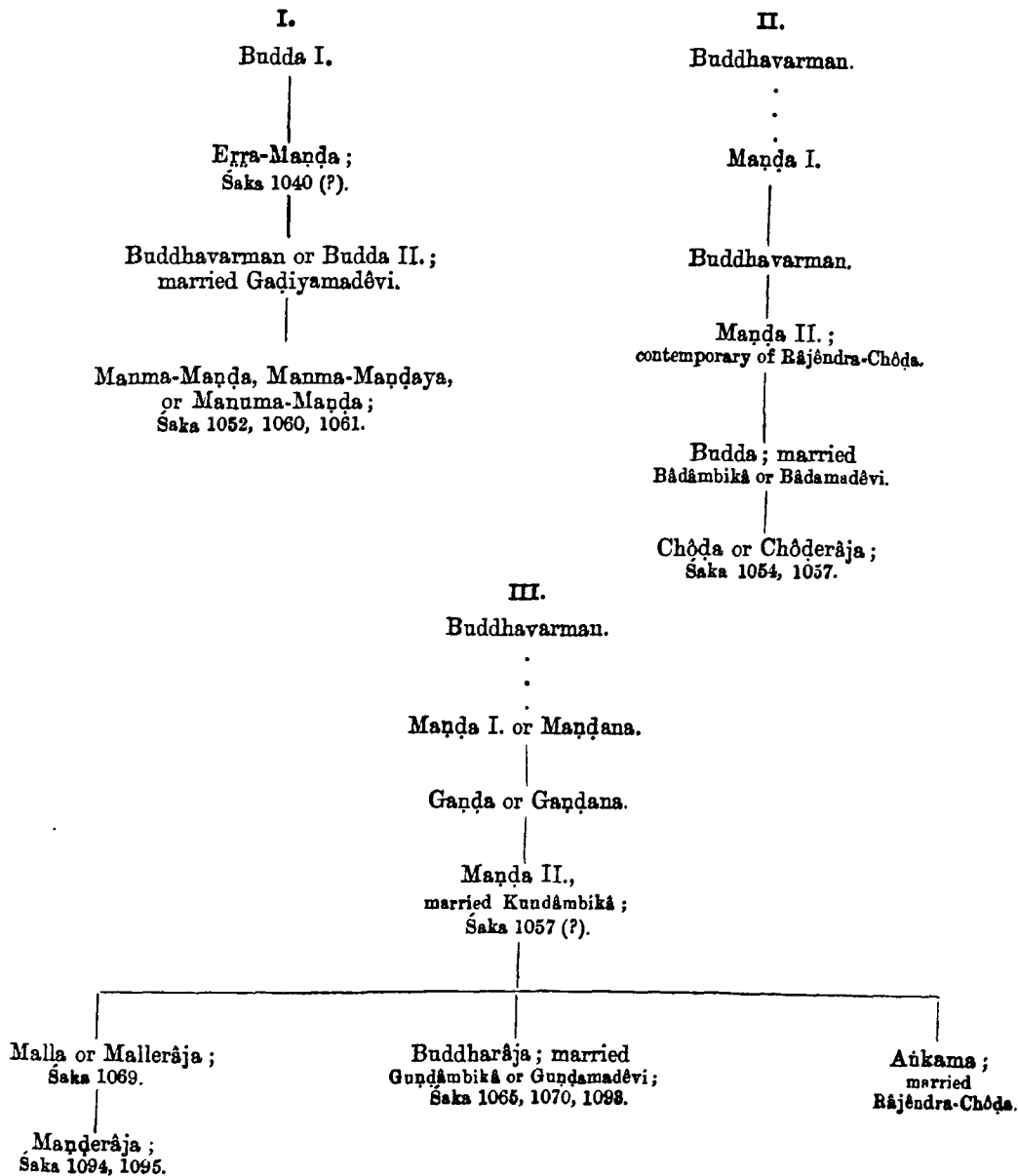
⁷ *Pāṇḍiśa* is the same as *pāṇḍiśa*, on which see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.

Kommana-Bôya, with his sons and further descendants has to supply one *māna* of ghee daily for a perpetual lamp to the god **Paṇḍīśvara-Mahādēva** at **Dhanadavrôlu** as long as the moon and the sun shall last."

The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

POSTSCRIPT.

The two temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu at **Nādeṇḍla** contain 12 inscriptions of the **Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi** chiefs, and there are two others at the **Sômêśvara** temple at **Irlapāḍu** near **Nādeṇḍla**. I subjoin abstracts of these records, which, along with the **Tsandavôlu** inscription of **Buddharāja**, establish the following three pedigrees.



1.—On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 227 of 1892).

Language: Telugu prose and verse. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1052,¹ Mēsha-siti-pañchami,² Thursday.³ The son of the *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Buddha—"who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vīra-Mahêśvara; the worshipper of the divine feet of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva; the destroyer of hostile armies; Eladāyasimha; Sâhasôttuṅga; a Râma on the battle-field; Anaaṅka-Bhîma (!); a Râdhêya in truthfulness; a Gâṅgêya in purity; a moon to the water-lily and the milk-ocean—the *Durjaya* family; a mine of very bright virtues; he whose delight is the sport of valour; he whose delight is poetry; the mango-tree to the parrots—excellent poets; the support of virtuous men; a Rêvanta in (the management of) horses; the death to enemies; a Brahmâ in wisdom; and *Giripaśchimaśāsana*"—was *Erṇa-Maṇḍa*.⁴ His son was *Buddhavarman*; and his son *Manma-Maṇḍa*, who gave two lamps and land at *Noñchinipāḍu* to the Mûlasthâna temple at Nâdiṇḍla.

2.—On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 217 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1060. Gift of certain taxes levied at *Noñchinipāḍu*, for the maintenance of two lamps in the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva at Nâdiṇḍla, by the *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* *Manma-Maṇḍaya*.

3.—On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 222 of 1892).

Language: Telugu verse and prose. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1081,⁵ Mâgha-sita-pañchami, Friday.⁶ *Manma-Maṇḍa*, the eldest son of the *Maṇḍalika* Buddha and of *Gaḍiyamadêvi*, built a temple (*guḍi*) of Śiva at Nâdeṇḍla and gave to it the village *Noñcheḍlapūṇḍi*. His mother *Gaḍiyamadêvi*, the daughter of *Mêḍa* and *Mêḍamâmba*, gave a lamp to the Mûlasthâna temple at Nâdiṇḍla. Further *Manuma-Maṇḍa* gave many ornaments to Śiva. Finally the inhabitants of *Noñchinipāḍu* had to pay a tax to the temple.

4.—On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 214 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1054 or 1057.⁷ The two first verses praise king *Kubja-Vishṇu*, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was *Buddhavarman*, the lion of the mountain—the *Chaturthakula* (v. 3 f.), who "protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with the royal emblems"⁸ (v. 5). After some princes of his family had passed away, *Buddhavarman*, surnamed *Eladāyasimha*, was born from *Maṇḍa* [I.] (v. 6). His son was *Maṇḍa* [II.], surnamed *Aniyaṅka-Bhîma* (v. 7).

¹ *Ambaka-adyak-āmbara-mṛigdhaka*.

² The word *siti* or *śiti* means both 'white' and 'black' and may refer either to the bright or to the dark fortnight. Prof. Kielhorn states that, for the dark half of Mēsha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1052 current, the date corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1129.

³ *Nirjarandha-mantri-vāra*.

⁴ He is styled *Chaturthavamsa-nisthraka* and his son *Chaturthavay-ābdhi-chandra*. A damaged Telugu inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1040 (in figures and in numerical words: *gagan-ābdhi-vi[ya]d-ind[ra]*), the Vilambina year, at Chêbrôlu (No. 157 of 1897) mentions Sûra, the minister of the *Giripaśchima* king *Erṇa-Maṇḍa*.

⁵ *Uḍavallabha-tarka-[kḥ-ṣ]ndu*.

⁶ *Kavi-vāsara*. Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that "the date regularly corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 1081 expired, to Friday, the 26th January A.D. 1140, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise."

⁷ *Jalandhri-mārga-viyat-tārdhikindha*. Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 228 and note 10.

⁸ *Makṣa . . . giri-pratichhāṇa-sāha-rāja-lamchhāṇa-is-trisaptati-grāmasatthā*.

(V. 8.) "Having torn up, like a mound, the army of the Gaṅga (*king*) of Kalinga,¹ having consumed, like straw, the warriors of the bold enemy, and having cut off, (*like*) lotuses, their heads, the mighty rutting elephant—the *Maṇḍalika Maṇḍa* [II.] is roaring."²

(V. 9.) "[Having defeated] the army of the enemy, he gave to Rājendra-Chōḍa³ mighty elephants which had been captured there, (*and*) whose temples were bright with rut."⁴

His son was Budda (v. 10), whose wife was Bādāmbikā (v. 12). His son Chōḍa (v. 13) gave a lamp, ornaments, a bell, a trumpet and a conch to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādiṇḍla, and land to Brāhmaṇas.

5.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 215 of 1892).

Language : Telugu. Undated. Gift of a lamp and of land at Noṇchinipāḍu to the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nādiṇḍla by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍerāja*, "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vīra-Mahēśvara; the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; he whose hair is covered by the dust of the divine feet of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva*, as bees are covered by the pollen of the lotus; a *Shanmukha* at the head of battles; *Aniyāṅka-Bhīma*; a *Paraśurāma* in (keeping) vows; he whose wife is (the goddess) *Vijaya-Lakshmi*; a son to the wives of others; a *Nṛsiṁha* to the demons—heroes; and *Eladāyasimha*." Also gift of a lamp by the same chief for the merit of his mother *Bādamadēvi*.

6.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 219 of 1892).

Language : Telugu. Date : Śaka-Saṁvat 1054. Gift of land at Nādiṇḍla to some Mahājānas by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍ[e]rāja*.

7.—On a pillar in front of the Sōmēśvara temple at Irlapāḍu (No. 111 of 1893).

Languages : Sanskrit and Telugu. Date : Śaka-Saṁvat 1057.⁵ Gift of land and of a lamp to the temple of Sōmēśvara-Mahādēva at Irlalūru by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍerāja*,⁶ "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vīra-Mahēśvara; the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a bee at the divine lotus-feet of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva*; a *Shanmukha* at the head of battles; a *Paraśurāma* in (keeping) vows; *Aniyāṅka-Bhīma*; he whose wife is (the goddess) *Vijaya-Lakshmi*; a son to the wives of others; *Eladāyasimha*; and *Sāhasōttuṅga*."

8.—On a pillar in front of the Sōmēśvara temple at Irlapāḍu (No. 109-10 of 1893).

Languages : Sanskrit and Telugu. Date : Śaka-Saṁvat 1057.⁷ Sōmana-Peggaḍa, an officer of the *Maṇḍalika Maṇḍa* who belonged to the family of the *Durjayas* and was the lord

¹ Evidently Anantavarman *alias* Chōḍagaṇḍa of Kalinga, who reigned from Śaka-Saṁvat 999 to 1064; Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 51, No. 358, and p. 52, No. 363.

² कालिङ्गमङ्गकटकं तटव[विप]ाका जग्त्वा कट[कं]करवदारभटारिवीरान् [I*]
सङ्ख्य [ग]च्छति त्रिरस्त्रसौहृदाणि तेषां च मंडलिकमंडमद्वि[प]दः ॥

³ This statement refers to Rājendra-Chōḍa of Velanāḍu, the husband of Ankama or Akkāmbikā, the daughter of Maṇḍa II.; see above, p. 269 and notes 2, 3.

⁴ The first half of this verse is only partially preserved; . . . वैरिसेनां [I*] तच्च गृहीताम्बद-
घीतमङ्गाज्जिह्वीघाय ददौ गजेन्द्रान् ॥

⁵ Śaila-bāṇa-ghanamdr[ga]-śīlakṛit.

⁶ In the Sanskrit portion he is called Chōḍa and 'the lord of the country west of the hill' (*śaila-pāścima-
cāruṁdhara-dhīpa*).

⁷ In figures and in numerical words: *giri-śara-viyad-indu*.

of the country west of the hill,¹ built a temple of Śiva, named Sômêśvara-Mahâdêva, at Irralû-ru² and gave to it a tank, which he had constructed on the north of the village, and a lamp.

9.— On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdeṇḍla (Nos. 239-241 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1069.³ Verse 1 praises king Kubja-Vishṇu, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the founder of the race of kings of the fourth (caste)⁴ (v. 2 f.), who “protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with his royal emblems”⁵ (v. 4). “After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Maṇḍa [I.]” or Maṇḍana, whose son was Gaṇḍa or Gaṇḍana, whose son was Maṇḍa [II.] (v. 5).

Here some lines are lost. Then the inscription refers to the birth of Malla. This *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Mallêrāja— “who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vîra-Mahêśvara; the worshipper of the divine feet of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lion of the principal mountain—the Durjaya family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a Paraśurâma in (keeping) vows; Aniyâṅka-Bhîma; a Râdhêya in truthfulness; an Âñjanêya in purity; Eladâyasimha; a Nṛsimha in valour; the season of spring to the lotus—virtuous men; a Jayanta to (the eyes of) women; a Brahmâ in wisdom; Giripaśchimaśâsana; he who delights in making gifts and in (fighting) battles; he who is fond of musk; a Vatsarāja in (the management of) horses; a Cupid among kings; the son of Kundâmbikâ; and a Saṃkrandana in happiness— gave a lamp to the temple of Kêśavadêva at Nâdiṇḍla, and another lamp to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva at Nâdiṇḍla.

10.— On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 237 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1094. Gift of a lamp to the temple of Kêśavadêva at Nâdiṇḍla by an officer of the *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Ko[ṇ*]ḍapaḍmaṭi-Maṇḍ[ê*]-rāja.

11.— On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 234 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1095. Records that the *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Maṇḍêrāja, the son of the *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Mallêrāja, gave to the temple of Kêśavadêva a lamp, and some land below the Mallasamudra tank which he had constructed on the north-west of Nâdiṇḍla.

12.— On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 233 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1065.⁶ Gift of a lamp to the Mûlasthâna temple at Nâdiṇḍla by Buddarāja. Guṇḍamadêvi, the wife of the *Mahāmaṇḍalêśvara* Buddarāja, gave to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva a tank named Guṇḍasa[mu*]dra which she had constructed on the south of Nâdiṇḍla.

¹ *Kutkîla-pratyag-urot-vibhva*.

² This village is stated to have been situated ‘on the west of the hill’ (*girdh paichimatah*) and to have been granted by the mythical king Triṇayana-Pallava to an ancestor of the donor, Vennayabhaṭṭa-Sômayâjin, when he had defeated in disputation a certain Gaudabhaṭṭa who had hung up a challenge in public (*kṛita-pattra-lamba*; compare above, Vol. III. p. 201 and note 3).

³ In figures and in numerical words: *Jalajâtasambhava-ras-âkâś-êndu*.

⁴ *Chatuṛth-âdhipa-gaṇa-kartâ*.

⁵ *Giri-pratichhâ-nija-râja-lâmchha(chha)nais=trisaptati-grāmadatim=maḥim, etc.*

⁶ In figures and in numerical words: *isara-tarka-tâdrakapatha-ivêttâmû*.

13.— On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 228 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1070. Gift of two lamps to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva at Nâdeṇḍla by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddarâja.

14.— On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 230 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1093.¹ Gift of a lamp to the temple of Mûlasthâna-[Mahâdêva] at Nâdeṇḍla by Guṇḍâmbikâ or Guṇḍamadêvi, the chief queen (*agramahishî*) of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Buddarâja.

No. 27.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHOEN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 24.)

A.— KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

39.— Near the Nâgêśvara temple at Chêbrôlu.²

1	Svasti	Śakha(ka)-varshaṃblu	998	n=ēṃṭi	Nala-śam(sam)vatsa-
2	ra	śrâhi	svasti		Sarvvalôkâśraya-śrî-
3	Vishnu(shṇu)	varddhana-mahârâjula			pravarddhamâ-
4	na-vijaya-râjya-śam(sam)vatsara[mblu]		7	n=ēṇḍu	. . .
6	.	.	.	.	Mâgha-mâsamuna
7	punnamayu	Su(śu)kravâramuna			sômagrahaṇa-
8	nimittamunan=.				

"In the Śaka year 998, in the year³ (*which was*) the **Nala** year, (*and*) in the 7th year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇu-varddhana-mahârâja,— on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on **Friday**, the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Mâgha."

As the reign of Kulôttunga-Chôla I. commenced⁴ between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070, a date in the month of Mâgha of his 7th year must fall about the commencement of A.D. 1077, in Śaka-Saṃvat 998 expired which was the Jovian year **Nala** (**Anala**). In this year the full-moon *tithi* of Mâgha ended 23 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 11th January A.D. 1077, when there was no eclipse. But there was an eclipse of the moon, visible in India, from 17 h. 9 m. to 20 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday**, the 10th February A.D. 1077, which was the full-moon day of Phâlguna. I have no doubt that this is the day intended by the inscription, and that in the original date the month of Mâgha has been quoted erroneously⁵ instead of Phâlguna.

¹ In figures and in numerical words: *guṇa-Nanda-kh-ēṇḍu*.

² No. 151 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897; see p. 220 above.

³ For the word *śrâhi* compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 285.

⁴ See above, p. 24.

⁵ The case is different with the date of the Nausâri plates of Suvarṇavarsha Karkarâja of Gujârât, edited in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 135 ff., which quotes a lunar eclipse in the month of Mâgha of Śaka-Saṃvat 738 expired. The eclipse undoubtedly is the one of the 5th February A.D. 817, which by the rules now in force would be the full-moon day of Phâlguna. The original date is nevertheless correct, because by the rules of mean intercalation Mâgha in Śaka-Saṃvat 738 was an intercalary month, so that the month which we now should call Phâlguna, in accordance with those rules would have been called the second (or proper) Mâgha, or simply Mâgha, as it is actually called in the inscription. In Śaka-Saṃvat 998 expired there was no intercalation of either description.

40.— In the Bhimēśvara temple at Drākshārāma.¹

- 1 [Sva]sti Śaka-va[r*]shāmbulu 1036 svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mā(ma)hārājula
 2 [pra]varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-divya-saṁvatsa 45 Dhanu-māsamuna śukla-pa[kshamu]na êkāda-
 3 [ś]iyu Budhavāramu nāṇḍu uttarāyaṇa-vyatiyipāta-²nimittamuna.

"In the Śaka year 1036 (*and*) the 45th heavenly year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja,— on Wednesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Dhanus,— on the occasion of the *vyatipāta* of the Uttarāyaṇa."

A date in the month of Dhanus of the 45th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A.D. 1114, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1036 expired. In this year the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Dhanus commenced 7 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114 (when the *nakshatras* were Aśvinī and Bharanī, and the *yōgas* Śiva and Siddha, Nos. 20 and 21, not Vyatipāta, No. 17), and ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.— The sidereal Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti took place, by the Ārya-siddhānta, 20 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114, which was the last day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* on the same day was Anurādhā, and the *yōgas* were Gaṇḍa and Vṛiddhi, Nos. 10 and 11.— Lastly, the tropical Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti took place on Wednesday, the 16th December A.D. 1114, on which ended the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Dhanus.

Having considered these results of my calculations, I have come to the conclusion that the choice of the proper equivalent of the original date can only lie between Wednesday, the 9th, and Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114; and the following reasons make me decide in favour of Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114. If we were to accept Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114, as the equivalent of the date, the writer would have been guilty of quoting, not only a wrong weekday, but also a wrong lunar fortnight. On the other hand, accepting Wednesday, the 9th December, as the equivalent, we indeed have to admit that the words *uttarāyaṇa-vyatipāta-nimittamuna*— supposing them to be intended for 'on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti,³— have been wrongly added; but similar statements are added, apparently wrongly, in many other dates where the word *vyatipāta* is made use of.⁴ In the date under discussion and in a number of other dates this term can neither denote the *yōga* Vyatipāta nor convey any of the three other meanings of *vyatipāta* which I have given in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292 f. What it means exactly, I do not know; but it may be suggested that *e.g.* in the present date the writer by *uttarāyaṇa-vyatipāta* wishes to say, not that the donation— for such I suppose to be spoken of— was actually made at the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti, but that it shall be regarded as equivalent in merit to one which may be made on the occasion of an Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti.

B.— VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

41.— In the Kailāsanātha temple at Śevilimēḍu.⁵

- 2 Śrīmad-Vikra[ma]-Chōladēva-nripatēr-vva[raḥ] śubhā
 shōḍaśē grāmē śrī-Nṛīpasundar-īti viditē Vaiśākha-māsē-parē [l*] pakshā
 s-Ōttara-Chandravāra-viditē kālē.

¹ No. 374 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893; see above, p. 220 f.

² Read *-vyatipāta*.

³ *Uttarāyaṇa-vyatipāta* undoubtedly is equivalent to *uttarāyaṇasaṁkrānti-vyatipāta* which occurs in at least eight other dates.

⁴ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 292, note 52. The dates referred to in that note are all in Kanarese, and I have not found yet any Sanskrit date in which the word *vyatipāta* is similarly employed.

⁵ No. 43 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900; see above, pp. 228 and 229.

"In the auspicious sixteenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Vikrama-Chôladêva, in the month of Vaisâkha, in the second fortnight, at the time known as Monday combined with an Uttarâ (nakshatra)."

The term *Uttarâ* of the date might denote any one of the three *nakshatras* Uttarâ Phalguni, Uttarâ Ashâdha, and Uttarâ Bhādrapadā. As it occurs here in connection with the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha, it must denote either Uttarâ Ashâdha which is generally joined with the 5th *tithi*, or Uttarâ Bhādrapadā which is generally joined with the 11th *tithi* of that dark fortnight. The calculation of the date shows that the *nakshatra* intended is really Uttarâshâdha, and that the *tithi* of the date would be the 5th of the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha.

I have previously¹ arrived at the conclusion that the reign of Vikrama-Chôla commenced 'most probably' on the 18th July A.D. 1108. There remained just the possibility² that it might have commenced on the 15th July A.D. 1111. If it commenced on the earlier date, the present date, of the month of Vaisâkha of the 16th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A.D. 1124, in Śaka-Samvat 1046 expired; and if it commenced on the later date, the present date ought to fall in A.D. 1127, in Śaka-Samvat 1049 expired. It so happens that the date would be quite correct for either Śaka year.

In Śaka-Samvat 1046 expired the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha ended 14 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 5th May A.D. 1124, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

And in Śaka-Samvat 1049 expired the same *tithi* ended 19 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 2nd May A.D. 1127, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

There is absolutely nothing which could make us prefer one of these possible equivalents to the other, and it is only the following date, No. 42, which in my opinion definitely shows that the king's reign commenced in A.D. 1108, and that the true equivalent of the present date therefore is Monday, the 5th May A.D. 1124.

42.—In the Késavasvâmin temple at Chêbrôlu.³

10	. . . . .	śrîma[t*]-Tribh[u]-
11	vanachakravartti	Vikrama-Chô-
12	ladêvara	pravardda(rddha)mâna-vi-
13	jaya-râjya-samvatsarambu-	
14	lu 9 agun=ê[ñti]	Sa(śa)ka-[va]-
15	rushambulu	1049 a-
16	gu Shla(pla)va-samvatsara	Jêshta- ⁴
17	mâsa	sômagrahana(ṇa)-nimitya-
18	muna.	

"In the 9th year of the increasing reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chôladêva, (and) in the Plava year which was the Śaka year 1049,—on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month of Jyaishṭha."

In Śaka-Samvat 1049 expired which was the year Plavaṅga—not Plava, which would be Śaka-Samvat 1043 expired—there was a lunar eclipse, visible in India just after sunset on the 27th May A.D. 1127, which was the full-moon day of Jyaishṭha. If the king commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108, this day would fall in the 19th, not the 9th year of his reign.

¹ See above, p. 24.

² See above, Vol. IV. pp. 73 and 264.

³ No. 163 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897; see above, pp. 224, 226, and 227.

⁴ Read *Jyêsṭha*- or, more correctly, *Jyaishṭha*-.

I have no doubt that the 27th May A.D. 1127 is the proper equivalent of this date, and believe that the writer erroneously has quoted the 9th instead of the 19th regnal year, and the year Plava instead of Plavaṅga. And, as intimated already, this date, faulty as it is, in my opinion would definitely prove that Vikrama-Chôla commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108.

43.—In front of the Chôlêśvara temple at Nidubrôlu.¹

62 Svasti śrīmat-Tribhuvanachakravartti
63 śrī-Vikrama-Chôḍadêvara vijaya-
64 rājya-saṁvatsarambulu pa[d]iyêḍa-
65 gun=êṁḍu Śaka-varshaṁbulu 1054
66 gun=êṁṭṭi Vaiśākha-śuddha-ttṛitṭiya-
67 yu² Guruvāramu nāṇḍu ||

“In the seventeenth year of the reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôḍadêva, (and) in the Śaka year 1054,— on Thursday, the third *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Vaiśākha.”

The date is correct for Śaka-Saṁvat 1054 current, when the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 6 h 14 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 2nd April A.D. 1131.

According to what we have found before, this day would fall in the 23rd, not the 17th, year of Vikrama-Chôla's reign. A date in the month Vaiśākha of his 17th year would fall in A.D. 1125, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1048 current; but for that year the date would be incorrect. I can only assume that the writer has quoted the regnal year erroneously.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

44.—In the Êkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram.³

1 Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ Maduraisyum Pāṇḍiya[ṇ] muḍi-
ttalai[*yu*]ṇ=gonḍ=aru[*li*]ya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śôḷadêvaṅku yāṇḍu 27 āvadu
2 ivv-āṇḍai Vaigāśi-māsattu=p[*pa*]diṇṇaṅrān=diyadiyum Vi[*yā*]la-
kiḷa]mai perṛa Aṇḷamum=āṇav=āṇṇu.

“In the 27th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chôḷadêva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eleventh day of the month of Vaigāśi in this year.”

As we have found⁴ that Kulōttuṅga-Chôla III. commenced to reign between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178, a date in the month of Vaigāśi, *i.e.* the solar month Jyaishtṥa, of his 27th year must fall in A.D. 1205, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1127 expired. In this year the Vṛishabha-saṁkrānti by the Ārya-siddhānta took place 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th April A.D. 1205, and the 11th day of Vaigāśi therefore was Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205. The *nakshatra* on this day was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

D.—RAJARAJA III.

45.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Śrirāṅgam.⁵

1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] [Śī]r maṇṇi

¹ No. 163 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² Read *-ṛitṭiyay*.

³ No. 10 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893; compare *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 122 and note 9.

⁴ See above, p. 21.

⁵ No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891.

- 3 kô Irâsakêsaripaṃmar=âṇa Tiribu[va]nachchakkaravatti[ga] śrī-
Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 16 vadiṇ
4 edir=âm=âṇḍu Kaṇṇi-nâyaru=ppûrvva-pakshattu daśamiyum Śaṇi-kkiḷamaiyu[m]
perṛa Tiruvôṇattu nâl.

"In the year which was opposite the 16th year (of the reign) of king Râjakêsarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyâ."

To simplify matters, I may state here at once that this date and the following dates 46-54 work out well on the supposition that the reign of Râjarâja III. commenced between (approximately) the 17th March and the 13th August A.D. 1216.

The year opposite the 16th was the 17th year of the king's reign. A date in the month of Kanyâ of this year must fall in A.D. 1232, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1154 expired. In this year the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Kanyâ ended 13 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232, when the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

46.—In the Êkâmrânâtha temple at Conjeeveram.¹

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i]ḥ [Ḡ] Tr[i]bhuvanaścha(cha)kravattiga! śr[i]-Râjarâjadêvarkku
yâṇḍu 17 vadu
2 Magara-nâyaru pûrvva-pakkattu=Tśe(chche)vvây-kkiḷamaiyum
Aśvatiyum=â[ṇa]v=aru.

"In the 17th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Aśvini and a Tuesday in the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

This date, in the month of Makara of the 17th year of the king's reign, must fall in Śaka-Saṃvat 1154 expired. In this year the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara ended 8 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 18th January A.D. 1233, when the *nakshatra* was Aśvini for 20 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

47.—In the Dharmêśvara temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.²

- 1 Tribhuvanaachchakkarava[t]tiga! śrī-Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 18
vadu Simha-nâ-
2 [ya]ru apara-pakshattu dvit[i]yayiuñ=Jevvây-kkiḷamaiyum perṛa Rêvati-nâ[!].

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Rêvati, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

This date, in the month of Simha of the 18th year of the king's reign, may be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1155 expired. In this year the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Simha ended 8 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1233, when the *nakshatra* was Rêvati from 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

48.—In the Râjagôpâla-Perumâl temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.³

- 1 T[i]ribhuvanaachchakkaravatt[i]ga[!] śrī-Râjarâjadêva-

¹ No. 6 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, No. 41.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, No. 39.

2 ku yāṇḍu 18 vadu Dhanu-nāya[r]u pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Budāṇ-
kiḷamaiyum pe-
3 rra Aṇṇi[atti-nā[[]].

“In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus.”

This date, in the month of Dhanus of the 18th year of the king's reign, must fall in the same year as the last, Śaka-Saṃvat 1155 expired. In this year the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Dhanus ended 17 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233, when the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

49.—In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.¹

2 Tribhuvanachchakrava[r]ttiga[[]] śrī-Rājārājadēvaṇku yāṇḍu 18
āva[d]u
3 Magara-nāyaṇṇu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḷamaiyum perṇa
Tiruvō[ṇa]tu nāḷ.

“In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Monday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

This date, in the month of Makara of the 18th year of the king's reign, also must fall in Śaka-Saṃvat 1155 expired. In this year the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara ended 11 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Śravana for 17 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

50.—In the Ādhipurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr.²

2 . . . Tribhuvanachcha[k*]karavattigaḷ śrī-Rājārāja-
3 d[ē]vaṇku yāṇḍu 19 vadu Si[m*]ha-nāyaṇṇu-p-
4 pū[rvva]-pakshattu tritīyaiyum Uttiraṭṭādiyum pe-
5 rra Nāyaṇṇu-kkiḷamai-nāḷ.

“In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on a Sunday which corresponded to (the day of) Uttara-Bhadrpadā and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha.”

This date, in the month of Simha of the 19th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A.D. 1234, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1156 expired. This it undoubtedly does, but the date is not quite correct. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1156 expired the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Simha ended 16 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 30th July A.D. 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī for 21 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise; and the third *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the same month ended 14 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrpadā for 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise. This shows that either the *nakshatra* Uttiraṭṭādi has been wrongly quoted for Uttiram (Uttara-Phalgunī), or that instead of pūrvva-pakshattu we must read apara-pakshattu. I am inclined to adopt the latter alternative,³ and to regard Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234, as the proper equivalent of the date.

¹ South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. III. No. 40.

² No. 110 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

³ At the same time, I may state that in one of the Vijayanagar inscriptions (P.S.O.C.I. No. 25) Uttarabhadrapadā has really been wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Phalgunī. The mistake made in the present inscription has also been made in the Kadamba plates in Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 35.

51.— In the Śvêtāranyêśvara temple at Tiruvengâdu.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Tribuvaṇachchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu 22
vadu Mīna-nāyarṇu apara-pakkattu śa[d]u[r*]ttaiy[u]m Śe[v*]v[āy]-
kkiḷamaiy[u]m perṛa Uttirattādi-nāl.

In the 22nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

This date, in the month of Mīna of the 22nd year of the king's reign, would be expected to fall in A.D. 1238, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1159 expired, and it undoubtedly does so; but the wording of the date is intrinsically wrong because, in the month of Mīna, the *nakṣatra* can never be Uttara-Bhadrapadā on the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight. What suggests itself at once is that the fourth *tithi* has been quoted wrongly instead of the fourteenth; and for this *tithi* the date is correct. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1159 expired the 14th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Mīna ended 21 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238, when the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole of the day, and by the equal space system from 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise. I feel certain that this is the proper equivalent of the date.

52.— In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.²

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Tribhuvana[chcha]k[karava]ttigaḥ [śrī]-Rājarājadēvar[kku yāṇ]ḍu
[i]rubattirā[ḍ]āvadi[n] edir=ām=āṇḍu ³Mīna-nāyarṇu [a]para-paksha[t]tu
navam[i]yum Tiṅgaḷ-kiḷamaiyum perṛa Pūr[āḍa]ttu [nā]l.

“In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pūrvāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

The year opposite the 22nd year of this date and of the two following dates was the 23rd year of the king's reign, and the three dates, being all of the month of Mīna, will therefore be expected to fall in A.D. 1239, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1160 expired. In this year the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Mīna entirely occupied⁴ Monday, the 28th February A.D. 1239, when the *nakṣatra* was Pūrvāśāḍhā, by the equal space system the whole day, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 10 m., and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

53.— In the Kailāśanātha temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.⁵

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvā[ṇa]chchakkaravattigaḥ śrī-Rājarā[ja]dēvarkku
yāṇḍu i[rubāt*]tirāṇḍāva[di]n edir=ām=āṇḍu Mi(mi)ṇa-nāya[r]ṇu apara-pa[kshatt]u
da[sam]i[yum] Budan-kiḷa[mai]yum p[e]ṛṛa Uttirāḍa[t*]tu nāl.

“In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna.”

¹ No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

² No. 104 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

³ Read *Mīna*.

⁴ It commenced 38 m before mean sunrise of the Monday and ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of the following Tuesday, and would therefore be properly described (for the Monday) as *prāṭhama-naram*.

⁵ No. 99 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

In Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired¹ the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of **Mina** ended 2 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday, the 2nd March A.D. 1239**, when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarāshādhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

54.— In the Kailāsanātha temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.²

1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravatti[ga]! śr[i]-Rājarājadēvarkku [y]āp[ḍu]
irubattiraṇḍāvadī[n ed]i[r]-ām=[āp]ḍu M[i]ṇa-nā[yaṇ]u a³
[tray]ē[d]i[ś]iyu[m⁴ Velli]-kk[i]lam[ai]yum] p[e]ṇṇa A[viṭṭat]tu nā.

“In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mina**.”

In Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired⁵ the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of **Mina** commenced 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday, the 4th March A.D. 1239**, when the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhā** for 13 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

No. 28.— PLATES OF DANTIVARMAN OF GUJARAT;
SAKA-SAMVAT 789.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

These copper plates were brought to my father, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, from Gujarāt; but he does not know the name of the village where they were found. The plates are three in number, each measuring about 1' 1" by 9¼". Their edges are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, the remaining two being engraved on both sides. They are strung on a copper ring which measures about 3¼" in diameter and is about ⅜" thick. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were sent to Dr. Hultzsch. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a circular seal, measuring about 1½" in diameter and bearing, in high relief on a countersunk surface, a much corroded figure of **Garuḍa**, squatting and facing to the full front. The engraving is clear, bold and deep, but not well executed. Very often the letters are not fully engraved, and in a good many places they are drawn carelessly.—The language is **Sanskrit** throughout. There can be no doubt that the *kāmsār* has engraved the original document without understanding it, as will be seen from the numerous mistakes pointed out in the footnotes. Allowing for the misspellings and inaccuracies due to an unskilled engraver, there are certain solecisms for which the official who drew up the grant must be held responsible. There is one compound in line 55, which cannot be justified by the rules of grammar. Other grammatical mistakes may be noticed in such instances as *Sarthātaulāṭakiya-dvichatvāriṃśaty-āntarggata*⁶ in line 59, *-mahāparvvaṃ=uddiṣya* in line 66, and so forth.—As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn (1) to the word *vāsāpaka*⁷ (l. 58) which occurs in the list of the officials and functionaries to whom the royal grantor addresses himself, and (2) to the term *Ta/aprahāri* (l. 57) which appears to have been an appellation of Dantivarman.⁷—In respect of orthography, it deserves to be noted (1) that the rules of *sandhi*:

¹ See date No. 52.

² No. 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

³ Restore *apara-pakshattu*.

⁴ Read *trayōdaṣiyum*.

⁵ See date No. 52.

⁶ [Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, note 31.— E. H.]

⁷ [Note also *sēnabhogika* (l. 81), which is an older form of *sēnabhōga*, *sēnabōra*, etc., 'the clerk of a village or of some village.' (Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*).— E. H.]

are often disregarded; (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*; (3) that the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; (4) that *dh* is doubled (by *d*) in conjunction with a following *y* or *r* in ll. 42 and 82; (5) that the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *bhūpas=trivishṭapa*^o (l. 6) and *-Kanakādrir=iv=Īndrarājah* (l. 7), and (6) *gh* instead of *h* in *rāja-singhaḥ* (l. 3); (7) that the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmāniya* are used in *bhṛityaḥ=kisha(ya)dbhir=* (l. 9) and in *udyataḥ=pranātē* (l. 49); (8) that the *visarga* followed by *s* has been twice changed to that letter, in *manastas=samam=ēva* (l. 4) and *tanayas=samabhūt* (l. 41); (9) that the final *m* of a word, instead of being changed to an *anusvāra*, is joined to a following *p*, *bh* or *v* in ll. 9, 25, 40, 45, 46 and 78; (10) that the *anusvāra* before *y*, *v* and *s* is sometimes represented by *n* (ll. 3, 21, 25, 26, 58); and (11) that the sign of *avagraha* is employed once in l. 51.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and in general agree with those of the grants of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa princes; but the sign for *d* in the words *yaddā* and *āra(da)dīta* in ll. 76 and 78 and the sign for the conjunct *nn* in the words *dhvastin=nayann=abhimukhō* (l. 2), *prabhinna* (l. 6), etc. are worthy of note. Another point that calls for special notice is that most of the letters of the sign-manual of Dhruvarāja and one letter of that of Dantivarman at the end, and a few in the benedictory verse at the beginning, are engraved with their tops nail-headed.

The inscription is one of **Dantivarman**, of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, or, as he is described in line 56 f., 'the *Talaprahāri śrī-Dantivarmadēva*, who has the *biruda* of **Aparimitavarsha**, who is the lord of great feudal chiefs (*mahāsāmanta*), and who has obtained the five great sounds (*mahāśabda*).' The inscription opens with the salutation *ōm ōm namō Buddhāya*, which furnishes an indication, at the very outset, of the grant being **Buddhist**. It then gives one verse (which is well known from other Rāshtrakūṭa grants) invoking the protection of Vishṇu and Śiva. Then in lines 1-49 the genealogy of Dantivarman is set forth, exactly in the same verses (with a few unimportant variants) as in the Bagumrā plates of Dhruvarāja II. Then follow three verses (ll. 49-52) which are peculiar to this grant, and which tell us that Dantivarman was a younger brother of Dhruvarāja II. After this there is another well known verse on the vanity of this life. The proper object of the inscription is stated in prose, in ll. 53-67. Dantivarman informs all the officials called *rāshṭrapati*, *vishayapati*, *grāmakūṭa*, *niyukta*, *ādhikārīka*, *vāsāpaka*, *mahattara*, etc. that, having bathed in the great river **Pūrāvi**, on the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of **Pausha** in **Śaka-Saṃvat 789** (in words and in figures), on the great occasion of the **Uttarāyana**, he granted to the *vihāra* at the sacred place (*tīrtha*) of **Kāmpilya** the village of **Chokkhakuṭi**, situated in the north-west of, and included in, the forty-two (villages) named after **Sarthātāilāṭa**, to be enjoyed by the succession of the pupils of the holy *Āryasaṃgha*, for defraying the expenses of perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps and ointments, and of the repairs of the temple broken in parts. The boundaries of the village granted were, in the east the village of **Da[nt]jellamka**, in the south the village of **Apasundara**, in the west the village of **Kālūpallikā**, and in the north the river **Mandakini** (*Gaṅgā*). Lines 67-72 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might resume it. Lines 73-80 quote seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the inscription then (from line 80) concludes thus:— "The *dūtaka* of this (charter) is the great minister *śrī-Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa*. And this has been written by the *sēnabhōgika* **Golla**, the son of **Rānappa**. (This is) the pleasure of me, the glorious **Dantivarman**, the son of the glorious **Akālavarshadēva**. Also, (this is) the pleasure of me, the glorious **Dhruvarājadēva**, the son of the glorious **Akālavarshadēva**."

The gain from this inscription for the social and political history of Gujarāt is considerable. In the first place, this grant, as will be seen from the above summary of the contents, was made to the *Āryasaṃgha*, or **Buddhist community**, settled at **Kāmpilya**. This shows that **Buddhism** was still in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era a living religion, favoured by kings in Western India. Secondly, the inscription adds to the list of the Gujarāt

Rāshtrakūṭa princes the name of Dantivarman, who, as stated above, is styled a *mahāsāmantā-dhipati* who had obtained the *pañcha-mahāśabda*. This indicates that he was ruling over some province as a minor chief. Further, as we have seen, the sign-manual of Dantivarman is followed by that of his elder brother Dhruvarāja II. From this it is plain that both Dhruvarāja II. and Dantivarman were alive when the charter was issued, and that Dantivarman was wielding power under Dhruvarāja II. This enables us to settle another point of importance, connected with the history of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Bagumrā plates of Śaka-Saṃvat 810¹ mention Kṛishṇarāja-Akālavarsha (II.) as their donor. And to judge from their contents, which are full of misspellings and omissions, he appears to be the son of Dantivarman. Dr. Hultzsch, who edited the grant, held that this Dantivarman must be placed between Dhruvarāja II. and Kṛishṇarāja II. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, was of opinion that this Dantivarman, the father of Kṛishṇarāja II., was identical with Dantivarman, the *dātaka* of the Baroda plates of Karka.² Now, the date of the Baroda plates is Śaka-Saṃvat 734, and that of the plates of Kṛishṇarāja II. is Śaka-Saṃvat 810, so that if, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's supposition, we hold that Dantivarman, the *dātaka* of the Baroda charter dated Śaka-Saṃvat 734, was the father of Kṛishṇarāja II. whose grant bears the date Śaka-Saṃvat 810, the son is separated from the father by no less than seventy-six years. This is highly improbable, though not altogether impossible. But our grant mentions another Dantivarman as brother of Dhruvarāja II., and its date is Śaka-Saṃvat 789, whereas that of Kṛishṇarāja II., as has been just stated, is Śaka-Saṃvat 810. Thus the Dantivarman of our grant is brought close to Kṛishṇarāja II., and there can be little doubt that Dantivarman, the father of Kṛishṇarāja II., is no other than Dantivarman, the younger brother of Dhruvarāja II., the donor of our grant. The new plates therefore show that the view of Dr. Hultzsch is correct.

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, the *Kāmpilya tīrtha* is, in my opinion, to be identified with *Kampil* in the Kaimganj tahsil of the Farukhābād district in the North-West Provinces. This Kampil, whose ancient name was *Kāmpilya*, was for long the capital of Southern Pañchāla and was once a sacred place of the Jains. The river *Pūrāvi* is perhaps identical with the modern *Pūrṇā*, in the Surat collectorate. For, in an unpublished grant belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the *Pūrāvi* is spoken of as being in the vicinity of *Nāgasārikā*, which is evidently the modern *Nausāri*, and the river which is close by *Nausāri* is the *Pūrṇā*. The river *Mandākinī*, which is mentioned in defining the boundaries of the village granted, cannot be identified with the Ganges, as we have no grounds whatever to suppose that the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas extended their dominions as far as the Ganges. And since the name *Mandākinī* is used also to designate other rivers than the Ganges, the river *Mandākinī* mentioned in these plates may have been some river in Gujarāt, and the village granted was probably situated in that province. Instances of grants made to religious establishments remote from the village granted are not wanting in modern times, and there can therefore be nothing improbable in the supposition that the Buddhist *vihāra* at *Kampil* in the North-West Provinces enjoyed the income accruing from a village in Gujarāt.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

1 श्रीं श्रीं न[मो] बुधाय⁴ ॥ स वीर्यादेधसा धाम य(र)त्ताभिकमलं
कृतं । हरष यश्च⁵ कान्तेदुकलया कमलकृतं ॥ [१*] चासीद्विषति.⁷

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 65 ff.

² *History of Gujarāt in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 127 f.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read बुधाय.

⁶ Read दस.

⁷ Read चासीद्विषति.

- 2 मिरमु[द्य]तमंडलाग्रो धस्तिन्नयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्वरोषु । भूपः शुचि[र्वि]-
धुरिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्त्तिर्गोविंदराज¹ इति र[ज]²
- 3 राजसिंहः³ ॥ [२*] दृष्टा⁴ चमूमभिमुखो⁵ सुभटादृष्टासामुद्रामित[न्स]पदि⁶
ये[न] रणेषु नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटीं
- 4 ललाटे खड्गं कल⁷ च हृदयश्च निजं च सत्वं⁸ ॥ [३*] खड्गं करा-
ग्राम्मुखतश्च शोभा मानो म[न]स्तस्ममेव यस्य । महाहवे ना-
- 5 [म] निश(1)म्य स[द्य]रुय[य]⁹ रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥ [४*] तस्या-
त्मजो जगति¹⁰ विश्रुतश्चभक्तोर्त्तिरार्त्तिर्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधा-
- 6 मधारो ।¹¹ भूपस्तृविष्टपनृपानुक्तितः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति गोत्रमणिव-
भूव¹² ॥ [५*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानद[न्ति]-
- 7 दन्तप्रहाररुचिरोक्लिखितांसपोठः । [स्त्रा]पः क्षितौ क्षपितश्चरुभूतनूजः
सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकादृरिवेन्द्रराजः¹³ ॥ [६*]
- 8 तस्योपार्जितमहसस्तन[य]श्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्याः । भोक्ता¹⁴ भुवः शतक्रतु-
सदृशः¹⁵ श्रीदन्विदुर्गाराजोभूत् ॥ [७*] कांची-
- 9 [श]केरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रविमेदविधा[न]दत्तं ।¹⁶ कर्णाटक[स्व]-
लमचिंत्यमजेयमन्येर्भृत्यैर्द्विषद्विरभि¹⁷
- 10 यः सहसा जिगाष¹⁸ ॥ [८*] आ सेतोर्विपुलोपलावलिलसङ्गोलोन्मिमा-
लाजलादा प्रालेयकलंकिवाम[ल]शिलाज[1]ला-¹⁹
- 11 तुषाराचलात् । आ पूर्वापर[वा]रिराशिपुलिनप्राप्तप्रसिद्धावधेयेने[य]श्चगती²⁰
²¹स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपत्रीकृता ॥ [९*] न[क्षि]²²
- 12 दिवं [प्र]पाते²³ वल्लभराजेकतप्रजावाधः²⁴ । श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्महोपतिः कृष्णराजो-
भूत् ॥ [१०*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशे-
- 13 षोष्मादितारि[दि]कृकं । कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं श्रीकृष्णराज[स्य] ॥ [११*]
शुभतुंगवंगतुरगप्र[वृ]हरेणू[ह]रुह[वि]करणः²⁵ । श्रीसे-
- 14 पि नभो निखिलं प्रावृट्कालायने²⁶ [स्य]ष्टं ॥ [१२*] राहुप्यमा[त्म]भु-
जजातव[ला]वलेपमाजौ²⁷ विजित्य निशिता[सि]लताप्रहारैः । पालि-

¹ Read °गोविन्द°.² Read दृष्टा.³ Read कुलं.⁴ Read °कौर्त्ति°.⁵ Read °कनकाद्रि°.⁶ Read कर्णाटकं वल°.⁷ Read °कलंकिता°.⁸ Read तस्मिन्.⁹ Read °सूच्य° and °किरण°.¹⁰ Read राजसु.¹¹ Read °मुखो°.¹² Read सत्वं.¹³ Read °स्त्रिविष्टप°.¹⁴ Read भोक्ता.¹⁵ Read °मन्ये° and °यद्विरपि.¹⁶ Read °धेयेने°.¹⁷ Read प्रयाते.¹⁸ Read °यते.¹⁹ Read °सिंह°.²⁰ Read °तं सपदि.²¹ Read °स्त्रयं.²² Read °भूमव.²³ Read °दन्ति°.²⁴ Read जिगाय.²⁵ Read °वले°.²⁶ Read °वाध°.²⁷ Read °वला°.

- 15 ध्वजावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतान्ततान ॥ [१३*]
पाता ^१यश्चतुरम्पराशिरसनलंकारभाजो भुवः^२ [त्र]प्याचा-
16 पि कृत[हि]जामरगुरु[प्रा]ज्याज्यपूजादरो^३ [।] दाता मानभृ[दश]णीर्णवतां
योसौ श्रिये^४ वल्ल[भो] (।) भोजं^५ [स्व]र्गफलानि भूरितपसा
17 स्थानञ्जगामामरे^६ ॥ [१४*] येन खेता[त]पत्रप्रहतरविकरत्रातवापात्त-
लील^७ जग्मे^८ [ना]सीरधूलीधवलित[त]शिरसा वल्ल[ना]खा^९ स-
18 राजो^{१०} । धीमन्नोवि[न्द]राजो ^{११}जितज[ष]दहितःप्रेणवैधव्यदक्षः^{१२} तस्याभीक्षू-
नुरेकः ^{१३}क्षरणदलितारातिम[त्ते]भकुं-
19 भः ॥ [१५*] तस्यानुजः श्रीधुवराज[ना]मा महानुभावः^{१४} प्रह[तः]
प्रतापः । प्रसाधिताशेषन[रिंद्रचक्र]ः क्रमेण (।)

Second Plate; First Side.

- 20 ^{१५}वालाकवपुर्वभूव^{१६} ॥ [१६*] जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सङ्गपचूडा-
मणौ (।) गुर्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुखा-
21 मिनि प्रत्यहं । सत्य[न्स]त्यमति^{१७} प्रशासति सति ^{१८}[क्षामा]मसुद्रा-
न्तिका[मा]सीद्वर्गपरि [गु]णामृत[नि]धौ सत्यव्रताधि[ष्टि]-^{१९}
22 ते ॥ [१७*] रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुरंभोधिसंयुतं । राज्यं ध[म्मे]ण
लोकानां कुता^{२०} तुष्टिः परा हृदि ॥ [१८*] तस्यात्मजो [ज]गति
23 सप्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति गोत्रललामभूतः । त्यागी पराक्रम-
धन[ः] प्रकटप्रताप(।)सन्तापिताहित-
24 जनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥ [१९*] पृथ्वीवल्लभ इ[ति] च प्रथितं यस्यापरं
जगति नाम । यश्चतुर्दधिसुसीमामेको वसु-
25 धाम्बशे^{२१} चक्रे ॥ [२०*] ^{२२}एकेनेकनरेंद्रवृन्दसहितान्यस्तान्समस्तानपि
प्रोत्खातासिलताप्रहारविधरां^{२३} वध्वा महासन्धु-^{२४}
26 गे [।*] लक्ष्मी[म]प्यचलां चकार विलसत्सन्ध्यामराहिणी^{२५} सन्सी[दु]हु-
विप्रसज्ज[न]सुहृदभूपभोग्यां^{२६} भुवि ॥ [२१*] तत्पुत्रो-

^१ Read °रन्धु°.

^४ Read श्रियो.

^५ Read °व्राततापा°.

^{१०} Read °दाजो.

^{१६} Read °भावीप्रहृतप्र°.

^{१८} Above the letter *ksha* of *kshana* and *na* of *raja*, what looks like the sign of the vowel *e* is engraved.

^{१७} Read सत्यं सत्यमिति.

^{२०} Read कृता.

^{२३} Read °विधुरान्वड्डा.

^{२६} Read °हन्धु°.

^२ Read भुवस्त्रयाद्यापि.

^८ Read भोजं.

^९ Read जग्मे.

^{११} Read °जगदहितक्षेत्र°.

^{१९} Read बाला°.

^{१९} Read क्षामासमुद्रा°.

^{२१} Read °धां वशे.

^{२४} Read °संयु°.

^३ Read °दर°.

^६ Read °मानरं.

^९ Read वल्लभाख्यः.

^{१२} Read °दक्षलस्यासीत्पु°.

^{१६} Read °क्षभूव.

^{१९} Read °ष्टि°.

^{२२} Read एको°.

^{२५} Read °ग्राहिणीं संसीद°.

- 27 च गते नाकमाकम्पितरिपुत्रजे । श्रीमहाराजशर्वाख्यः खातो¹ राजाभ-
वहुणैः ॥ [२२*] अर्थिषु यथार्थतां यः
- 28 समभीष्टफलावासिलब्धतेषु² । वृद्धिनिनाय धरमामभीधवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥
[२३*] राजाभूतत्पि[तृ]व्यो रिपुभववि-
- 29 भवोद्भूत्यभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीमानिंद्रराजो गुणनृपनिकरान्तस्त्रसत्कारकारी³ । [रा]-
गाद[न्या]न्युदस्य प्रकटितविष-
- 30 या⁴ यं नृपाः⁵ सेवमाना राजश्रीरेव [च]क्रे सकलकविजनीनीततथ-
स्वभावः⁶ ॥ [२४*] निर्व्याणावासिवाणासहितहितज-
- 31 ना यस्य मानाः सुवृत्तं वृत्तं जित्वान्यराज्ञां चरितमुदयवान्सर्वतो
[द्विन्क]केभ्यः⁷ । एकाको दृप्तवैरिखलनकृतिगह[पा]⁸
- 32 तिरो[ज्ययाशं]कुर्लाटीयं मडलं⁹ प[स्तन]य इव निजस्वामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥
[२५*] स्रुर्वभूव¹⁰ खलु तस्य महानुभावः¹¹ शास्त्रार्थवोधसुखला-
- 33 लितरित्कवृत्तिर्यो¹² गोष्[ना]मपरिवारसुवाह पूर्व श्रीकर्कराजसुभ[ग]व्यप-
देश[सु]चेः¹³ ॥ [२६*] श्रीकर्कराज इति रक्षितरा-
- 34 ज्यभारः सारं कुल[स्य] तनयो नयशालिशौर्यः । तस्माभवा[द्वि]भवनंदि-
तवन्मुसार्थः¹⁴ (I) पार्थः सदेव धनुषि प्रथमः शु[ची]-
- 35 नां ॥ [२७*] दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया वा वीर्येण शौर्येण च
कोपि भूपः । एतेन तुल्योस्ति न वेत्ति¹⁵ कीर्तिः सकौवका¹⁶
भ्राम्यति य[स्य] लोके ॥ [२८*]
- 36 [स्वेच्छा]गृहीतविषया[न*] ददसंघभाजः¹⁷ प्रोदृत्तदृप्ततरथशुक्लिकराष्ट्रकूटा¹⁸ ।
उत्खातख[ङ्ग]निजवाहवलेन¹⁹ जित्वा योमोघव-
- 37 ष इति राज्यपदे²⁰ व्यधत्त ॥ [२९*] पुत्रीयतस्तस्य महानुभावः कृतो
कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यवीर्यः । वशीकृताशेषनरेन्द्रहन्दो वभूव²¹

¹ Read खातो.² Read °सम्पत्तीषु.³ Read °समत्कार°.⁴ To this letter yā a superfluous sign of the vowel ā is conjoined.⁵ Read नृपान्.⁶ Read °स्वभाव°.⁷ The reading intended is probably द्विसंकेभ्यः as in the Nausari plates of Kaika (*J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 132*).⁸ Read °कृतिसङ्ग्रहातिराज्यं शङ्कु°.⁹ Read मङ्गलं य°.¹⁰ Read °स्रुर्वभूव°.¹¹ Read शास्त्रार्थवोध°.¹² Read °लितरित्कवृत्तिः । यो गोष्°.¹³ Read °सुचे°.¹⁴ Read °वन्मु°.¹⁵ Read वेत्ति.¹⁶ Read सकौवका.¹⁷ Read °दृप्ततर°.¹⁸ Read °श्रुटा°.¹⁹ Read °वाहुवलेन°.²⁰ Read °मोघवर्षमभिराज्यपदे in accordance with the Baroda plates of Dhruva I.²¹ Read वभूव.

[illegible][illegible]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 38 सनुर्द्धवराजनामा ॥ [३०*] चंद्री जडो हिमगिरिः सहिमः प्रकृत्या
वातश्चलश्च तपनस्तपनस्वभावः । चारः घ-
- 39 योधिरिति तैः सममस्य नास्ति येनोपमा निरुपम(१)स्तत एव
गीतः ॥ [३१*] रणसरसि^१ खड्गघातैर्व्यङ्ग-
- 40 भदण्डम्पराङ्मुखीकृत्य । शस्त्रशतशुद्धदेह[ः*] स्वर्गमगादेक ए[वा]-
सौ ॥ [३२*] तस्याशेषनराधिपहृतय-
- 41 शसः स्वर्गलोकगतकीर्तिः । श्रीमानकालवर्षस्तन[य]स्त्रमभूत्कुखालं^२ ॥
[३३*] वल्लभभाराक्रान्तं विघ-
- 42 ^३[टि]तदुष्टान्वजी[वि]वर्गेण^४ । पितृपर्यागतमचिरात्खण्डलमद्वयसितं ये-
न ॥ [३४*] प्रियवादी सत्यध[न]ः श्री-
- 43 माननुजीविवत्सलो मानी । प्रतिपक्षक्षोभकरः शुभतुंगः शुभकरः सुहृ-
दां ॥ [३५*] तस्मिन्स्वर्गभीभूते गुण-
- 44 वति गुणवां^५ गुणाधिकप्रीतिः । समभूर्द्धवराजसमो^६ ध्रुवराजस्तुष्टिक-
लोके ॥ [३६*] इतोभिमुख-
- 45 'माप[त*]अवलगौर्जराणाम्बलं^७ इतोभिमुखवल्लभो विक्रतिमागता वा-
न्धवा^८ । इतोनुजविकु-
- 46 र्वितं सममगात्समस्तभयादहो स्फुरणमद्भुतं(१) निरुपमेन्द्र खड्गस्य ते ॥
[३७*] ^{१०}गूर्जरवल्लमतिवलव-^{११}
- 47 त्समुद्यतं वृंहितं^{१२} च कुल्येन । एकाकिनैव विहितं पराङ्मुखं लीलया
येन ॥ [३८*] यथाभिषिक्तत्मात्रः^{१३}
- 48 परं यशः(ः)स्वागशौर्यसंपन्नः^{१४} । शुभतुंगयोनिर्तुंग^{१५} पदं पदाप्तेति^{१६} ना-
चित्रं^{१७} ॥ [३९*] यश्च स्वभुजवलार्जि-^{१८}
- 49 तज[य]लक्ष्मीन्दातुमुद्यतप्रणते । भयमपि विद्वेषिजने रनर्थदा[व]र्धिते^{१९}
कामं ॥ [४०*] रामस्येव^{२०} सौमित्रिद्वर्ग-

^१ Read 'सरसि.^२ Read 'लंबः.^३ The lower end of † is prolonged into a curve turning to the left.^४ Read 'दुष्टान्वजी.^५ Read गुणवान्.^६ Read 'भृद्वुव.^७ Read 'सप्रबल.^८ Read 'वां वल्लभितो.^९ Read बान्धवा.^{१०} Read 'बल.^{११} Read 'बलव.^{१२} Read वृंहितं.^{१३} Read 'मात्रः.^{१४} Read 'शौर्यतीव्रप in accordance with the Bagumra plates of Dhruvarāja II.^{१५} Read 'तुंगजीतिर्तुंग.^{१६} Read यदाप्तेति.^{१७} Read नी चित्रं.^{१८} Read 'बला.^{१९} Read धनं ददावर्धने.^{२०} Insert हि or some such short syllable after रामस्येव.

- 50 स्येव धनंजयः । अस्य भ्राताभवद्भव्यो दन्तिवर्मन्ति वीर्यवान् ॥ [४१*]
 यस्य निशितासि[धारा]मरिकरिणः संग-
 51 रे सदाऽवर्त्ताः । स(ः) दन्तिवर्मनामा ख्यातोऽस्यैवानुजः प्रसभं ॥ [४२*]
 प्रचुरकरिकुम्भदारितविगलि[त*]मुक्ता-
 52 फलैरहितकरणा^१ । रंजितदोर्दण्डयुगः^२ विजयति^३ समरे रिपू^४ खड्गे ॥
 [४३*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युश्चलमव^५
 53 लोक्य जी[वि*]तमसारं(१) । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो^६ धर्मदायो-
 यं ॥ [४४*] स [च] हरि[णै]व^७ विक्रमाक्रान्तसम-
 54 स्तभूमण्डलः^८ दोर्दण्डस[मा]कुष्टकोदण्डकोण्डलितशत्रुमहासामन्तः^९ लक्ष्मीस-
 माध्यासितवक्षः[*]स्थलः

Third Plate; First Side.

- 55 पवनसूनुरिव^{१०} निजभुजवलविनिर्जिताग्ने[ष]वरवैरिन्पतिप्रजनितजगविविख्यात-
 प्रतापः^{११} तो-
 56 ^{१२}क्ष्णसिलतांप्रहारदलितरिपुकभिकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलप्रकरंरंजितदोर्दण्डयुगः स-
 मधिगतपंचमहा-
 57 ^{१३}शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपत्यपरिमितवर्षविरुदतलप्रहारित्रीदन्तिवर्मदेवः^{१४} सर्वानेव
 यथासम्बन्धमानकां-^{१५}
 58 ^{१६}ब्राह्मपेतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटनियुक्ताधिकारिकवासापकमहत्तरादीन्समनुबोधयत्य-
 स्तु^{१७} वः सन्विदितं^{१८} य-
 59 था [मा]तापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यय[शो]भिवृष्टये सार्थातैलाटकीयद्विच-
 त्वारिंशत्यान्तर्गतवाय^{१९}-
 60 व्यदिग्भागावस्थितचोक्खकुटिनामग्रामः कांपित्यतोर्यकीयविहाराय यत^{२०} चाघा-
 टनानि पूर्वतो द[न्ते]क्ष-
 61 क[ग्राम]सीमा दक्षिणतो(अ)पसुंदरग्रामसीमा पश्चिमतो^{२१} कालूपल्लिकाग्राम-
 सीमा उत्तरतो मंदाकिनी

^१ Read °करिषां.

^२ Read °युगी.

^३ This ought to be विजयते according to the rules of grammar ; but this will not suit the metre.

^४ Read रिपूखड्गेः.

^५ Read °विद्युश्च°.

^६ Read प्रवर्तितो.

^७ Read हरिरिव.

^८ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed.

^९ Read °काण्डदलित°.

^{१०} Read °वक्ष°.

^{११} Read °जगद्विख्यात°.

^{१२} Read °लता° and °करिकुम्भ°.

^{१३} Read °शब्द°.

^{१४} Read °विरुद°.

^{१५} Read °संबन्धमानकां°.

^{१६} Read °ब्राह्मपति° and °ग्रामकूट°.

^{१७} Read °बोध°.

^{१८} Read संविदितं.

^{१९} Read °शदन्तर्गत°.

^{२०} Read यस्य.

^{२१} Read पश्चिमतः.

- 62 नदी [।*] एवं चतुराघाटनीपलक्षितः सपरिकरः सवृक्षमालाकुलः ससो-
मापयन्तः¹ सीत्यद्यमानवेष्टिक-
- 63 ²धाण्यहिरण्यादेयो(अ)चाटभटप्रवेशः सर्व्वराजकीया[ना*]महस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आ-
चंद्राकर्णवावनिस-
- 64 रित्यर्व्वतसमकालीनः श्रीआ[र्य]संघस्य³ शिष्यानुशिष्यक्रमोपभुंजतो⁴ [पूर्]व्व-
प्रदत्तब्रेह्मदायदे-⁵
- 65 [व]दायरहितोभ्यंतरसिद्या⁶ शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु स[म]सु नवाशी-
त्यधिकेष्वंकतोपि सं-
- 66 वत्सरशते ७८८ ⁷पौषवहुलनवम्यामुत्तरायणमहापर्व्वमुद्दिश्य⁸ पूरावीमहानद्यां
स्नात्वोदका-
- 67 तिसर्गेण गंधपुष्पधूपदीपोपलेपनार्थं खण्डस्फुटितप्रासादपुन[ः*]संस्करणार्थं
प्रतिपादितः [।*] यतीस्थो[चि*]-
- 68 [त]या देवदा[य]स्थित्या भुंजतो भोजापयतो वा कृषतो⁹ कर्षापयतो
वा प्रतिदिशतो न केनचित्परिपंथ-
- 69 नीयस्तथागामिनृपतिभिः अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यभूदानफलमवेत्य (म)
विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्चर्या-
- 70 णि ठुणा[ग्र]जलविंदुचंचलं¹⁰ च जीवितमाकलय्य ¹¹स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषीयमस्मदा-
योनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयित-
- 71 व्यश्च ॥ यश्चान्नानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिंद्यमानकं¹² [वा]नु[मो]-
दकं¹³ स पंचभिर्गृहापात-
- 72 [कै]रुपपातकैश्च संयुक्त[ः*] स्यादित्युक्त[म्]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 73 भगवता वेदव्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि [स्व]र्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
आच्छेत्ता¹⁴ चानुमन्ता च तान्येव (न)
- 74 नरके वसेत् ॥ [४५*] विंध्याट[वो]ष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । ¹⁵कृष्ण-
हयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदान¹⁶ हरति

¹ Read °पर्यन्तः.

² After श्रीआर्यसंघस्य the letter अः was originally engraved, but was afterwards cancelled.

³ Read °भोग्यः.

⁴ Read °वहुलनवम्यामुत्त°.

⁵ Read °विंदु°.

⁶ Read °मोदत°.

⁷ Read °दानं°.

⁸ Read °धान्य°.

⁹ Read °ब्रह्म°.

¹⁰ Read °पर्व्वोद्दिश्य°.

¹¹ Read °शेषी°.

¹² Read °भोदत°.

¹³ Read °दानं°.

¹⁴ Read °सिद्धा°.

¹⁵ Read °कृषतः°.

¹⁶ Read °दाच्छिद्य°.

¹⁷ Read °कृष्ण°.

- 75 ये ॥ [४६*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्य[सु]ताश्च मावः ।
लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्दि दत्तं^१ यः [कां]-
- 76 [च]नं गां च महीं च दद्यात्^२ ॥ [४७*] बहु[भि]र्वसुधा दत्ता
राजभिः [स]गरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
- 77 तस्य तचा^३ फलं ॥ [४८*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्रैर्हानानि धर्मा-
धियसस्कराणि [१] निर्मास्थमानप्रतिमा-^४
- 78 नि तानि को ना[म] साधुः पुनरारदीत^५ ॥ [४९*] स्रदत्तां परदत्त-
म्वा^७ य[न्ना]द्रक्ष नराधिप ॥ महीं^८ म[हि]मतां श्रेष्ठ
- 79 रा . ाष्ट्रेयो^९ च पालनं ॥ [५०*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविंदलोला^{१०}
श्रियमनुचिंत्य^{११} मनित्यजीवितं च । अतिवि[म]ल-
- 80 म[नो]भि[रा]त्मनोर्नैर्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [५१*] दूत-
कोत्र महामात्यश्रीकृष्णभट्टः [१*] लिखितं
- 81 चैतस्तेनभोगिकगोलेन राण्यसुतेनेति ॥ मतं मम श्रीदन्तिवर्मणः श्रीम-
दकालवर्षदेवसू-
- 82 नोः । तथा मतं मम श्रीद्रुवराजदेवस्य श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवसूनोः ॥ ॐ ॥

No. 29.— SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA ;

[KALACHURI-]SAMVAT 361.

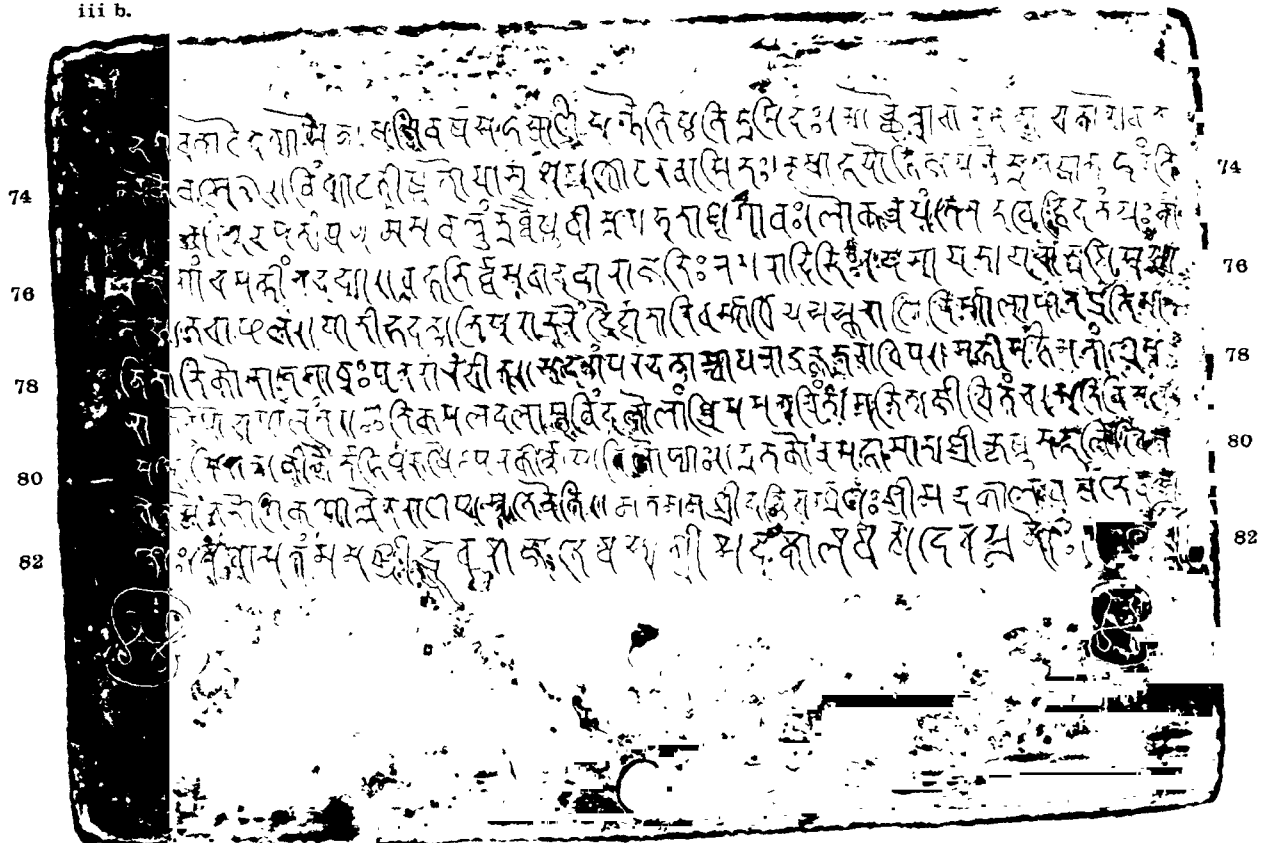
By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates are in the possession of Patel Karsan Daji at Sarsavni (Sarasavani), a village four and a half miles south of Pâdra, in the Pâdra subdivision of the Baroda State. Through Mr. Keshavlal Ranchhod Kirtania they were brought to the notice of Mr. Withal Nagar of Baroda, who kindly informed Dr. Hultzsch of their existence ; and at the latter's request Lieutenant-Colonel C. W. Ravenshaw, Officiating Resident at Baroda, was good enough to send the plates to him for examination. I edit the inscription which they contain from excellent impressions, furnished to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

These are two copper-plates, either of which measures 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high, and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims. Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. There is no seal, and no indication of one having been attached to the plates.— The writing is well done and carefully engraved, and throughout in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from Valabhi inscriptions and from the inscriptions

^१ Read दत्तं.^४ Read धर्माधियशं.^७ Read दत्तां वा.^{१०} Read °दलाम्बुविंदु°.^२ Read बहु°.^५ Read °वान्तप्रति°.^८ Read महीं°.^{११} Read मनुष्य°.^३ Read तदा.^६ Read °राददीत.^९ Read दानाश्रेयोमुपासनं.

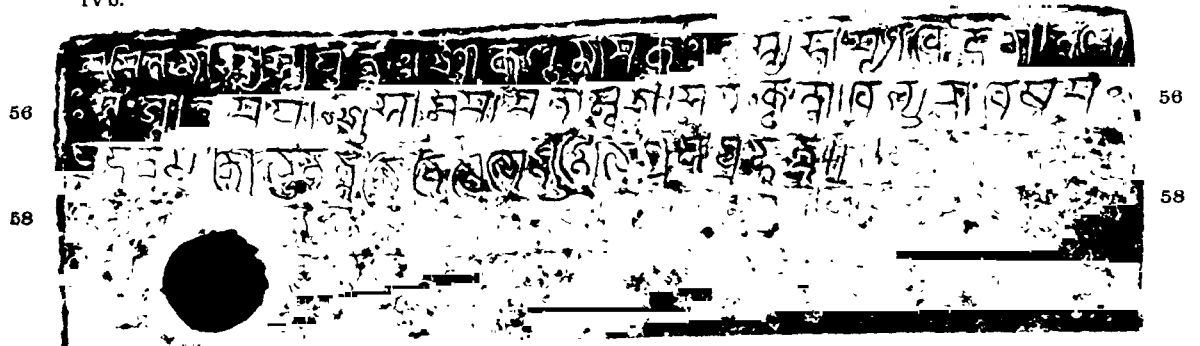
iii b.



SCALE 46

Nadagam Plates of Vajrahasta (Vol. IV. No. 24).

iv b.



SCALE TWO THIRDS.

Mayidavolu Plates
(Vol. VI. No. 8).

Plates of the time
of Sasankaraja.

SEALS.

FULL-SIZE.

of the Gujarāt Chalukyas. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the following signs: the initial *é*, e.g. in *ésha*, and the initial *ô*¹ in *Kumārivaḍaô*, both in l. 20; the *kh* in *likhitam*=, l. 34, and *askhalita*-, l. 6; the *ḍ*, e.g. in *piḍita*- and *-maṇḍalaḥ*, l. 10; the subscript *ṇ* in *arṇava*-, l. 21; the *th*,² e.g. in *prithivyām*=*apratiratha*-, l. 9, and *dharmamārttha*-, l. 32; the *ph*, e.g. in *phalaṁ*, l. 31; the two forms of *l*, e.g. in *phalaṁ* and *°pālanam*, l. 31, *salilā*³ and *balōpā*-, l. 9; the final *m* and *t* in *prajānām*, l. 17, and *vasēt*, l. 29; the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya*, e.g. in *paraḥ-kalaṅka*-, l. 4, and *vigrahaḥ=parā*-, l. 7. The writing, in line 35, also contains numerical symbols⁴ for 300, 60, 10, 5, and 1.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 28-32, the text is in prose. The orthography calls for few remarks. Instead of *anusvāra* the guttural and dental nasals are employed in the words *vaṅśa*, ll. 6 and 12, *vaṅśya*, l. 24, and *pradhvansa*, l. 16; final *visarga* is changed to the *jihvāmūliya* in *paraḥ-kalaṅka*- and *rahitah=kula*-, l. 4, and to the *upadhmanīya* in *vigrahaḥ=parā*-, l. 7, *°patibhiḥ=prabala*-, l. 24, *°mantavyaḥ=pāla*⁵, l. 27, and *sādhuh=punar*-, l. 32; *sh* is (wrongly⁶) doubled after *r* in *varshsha*-, l. 28, and *dh* (correctly) before *y* in the word *anuddhyāta*, twice in line 14. Besides, the word *prithivī* is written *prithivī* in line 9, and a few times the rules of *saṁdhi* have been neglected.

The inscription is one of **Buddharāja**, the son of **Śaṁkaragaṇa** who was the son of **Kṛishṇarāja**, of the family of the **Kaṭachchuris**.⁵ It records an order of **Buddharāja's**, issued from the royal residence or camp at **Ānandapura**, to the effect that he granted the village of **Kumārivaḍaô**, which was near to **Bṛihannārikā**, in the **Gōrajā-bhōga** of the **Bharukachchha-vishaya**, to the Brāhmaṇ **Bappasvāmin**, an inhabitant of **Pēbhaka**. It is dated, in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th of the dark half of **Kārttika** of the year 361.

The names of the three kings or chiefs—the inscription does not furnish any titles for them—who are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, are not new to us. As the date of the inscription must undoubtedly be referred to the Kalachuri era, it would fall in either A.D. 609 or A.D. 610,⁶ and it is therefore certain that the donor of the grant, **Śaṁkaragaṇa's** son **Buddharāja**, is identical with that **Buddharāja**, the son of **Śaṁkaragaṇa**, who according to the **Nerūr** plates (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161) was put to flight by the Western Chalukya **Maṅgalarāja** (**Maṅgalēśa**), and to whom the **Bādāmi** (**Mahākūṭa**) pillar-inscription (of A.D. 602 (?), *ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 16) refers when it states that **Maṅgalēśa**, having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, conquered [the **Kalatsūri**] king **Buddha** and took away his wealth. **Śaṁkaragaṇa**, again, clearly is that '**Śaṁkaragaṇa**,' the son of **Kṛishṇarāja**, whose feet according to the **Sāṅkhēḍā** plate of **Śāntilla** (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 23) were meditated on by the **Bhōgikapāla Mahāpīlupati** **Nirihullaka**,⁷ and our grant proves the correctness of Prof. Bühler's suggestion (*ibid.* p. 22) that the reading *Śaṁkaragaṇaḥ* of the **Sāṅkhēḍā** plate should be altered to *Śaṁkaragaṇaḥ*.

Though the eulogy of the three kings, which fills just one half of the inscription, does not contain any historical allusions, it is not void of interest. Some of the epithets applied to the

¹ Compare the same letter in the word *Ōrumbhald*, in the **Surat** plates of the Gujarāt Chalukya **Yuvarāja Śrīśāraya-Silāditya**, *Vienna Or. Congress*, Arian section, p. 226, l. 21, Plate. The initial *ai* occurs in the word *aiḥika*, above, Vol. III. p. 55, l. 21, Plate; the initial *au* in *Audamēghayō*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, l. 24, Plate.

² The same form of *th* we have in the **Sātārā** plates of **Viṣṇuvardhana I**, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309, Plate.

³ The symbols agree with those given by Prof. Bühler from **Valabhi** plates.

⁴ Compare **Pāṇini**, VIII. 4. 49. For other instances where sibilants are wrongly doubled, compare *yassya*, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 73, and *pañchadaśīyām* and *īrīyō*-, *ibid.* p. 253.

⁵ So this word is written also in the **Aihole** inscription, above, p. 5, l. 6 of the text.

⁶ With my epoch for the later Kalachuri dates, the date (for the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika) would correspond to the 3rd October A.D. 609; but in agreement with the dates of the **Nanāri** and **Kāvi** plates of the **Gurjara** **Jayabhūta III**. (Nos. 402 and 403 of my *List of Northern Inscr.*) it would correspond to either the 22nd September or the 22nd October A.D. 610. The date, of course, does not admit of verification.

⁷ See my *List of Northern Inscr.* No. 427.

second king, Śamkaragana, shew that the author was acquainted with, and borrowed or imitated, certain epithets which are found only in some of the Gupta inscriptions.¹ On the other hand, it is clear that the eulogistic part of this inscription or of some similar Kaṭachchuri grant was known to, and made use of by, the authors of the corresponding portions of the grants² of the Gurjara Dadda [II.] Praśāntarāga of the [Kalachuri] years 380 and 385, and of the [Gujarāt] Chalukya Vijayarāja³ of the [Kalachuri] year 394. Of the last named grant the first two lines may be said to be identical with the same lines of the present grant, and the description of Vijayarāja in lines 5-8 to a great extent literally agrees with the description of Śamkaragana in lines 8-14 of the present inscription.⁴ In the case of the Gurjara grants the agreement is not so close, but about the fact that their author knew and made use of some such Kaṭachchuri grant as the one here edited, there cannot be the slightest doubt. In his opening sentence he too compares the family of the Gurjara kings with the great ocean (*mahōdadhī*), and in describing that ocean he employs the words *vividha*, *vimala*, *guṇaratna*, *udbhāsita*, *avilāṅghitāvadhi*, *gāmbhīrya*, and the phrase *mahāsattva-jātīduravagīhā*, which to the reader of the present grant will surely betray their origin. Then, as in the present inscription Kṛṣṇarāja is described as from his very birth (*ājanmana ēva*) devoted to the service of Śiva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (*utpattitā ēva*) worship the sun. He moreover, just as is the case in the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (*yēna . . . yaṁ cha . . . yasya cha*, etc.); and in the clause commencing with *yasya cha* in line 7 and ending with *Vindhyānag-ōpatyakāḥ* in line 10, he imitates,⁵ and labours to improve on, the relative sentence beginning with *yēna cha* in line 6 and ending with *diśō* in line 7 of the present grant. So far as I can judge, his plagiarism, if I may call it so, is not without some importance for the history of the Gurjaras. In my opinion, it tends to indicate that the family of these chiefs rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharāja.⁶ If Dadda Praśāntarāga had been preceded by other Gurjara kings, a eulogist of his, in drawing up his *praśasti*, most probably would have taken for his model some older Gurjara grant, and would not have allowed himself to be inspired by a Kaṭachchuri grant.

¹ See my notes on the translation.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 82 and 88.

³ See *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 248.

⁴ The present inscription shews that in line 7 of Vijayarāja's grant the intended reading is *-nīśēci*, not *-nirmōchī*.

⁵ In both inscriptions the king is compared with an elephant (*vanavārāṇa-yūthapa* and *bhadra-matāṅga*). Instead of the epithet *ruchira-raṁśa-śōbhin* of the present grant, the author of the Gurjara grant puts *sad-raṁśa-śōbhā-gaurava*, where also the word *raṁśa* has the double meaning of 'backbone' and 'lineage.' The word *ruchira*, which the imitator here discards, he employs in the same line in *ruchira-kīrti-vaśā-sahāya*, 'accompanied by his bright fame' as the elephant is 'by his charming mate.' In a similar way he treats the following epithet of the present inscription, *askhalita-dāna-prasara*. The first and last word of this compound suggest to him his *askhalita-padaṁ prasaratāḥ*, and the sense of the whole compound he expresses, in a more elaborate manner, by the compound commencing with *avirata-dāna-pravāha*. Of his own he adds, that his chief took delight in the lands lying at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.—As it concerns a point of history, I may perhaps state, here that I differ from those scholars who understand the epithet *ākṛiṣṭa-satru-nāga-kula-saṁhātā* in lines 3 and 4 of the Gurjara grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 82) to mean that Dadda I. conquered some hostile tribe or family of the Nāgas. In my opinion, *nāga* here means nothing but 'snake,' and the author simply says that Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuda destroys the snakes. The compound is exactly like *prīṇit-ārthi-madhukara-kula* in line 8 of the same inscription, which everybody would admit to mean that the king (by his liberality) delighted the suppliants as the elephant (by his rutting-juice) does the bees. If the eulogy of Dadda I. does contain any historical allusion, it is furnished, in my opinion, by the epithet *Kṛiṣṇa-hṛiday-āhitāspadaḥ* in lines 2 and 3, the word *Kṛiṣṇa* of which, in addition to denoting the god Kṛiṣṇa, may perhaps denote the Kaṭachchuri Kṛiṣṇarāja, and which therefore may represent Dadda I. as a favourite (or feudatory) of that Kaṭachchuri king; as the *Kaustubha* gem is placed on Kṛiṣṇa's breast, so Dadda found a place in Kṛiṣṇarāja's heart. That the epithet *Kṛiṣṇa-hṛiday-āhitāspadaḥ*, just like the *Śrī-sahajanmā* by which it is preceded, does convey a double meaning, is not at all doubtful; the only question is whether it might not be taken to mean 'he whose actions (*āspada* = *kṛitya*) were hostile to the evil-minded.'

⁶ Compare Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 315.

I may further point out that in the wording of the formal part of the grants also the two inscriptions of Dadda Prasāntarāga referred to above agree most closely with the inscription here edited. We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed (*sarvān=ēva rāja-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-rāshṭragrāmamahattar-ādḥikārik-ādīn*); the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted (from *ēsha grāmaḥ* to *putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyaḥ* in lines 20-22 of the present inscription); with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and, with the omission of one verse, the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order. And one cannot help asking oneself how very different all this might have been, if the existing Gurjara grants of Śaka-Saṃvat 400, 415 and 417¹ were really genuine documents.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, **Ānandapura**, from where the grant was issued, probably is the same Ānandapura from where the Alinā grant of Śīlāditya VII. Dhrūbhaṭa of Valabhi of the year 447 was issued, and which has been identified by Dr. Fleet² with the modern Ānand, the chief town of the Ānand subdivision of the Kaira district. And **Bharukachchha**, so often mentioned elsewhere, is the modern Broach. **Ḍēbhaka**, the place of residence of the donee, apparently is Dabka,³ a village in the Baroda State, about 8 miles west of Pādra and 40 miles north of Broach. On the remaining localities Dr. Fleet, who at my request has kindly searched the sheets No. 22, S. E. (1883) and No. 36, S. W. (1897) of the *Indian Atlas*, of which copies were not accessible to me, has sent me the following note:—“The **Gōrajā** of this grant must be the ‘Goraj’ of sheet No. 36, in lat. 22° 20', long. 73° 32', in the Hālōl subdivision of the Pañch Mahāls: it is shewn as a town or large village 11 miles on the south of Hālōl, and is about 54 miles towards the north-east-by-north from Broach. **Kumārivaḍaō** must be the ‘Kawarwara’ of sheet No. 22, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from ‘Goraj,’ and about 8 miles east-south-east from Baroda; it is about 24 miles almost due east of ‘Dabka.’ And **Bṛihannārikā** must be the ‘Banaiya’ of the same sheet, 4½ miles on the south of ‘Kawarwara.’”

TEXT.⁴

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [||*] Vijaya-skandhāvārād=Ānandapura-vāsakāch=chharad-upagama-prasanna-gaganatala-vimala-vipulē vividha-purusharatna-guṇa-
- 2 kirapa-nikar-āvabhāsītē mahāsa[t*]tv-āpāsraya-durllāṅghē gāmbhīryavati sthity-anupālana-parē mahōdadhāv=iva Kaṭa[chch]u.⁶
- 3 riṇām=anvayē sakala-jana-manōharayā chandrikay=ēva kīrti[ā] bhuvanam=avabhāsayann=ā janmana ēva Paśupati-samāśra-
- 4 ya-parāḥ=kalaṅka-dōsha-rahitaḥ=kula-kumudavana-lakshmī-vibōdhanas=chandramā iva śrī-Krishṇarājō yas=samśraya-viśē-
- 5 sha-lōbhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itarais=cha guṇair=upētaḥ saṃpanna-prakṛiti-maṇḍalō yathāvad=ātmany=āhita-śakti-
- 6 siddhir=yyēna cha ruchira-vaṇsa-śōbhinā niyatam=askhalita-dāna-prasarēṇa prathita-bala-garimṇā vanavāraṇa-yūtha-
- 7 pēn=ēv=āviśaṅkam vicharatā vana-rājaya iv=āvanamitā diśō yasya cha śastram=āpanna-trāṇāya vighrahaḥ=par-ā-
- 8 bhimāna-bhaṅgāya śikshitām vinayāya vibhav-ārjjanaṁ pradānāya pradānaṁ dharmmāya dharmmaś=śrēyō-vāptayē tasya putraḥ

¹ See my *List of Northern Inscr.* Nos. 347-349.

² See *Gupta Inscr.* p. 173.

³ See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. VII. p. 542.

⁴ From impressions supplied by Dr. Hultsch.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The consonants of the *akṣara chchū* are not clear in the impressions, but I do not think that the *akṣara* can be read differently.

⁷ Read -*vaṇsa*-.

- 9 pri(pri)thivyām=apratirathaś=chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśā Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-
Āntaka-sama-prabhāvaḥ sva-bāhu-bal-ōpā-
10 tt-ōrjjita-rāja-srīḥ pratāp-ātiśay-ōpanata-samagra-sāmanta-maṇḍalaḥ paraspar-āpīḍita-
dharmm-ārttha-kāma-nishēvi
11 prapātīmātra-superitōsha-gambhīr-ōnnata-hṛidayah samyak-prajāpālan-ādhigata-bhūri-
draviṇa-viśrāṇan-ā-
12 vāpta-dharmmakriyaś=chir-ōtsannānām nṛpati-vañśānām¹ pratishṭhāpayit=
ābhuyechchritānām=unmūlayitā dīn-āndha-kṛipāṇa-sa-
13 mabhilashita-manōrath-ādhika-nikāma-phala-pradaḥ pūrvv-āpara-samudr-ānt-ādi-dēśa-
svāmī mātāpitṛ-pādā-
14 nuddhyātaḥ parama-Mā[h]ēśvaraḥ śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇaḥ² tasya putras=tat-
pādānuddhyātaḥ sakala-mahimaṇḍal-aika-tilakaḥ
15 sātīśaya-prathita-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshya-dākshīya-dhairya-saurya-sthairya-ādy-
asēsha-guṇa-samanvitaḥ praba-
16 la-ripu-bal-ōdbhūta-darppa-vibhava-pradhvansa-³hētuḥ sētuḥ sthitinām-āyatanaṁ
siddhēr=apratihata-chakraś=Chakradha-
17 ra iv-ārtti-prasamana-karaḥ prajānām parama-Māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Buddharājaḥ

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 18 sarvvān=ēva rāja-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-rāshṭragrāmamahattar-ādhikārik-ādi⁴
samājñā-
19 payaty=astu⁵ vō viditam=asmābhiḥ Bharukachchha-vishay-āntarggata-Gōrajā⁶
bhōgē Brihannārikā-pratyāsanna-
20 Kumārivaḍaō⁷ ēsha grāmaḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaḥ sarvv-ādāna-saṁgrāhyaḥ
sarvva-ditya-vishṭi-prātibhēdikā-
21 parihipō bhūmicchhidra-nyāyēna⁸ a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇava-
kshiti-sthiti-samakālinaḥ putra-pau-
22 tr-ānvaya-bhōgya⁹ Dēbhakavāstavya-Pārāśarasagōtra-VājasanēyaKapvasabrahmachāri-
brāhmaṇa-Bhaṭṭu-putra-
23 Bappasvāminē bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ādi-kriy-ōtsarppa-ārttham mātāpitṛōr=
ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhaya¹⁰
24 udak-ātisarggēṇ=ātisṛiṣṭō¹¹ yatō=smad-vañśyair=¹²anyair=vv=āgāmi-nṛpati-bhōgapatibhiḥ=
prabala-pavana-prērit-ō-
25 dadhi-jala-taraṅga-chañchalam jīva-lōkam=abhāv-ānugatān=asārān=vibhavān-dīrggha-
kāla-sthēyasaś=cha guṇā-
26 n=ākalayya sāmānya-bhōga-bhū-pradāna-phal-ēpsubhiś=śāsi-kara-ruchiram chirāya
yaśaś=cha chīshubhir=¹³ayam=asmad-dāyō=nu-
27 mantavyaḥ=pālayitavyaś=cha [!]¹⁴ Yō v=ājñāna-timira-paṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhindyād=
āchchhidyamānaṁ v=ānumōdēta sa pañchabhi-
28 r=mmahā-pātakais=samyukta¹⁵ syād=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna ||
Shashtim¹⁶ varshsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ [!]
29 āchchhētā ch-ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || Vindhy-āṭavishv=atōyāsu
sushka-kōṭara-vāsinah [!]¹⁷ kṛiṣṇāhayō hi jāya-

¹ Read -*camāśānām*.

² Read *°gāṇas=*.

³ Read -*pradhvaṁsa-*.

⁴ Read -*ādīn=*.

⁵ Read *payati* | *Astu vō viditam* | *Asmābhiḥ=*.

⁶ It is just possible that the name engraved is *Gōrujjā*.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Read -*nyāyēna=ā-chāṭa-*.

⁹ Read -*bhōgyō*.

¹⁰ Read *°ddhaya*.

¹¹ Read *°sṛiṣṭō* |.

¹² Read -*camāśyair=*.

¹³ Read *yaśāś=chīshubhir=*.

¹⁴ Read *°kṛtas=nyāyēti* | *Uktañ=*.

¹⁵ Metre of this and the next three verses: Ślōka (Anushtubh).— Read *varsha-*.

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- 30 ntê bhûmi-dâyam haranti yê || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-
âdibhiḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya
31 tadâ phalam || Pûrvva-dattâm dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=raksha Yudhishtîra [1*]
mahî[m*] mahimatâ[m] srêshṭha dânach=chhrêyô=nupâlanam || ¹Yân=iha da-
32 ttâni purâ narêndrair=ddânâni dharmm-ârttha-yâsas-karâṇi [1*] nirbbhukta-mâlya-
pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuh=punar=âdadîti(ta)[||]
33 Samvatsara-âsata-trayê³ êkashashty-adhikê Kârttika-bahula-pañchadaśyâm
Gôkulasvâmi-vijñâpanayâ mahâbalâ-
34 dhikṛita-śrî-Prasahyavigraha-dûtakam likhitam=idam mahâsandhivigrahâdhikaraṇ-
âdhikṛita-Śivarâjên=êti ||
35 Sam 300 60 1 Kârttika-ba 10 5 ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ôm. Hail ! From the royal residence ³ of victory, fixed at Ânandapura :—⁴

In the lineage of the **Kaṭachchuris**— which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the vault of the sky clear on the advent of autumn ; illumined by the mass of the rays of the manifold excellences of jewels of men (as the ocean is by those of its gems) ; difficult to be crossed because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals) ; endowed with profundity (and) intent on observing the limits of what is right (as the ocean is on keeping within its proper limits)— (there was) the glorious **Kṛishṇarâja**, who illumined the world with his fame that charmed all mankind, who from his very birth was devoted to the service of Paśupati (Śiva), who promoted the fortune of his family (and who thus, though) free from blemish,⁵ was like the moon which illuminates the earth with its light pleasing to all mankind, which is ever resting on Śiva, (and) which causes the groups of night-lotuses to expand. From a desire, as it were, of securing a choice resting-place, he was resorted to by all the qualities that make a king the object of attachment,⁶ as well as by every other excellence. He was fully endowed with all the constituent elements of royalty, and duly reaped the beneficial results (of his management) of the regal powers.⁷ As the chief elephant of the herd, distinguished by its splendid backbone, with the flow of its rutting-juice never ceasing, displaying the might of its strength, fearlessly roams about and breaks down rows of forest-trees, so he, who was illustrious by his splendid lineage, and the stream of whose liberality was never failing, and the might of whose power was well-known, marched about without apprehension and brought to subjection the regions. He wielded the sword to protect people in distress,⁸ made war to break the conceit of adversaries, engaged in study to learn propriety of conduct, gathered wealth to make donations, made donations for the sake of religious merit, and acquired religious merit to obtain the bliss of final emancipation.

(L. 8.) His son, who meditated on his parents' feet, (was) the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the glorious **Samkaragaṇa**, the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western seas and of other lands ; who⁹ on the earth had no antagonist equal to him ; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans ; whose might was like that of Dhanada,

¹ Metre : Indravajrâ.

² Read -traya.

³ Or ' from the camp . . . pitched at.'

⁴ The sentence is continued below, in the words ' the glorious Buddhârâja.'

⁵ The beauty of the moon is marred by a dark spot.

⁶ On the passage containing the word *âbhigâṃika* compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 166, l. 16, and p. 169, note 2.

⁷ Viz. the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy.

⁸ Compare the *Sakuntalâ*, in the first act, *ârta-trândya vah îastram*.

⁹ This epithet and the two next— one with a slightly different reading— are well known from Gupta inscriptions ; compare e.g. *Gupta Inscr.* p. 26, l. 1 of the text ; and D. Fleet's note, *ibid.* p. 14, note 4.

2.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.¹

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] [Pûvi]ṇ kiḷatti²
 5 śrī-kô=Chchadaiypan[ma]-
 6 r=[â]ṇa Tri[bhuvana]chchakravarttigaḷ śrī-Kulaśēgarad[ē]vaṛkku yāṇḍu
 padinmu(mû)ṇṇā[vadi]ṇ edirām=āṇḍu Mīna-nāyarṇu nālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu
 daśa-
 7 [miyum] Viyāḷa-kkilaṃmai[yum] perṇa Pûr[â]ḍattu nāl.

“In the year opposite to the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Pûrvāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a **Thursday**, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of **Mīna**.”

Under No. 1 we found that a date of the 12th opposite to the 13th year, *i.e.* of the 25th year, of the king's reign fell in November A.D. 1214. If such was really the case, this date No. 2, of the month of Mīna of the year opposite to the 13th, *i.e.* of the 14th year, of the same reign, must fall in February-March of either A.D. 1203 or 1204. As a matter of fact, the date is correct for **Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204**. In A.D. 1204 the Mīna-samkrānti took place 3 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 23rd February, which was the first day of the month of Mīna. The fourth day of the month of Mīna therefore was **Thursday**, the 26th February; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Phālguna) commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pûrvāshāḍhā, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

The way in which this date works out proves that the equivalent found for the date No. 1 undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of that date; and the two dates together shew that the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara commenced between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190.

B.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.³3.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-kô Mārappanmar=āṇa Tribhuvanaachchakkaravarttigaḷ Śōṇāḍu
 koṇḍu Muḍikoṇḍaśō-
 2 lapurattu vi(vi)rābhishōkam paṇniy=aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pā[n]ḍiyadēvaṛku yāṇḍu
 padinēḷāvadi[ṇ*]
 3 edirām=āṇḍi[ṇ*] edi[r]ām=āṇḍu
 5 yivv-ā[t]-
 6 ṭai=Ppurattādi-māsattu ēḷān=diyadiyum deśa[m]iyum T[i]ṇ[ga]ṭ-k[i]ḷamaiyu[m]
 perṇa Uttarāḍattu nāl[!].

“In the year opposite to the year opposite to the seventeenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who was pleased to take the Chōḷa country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Muḍikoṇḍaśōlapuram,— on the day of Uttarāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a **Monday**, and to the tenth *tithi*, and to the seventh solar day of the month of **Purattādi** in this year.”

Between A.D. 1200 and 1300 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1234. In this year the Kanyā-samkrānti took place 16 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 28th

¹ No. 123 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² See the larger Tiruppūvaṇam grant.

³ I add the numbers 'I.' and 'II.' here and below merely for convenience of reference so far as this list is concerned. There may have been other kings of the same names before those here numbered as I.

⁴ No. 155 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

August. The 7th day of the month of Kanyâ (or **Purattâdi**) therefore was **Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234**; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Bhâdra-pada**) ended 13 h. 6 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâdhâ**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhânta** for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

4.—In the **Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely**.¹

- 1 Śrī-kô [M]âra[va]nmar=âna Tribhu[va]nachchakra[va]rttigal
Śôpâdu=gonḍu Muḍikonḍa-
- 2 [v]irâbhishêkam paṇṇiy=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēvaṅku
yāṇḍu 17vadin=edirâm=āṇḍin=edirâm=āṇ-
- 3 ru iruba[t]tē[l]ān=diyadiyu[m] pūrvva-[pa]ksha[t]tu prathamaiyun=
Dīngal-[k]iḷamaiyum peṇṇa Pūra(ra)tt[ā]di-nāl.

“In the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva** who was pleased to take the **Chôla** country and to perform the anointment of heroes at **Muḍikonḍa[sôlapuram]**,—on the day of **Pūrva-Bhâdrapadâ**, which corresponded to a **Monday**, and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the twenty-seventh solar day of . . .”

Although the name of the solar month of this date is broken away or quite illegible, the fact that during that month the first *tithi* of the bright half was joined with the *nakshatra* **Pūrva-Bhâdrapadâ**, at once suggests the conjecture that the month was that of **Kumbha**; and this conjecture is shewn to be correct by the calculation of the date. The date, which is of the same regnal year as No. 3, corresponds to **Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235**. In A.D. 1235 the **Kumbha-samkrânti** took place 8 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 24th January, which was the first day of the month of **Kumbha**. The 27th day of the month of **Kumbha** therefore was **Monday, the 19th February**; and on this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Phâlguna**) commenced 0 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Bhâdrapadâ**, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhânta** for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

5.—In the **Raṅganâtha temple at Śrirāṅgam**.²

- 1 Śrī-kô Mârapanmar=âna Tiribuvanachchakkaravatt[i]gal Śôpâdu
vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvar[k*]ku yāṇḍu oṇḍadāvadu
- 2 Mēsha-nāyaṅgu apara-pakshattu tṛtīyaiyum Velli-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Viśāgattu
nāl.

“In the ninth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva** who was pleased to present the **Chôla** country,³—on the day of **Viśâkhâ**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mēsha**.”

As the two preceding dates Nos. 3 and 4, of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year, *i.e.* of the 19th year, of the king's reign fell in A.D. 1234 and 1235, this date No. 5, of the 9th year of the same reign, will be expected to fall in A.D. 1224 or 1225. The date actually corresponds to **Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225**, which was the 4th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month **Chaitra**) ended 22 h. 45 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Viśâkhâ**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhânta** for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 133 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 344.

³ See the smaller Tirupṇānam grant.

6.—In the Agniśvara temple at Tirukkāttuppalī.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārappa[r=ā]na Tiribuvanachchakkaravattiga! Śōṇāḍu
valāṅgiya Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rku yāṇḍu 7āvadu Mīna-nāyarru=ppūrvva-
pakshattu navamiyu[m] [yu]m [pe]rra Pūsattu nā!
- 2 Rishabham muhūrttattu.

“In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva who presented the Chōla country,— on the auspicious occasion of the Rishabha (*lagna*) on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina.”

The three preceding dates Nos. 3-5 shew that a date of the month of Mina of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1223, and in my opinion this date No. 6 undoubtedly corresponds to [Monday,] the 13th March A.D. 1223, which was the 19th day of the month of Mina, and on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. There is the difficulty that by our Tables the 9th *tithi* of the bright half had ended 0 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of the 13th March, but it may be reasonably supposed that by other Tables it ended shortly after mean sunrise. The name of the weekday which would have removed all doubt unfortunately is illegible or broken away.— On the day found Rishabha was *lagna* from 2 h. 28 m. to about 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 3-6 together prove that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.

C.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

7.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-kō Mārappa[ma]r=āṇa Tiribuvanachchakkarava[t]t[i]ga! śrī-
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu paṇḍi-onṛāvad[iṇ]=edir[ā]m=āṇḍiṇ=edirām=āṇḍu
Magara-nāyarru [i]rubattunālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu daśamiyu[m] Budan-
kilamaiyum peṇṇa Aṇḍattu nā-
- 2 1.

“In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara.”

Between A.D. 1150 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1251. The Makara-saṁkrānti took place 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 26th December A.D. 1250, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the month of Makara therefore was Wednesday, the 18th January A.D. 1251; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Pausha) ended 17 h., and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

8.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārappa[ma]r=āṇa Tiribuvanachchakkaravattiga! śrī-[Sunda]ra-
[P]āṇḍiyadē[va]rku yāṇḍu [11]va[d]iṇ edirām=āṇ[ḍi].
- 2 n edirām=āṇḍu Magara-nāyarru irubat[t]unālān=diyadiyum a[pa]ra-paksha[ttu da]-
śamiyum Bu[dan]-kilamaiy[um] peṇṇa Aṇḍa[t]tu nā!

¹ No. 52 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

² No. 148 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

³ No. 146 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the [11]th year (*of the reign*) of king **Māṛavarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Anurādhā**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday**, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of **Makara**."

This date is the same as No. 7, except that in the expression 'opposite to the 11th year' numeral figures are used by the writer.

9.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.¹

1 Śrī-kô Māṛapaṇmar=āṇa Tribh[u]va[ṇa]chchakkaravattiga[1] śr[i]-
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu paḍiṇ-onṛāvaḍiṇ=edirām=[ā*]ṇḍiṇ=e[di]rām=ā[n]ḍn
M[i]ṇa-nāyarṇu=ppat[t]oṇ[bad]ān=di[ya]diyudiyum² a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu navamiyum
Budaṇ-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māṛavarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Aśvini**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday**, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the nineteenth solar day of the month of **Mina**."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of **Mīna** a 9th *tithi* of the dark half can never be joined with the *nakshatra* **Aśvini**. The probability is that the month intended was that of **Mithuna**, and calculation proves that it *was* that month. The date, which is of the same year as No. 7, corresponds to **Wednesday, the 14th June A.D. 1251**. In A.D. 1251 the **Mithuna-saṁkrānti** took place 22 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May. The 19th day of the month of **Mithuna** therefore was **Wednesday**, the 14th June; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (*of the month Jyāishṭha*) ended 5 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Aśvini** for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

10.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.³

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kô Māṛapaṇ[ma]r=āṇa Tribhu[vaṇa]chchakra[vat]t[i]gaḷ śr[i]-
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu paḍ[i]ṇo-
2 ṇṛāvaḍu Vaigāśi-[m]āṣattu madaṇ=tiyadi Nāyirṇu-kkiḷamai perṇa Attattu nā[||].

"In the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of king **Māṛavarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**,—on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to **Sunday**, the first solar day of the month of **Vaigāśi**."

As the dates Nos. 7-9, which are of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 11th year, *i.e.* of the 13th year, of the king's reign, have been found to fall in A.D. 1251, this date No. 10, which is of the 11th year of the same reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1249. It actually corresponds to **Sunday, the 25th April A.D. 1249**, which was the first day of the month of **Vaigāśi**—the **Vṛishabha-saṁkrānti** having taken place 0 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise—and on which the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to **Garga** for 15 h. 6 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

The dates Nos. 7-10 together prove that the reign of **Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.** commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.

¹ No. 147 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² Read =*diyadiyum*.

³ No. 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

D.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

11.—In the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru.¹

1 Svasti śrīh [||*] Kô=Chchaḍapaṇmar=āṇa Ti[r]ibuvānachchakkaravattiga! śrī-
 Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2āvadu Mēsha-nāyarṛu apara-pakshattu
 ēkādaśiyum Viyāla-kkiḷamaiyum peṛra Śad[ai]yat[tu nāl].

“In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

To shorten my remarks, I may state here at once that the six dates Nos. 11-16 work out correctly on the assumption (and prove thus) that the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1251.

This date, No. 11, corresponds to Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253, which was the third day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 2 h. 20 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

To ascertain whether this date could possibly be one of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., I have calculated it also for the years A.D. 1277, 1278, and 1279, and have found that it would be incorrect for any one of these years. The same remark applies to the dates Nos. 12 and 13.

12.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavāḍi.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kô=Chchaḍaiva[r*]mmar=āṇa Tribhuvānachchakravattiga! śrī-
 [Su]ndara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2vadu Mēsha-nāyarṛu apara-pakshattu
 śadu[r]tthiyum Śaṇi-kk[i]lamaikum peṛra Mu(mû)lattu nāl.

“In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Mûla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253, which was the 26th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 2 h. 59 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mûla by the equal space system for 5 h. 16 m., after mean sunrise.

13.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavāḍi.³

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kô=Chchaḍapa[ṇmar=āṇa] Tiru(ri)bu[va]nachchakkaravattiga! śrī-
 Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yā[ṇ]ḍu 3vadu Vṛīschika-nāyarṛu pûrvva-pakshattu
 [sha]shthiyum Budan-kīlamaikum peṛra Uttirāḍattu nāl.

“In the 3rd year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛīschika.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253, which was the second day of the month of Vṛīschika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Kārttika) ended 18 h. 4 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāshāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 254 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

³ No. 89 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

14.—In the Vēdagiriśvara temple at Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam.¹

- 2 Tribhuvanachakrava[r]ttiga[l] śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yā[n]ḍu
 9āvadu Ishava-nā[ya]ṅṇu pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Śe[v*]cāy-kkila-
 3 maiyum perṇa Puṇarpūsattu nāl.

“In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

15.—In the Vēdagiriśvara temple at Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam.²

- 1 Śrī-kōṛ=Chāḍaipāṇmar=āṇa Tiru(ri)buvaṇachchakkaravattigaḷ emma-
 2 ṇḍalamuṇ=gōṇḍ=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi[ya]dēvaṅku y[ā]-
 3 ṇḍu 9āvadu Miduna-nāyaṅṇu apara-pakshattu navamiyum Nāyaṅṇu-[k]kīlamai-
 4 yum perṇa Irēba(va)di-nāl.

“In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259, which was the 20th day of the month of Mithuna, and was entirely occupied by the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Jyāishṭha), and on which the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

16.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Śrīraṅgam.³

- 2 Kō=Chchāḍaipāṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravartigaḷ emmaṇḍalamuṇ=
 gōṇḍ=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅ[ku] yāṇḍu 10vadu pattāvadu Rishabha-
 nāyaṅṇu apara-[pa]kshattu Budāṇ-kīlamaikum prathamaiyum perṇa A[ṇi]-
 3 lattu nāl.

“In the 10th—tenth—year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 28th April A.D. 1260, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 0 h. 4 m.,⁴ and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

17.—In the Pushpavanēśvara temple at Tiruppandurutti.⁵

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [l]* Pū-[ma]lar [va]lar
 16 śrī-[k]ō=Chcha[ḍa]paṇmar=āṇa Tiribuvāṇachcha[k]karavattigaḷ śrī-
 Śu[n]dara-Pāṇḍiya[d]ē[va]ṅku yāṇḍu

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 343, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.

² No. 186 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 121, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.

⁴ The *tithi* ended later after true sunrise.

⁵ No. 166 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894. The king took Kappanūr from the Hoysala king and covered the temple at Śrīraṅgam with gold.

17 7āvadu Kanni-nāyarṛu [a]gha(pa)ra-gha(pa)kshattu trayōdaṣiyum Nāyarṛu-
kk[i]lāmaiyum [p]eṛra Atta[t]tu nāḷ.

"In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Hasta**, which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Kanyā**."

The wording of this date, so far as I can see, is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Kanyā a 13th *tithi* of the dark half can never be actually joined with the *nakshatra* Hasta. Judging by the preceding dates Nos. 11-16, a date of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1257 or 1258; and during these two years the date would be correct only for the month of **Tulā**, which follows immediately upon the month of Kanyā. For the month of Tulā it regularly corresponds to **Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257**, which was the 10th day of the month of **Tulā**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month **Āśvina**) ended 7 h. 31 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.

18.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō=Chcha[ḍapa]ṇmar Tiribuvāṇachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiya-
- 2 dēvaṛku yāṇḍu llāvadu Kaṛkaḍaga-nāyarṛu apara-pakshattu sha-
- 3 shṭhiyum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum peṛra Āsvati-nāḷ.

"In the 11th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Āśvini**, which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

As this date is of the month of Karkāṭaka of the 11th year, it should fall in A.D. 1261, if it is a date of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.; but for that year it does not work out properly. In A.D. 1261 the 6th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Karkāṭaka ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 19th July, which was the 23rd day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the *nakshatra* was **Āśvini** from 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. As I obtain no really better result for other years of the same reign, and no satisfactory result at all for the 11th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., I would take **Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261**, to be the intended day, and assume that in the original date the weekday has been given incorrectly.

E.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

19.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.²

- 2 Śrī-[k]ō Māraṇmar=ā[ṇa] Tribhuvāṇachcha-
- 3 kravart[t]igaḷ e[m*]maṇḍalamuṇ=goṇ-
- 4 ḍ=aruliya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṛku [y]ā[ṇ*]-
- 5 ḍu 27va[d]u Dhanu-nā[ya]ṛṛu 14 tiyadiyu[m]
- 6 Velli-kkiḷamaiyum apara-paksha[t]tu
- 7 saptamiyum peṛra U[t]tira-nāḷ.

"In the 27th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Uttara-Phalguni**, which corresponded to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to a **Friday**, and to the 14th solar day of the month of **Dhanu**."

¹ No. 71 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1294. In this year the Dhanuḥ-saṁkrānti took place 1 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanuḥ. The 14th day of the month of **Dhanuḥ** therefore was **Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294**; and on this day the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha) commenced 4 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

20.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Śrīraṅgam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Tēri pōl
 4 śr[ī]-kō Māra[pa]ṇmā(ma)r=āṇa Tiribuva[na]chchakkaravattigal śrī-
 Ku[la]śēgaradēvarkku yāṇḍu pattāvadu [Ma]gara-nā[ya*]ṛṛu pū[r]vva-pakshattu
 daśamiyūm
 5 yūm² Budaṇ-kiḷamaiy[u]m perṛa [U]rōśaṇi-nāl.

“In the tenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulaśēkharadēva**,—on the day of **Rōhiṇi**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**.”

If the equivalent obtained under No. 19 for the date of the 27th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 20, of the 10th year of the king's reign, will be expected to fall in about A.D. 1277. It actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278**. This day was the 11th of the month of **Makara**; and on it the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Māgha) ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Rōhiṇi** by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

21.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.³

- 1 [Sva*]sti śrī [||] Śrī-kō Māraṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakra-
 2 [va*]rttigal emmaṇḍalamu[n]=go[n]ḍ=aruḷiya śrī-Kula-
 3 śēgaradēvaṅku [y]āṇḍu [2]ḍvadu Vṛīschika-nā[yaṛ]ṛu
 4 irubatt[i]ra[n]ḍā[n]=diyadiyūm [a]para-[pa]kshattu [dv]iti-
 5 yaiyu[m] B[u]daṇ-kiḷamaiyūm p[erṛa] Puṇa[r]pūśa-n-
 6 [ā]l.

“In the [2]6th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Māravarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulaśēkharadēva** who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday**, and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-second solar day of the month of **Vṛīschika**.”

The results obtained under Nos. 19 and 20 shew that this date, of the month of **Vṛīschika** of the 26th year of the king's reign, must fall in about A.D. 1293. The date, in my opinion, actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293**. In A.D. 1293 the **Vṛīschika-saṁkrānti** took place 6 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October, which was the first day of the month of **Vṛīschika**. The 22nd day of the month of **Vṛīschika** therefore was **Wednesday, the 18th November**; and on this day the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of the same day was the third (*not* the second) *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha).—I have no doubt that in the original date the second *tithi* (*dvitīyaiyūm*) has been wrongly quoted instead of the third (*trītiyaiyūm*).

¹ No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891.

³ No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

² Cancel yūm.

22.—In the Śvetāranyēśvara temple at Kaḍappéri.¹

- 1 Kō Māru(ṛa)paṇmar Tiru(ri)[buva]ṇachchakravattika(ga)l śrī-
Kulaśēgaradēvar[k*][k]u [y]āṇḍu 40 Mī(mi)ṇa-nāyaṛu pūrvva-pakshattu
dvitiyaikum Śaṇi-kk[i]lam[ai]yum perṛa Rēvati-nāl.

“In the 40th year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina.”

The results obtained under the three preceding dates shew that this date, of the month of Mina of the 40th year of the king's reign, must fall in either A.D. 1307 or A.D. 1308. It actually corresponds to Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308. On this day the Mīna-saṁkrānti took place 8 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the day therefore was the first of the month of Mina; the second *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phālguna) ended 12 h. 32 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 19-22 together prove that the reign of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 25th February and the 18th November A.D. 1268.

F.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

23.—In the Ṭamiśvara temple at Tāramaṅgalam.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōṛ=Chāḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Śundara-
Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu pad[i]mu(mū)ṇṛāvadu Simha-nāyaṛ[u]
pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kiḷamaiyum perṛa Uttarāḍattu nāl.

“In the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttaraśhāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha.”

24.—In the Ādhipurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr.³

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōṛ=Chāḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-
2 Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu padinmu(mū)ṇṛāvadu Simha-nāyaṛu
3 a[pa]ra-pakshattu tritiyaikum Velli-kk[i]lamaiyum perṛa Uttaraḍ-
4 ṭād[i]-nāl.

“In the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrpadā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha.”

The two dates Nos. 23 and 24 are both stated to be of the month of Simha of the 13th year of the king's reign. In No. 23 the 13th *tithi* of the bright half is combined with a Monday and the *nakshatra* Uttaraśhāḍhā, in No. 24 the third *tithi* of the dark half with a Friday and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrpadā. Of all the years between A.D. 1236 and 1325 there is only a single year that satisfies all the requirements of both dates, *viz.* the year 1259. For that year the date—

No. 23 corresponds to Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289, which was the 4th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrāvaṇa) ended 5 h. 23 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttaraśhāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise; and the date—

¹ No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

² No. 24 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

³ No. 400 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

No. 24 corresponds to **Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289**, which was the 8th day of the month of **Simha**, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month **Śrāvaṇa**) ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was **Uttara-Bhādrapadā**, according to Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if these were dates of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., they would fall in A.D. 1263, but that either of them would be incorrect both for that year and for A.D. 1264. For A.D. 1262 No. 24 would be correct, but not No. 23.

25.—In the Iḷamiśvara temple at Tāramaṅgalam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||*] Kōṛ=Chchadapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakkaravatt[i]ga[i] śr[ī]-
Śutta(nda)ra-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu Gāvadu āṇavadu Kaṇkaḍaga-nāyarr[u]
- 2 pūrvva-pakshattu chat[u]rtthiyum Tingaṭ-ki[la]maiym peṇṇa Utirattu nāl.

“In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Uttara-Phalguni**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**.”

Considering that the two preceding dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are said to be of the 13th year of the king's reign, fall in A.D. 1289, this date, which is of the 6th year of the reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1282. But the date apparently corresponds to **Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281**, which was the 25th day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Śrāvaṇa**) ended 9 h. 30 m., and the *nakṣatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

Here again, if this date belonged to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1256; but for that year it would be incorrect.

26.—In the Jayaṅgaṇḍanātha temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.²

- 14 [Ś]rī-kō=Chchadapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchak-
- 15 karavattigaḷ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē-
- 16 varkku yāṇḍu paṇṇiraṇḍāvadu Kaṇ-
- 17 ṇi-[u]āyarru pūrvva-pakshattu trayōḍasiyu[m]
- 18 [V]eḷli-[kk]iḷamaiym peṇṇa Śōḍi-nāl.

“In the twelfth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of **Svāti**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kanyā**.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of **Kanyā** a 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be joined with the *nakṣatra* **Svāti**. Supposing the *nakṣatra* to have been given correctly, the *tithi* in the month of **Kanyā** would in all probability be the third of the bright half. And for this *tithi* the date regularly corresponds to **Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287**, which was the 15th day of the month of **Kanyā**, and on which the third *tithi* of the bright half (of the month **Āśvina**) ended 4 h. 7 m., and the *nakṣatra* was **Svāti** by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

Here too, if the date belonged to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1262; but for that year it would be incorrect (also for the third *tithi* of the bright half).

¹ No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

² No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

27.—In the Ilamiśvara temple at Tāramaṅgalam.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōṭ-Chaḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tiribuvaṇachchakkaravattigaḷ śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu paḍiṇālāvadukk=edirāvadu Rishabha-nāyaṅṟu [pū] . . . [Tiṇ]gaṭ-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Pūsattu nāl.

“(In the year) opposite to the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday, . . . [of the first fortnight] of the month of Rishabha.”

Judging by the dates Nos. 25 and 26, this date, which is of the year opposite to the 14th, i.e. of the 15th year, of the king's reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1290. Though the number of the *tithi* is broken away or illegible, the fact that on the *tithi* in question during the month of Rishabha the *nakshatra* was Pushya, permits us to conjecture that the *tithi* was approximately the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month Jyāishṭha, or perhaps the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month Vaiśākha. Now the year A.D. 1290 does contain a day which satisfies all the requirements of the date, and which I therefore take to be its proper equivalent. It is Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290, which was the 20th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which [the 5th *tithi*] of the bright half (of the month Jyāishṭha) ended 4 h. 24 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya by the equal space system and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise (and somewhat longer after true sunrise).

If this date were one of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1265 or 1266. In A.D. 1265 the month of Rishabha contained no Monday on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya. In A.D. 1266, during the month of Rishabha, the *nakshatra* was Pushya from 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 10th May; but the 10th May A.D. 1266 would have belonged to the 16th, not the 15th, year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

The difficulty presented by the five dates Nos. 23-27 is this that, while according to the three dates Nos. 25-27 the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. would have commenced between approximately the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, by the two dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are both of the 13th year, it could not have commenced before approximately the 6th August A.D. 1276. I can reconcile this discrepancy only by the assumption that in the dates Nos. 23 and 24 the 13th year has been wrongly quoted instead of ‘the year opposite to the 13th,’ i.e. the 14th year, an assumption which would make the king's reign commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, as suggested by the dates Nos. 25-27.

G.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

28.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.²

- 1 Śrī-kō M[ā]raṇmar=āṇa [Tr]ibhuvaṇachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvadu Vṛiśchika-nāyaṅṟu=ppaḍiṇālān=
2 [diyadiyu]m [apara]-cha(pa)kshatta(ttū) navamiyum [Śa]ṇ[i]-kkaḷamaiyum pe[r]ra Uttirattu nāl.

“In the eighth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkaradēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Saturday, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the seventeenth solar day of the month of Vṛiśchika.”

¹ No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

² No. 122 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1400 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1321. In this year the *Vṛiśchika-samkrānti* took place 12 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October. The 17th day of the month of *Vṛiśchika* therefore was **Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321**; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month *Kārttika*) ended 19 h. 50 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., according to Garga from 8 h. 32 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* from 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

If this date were one of *Māra*varman *Kulaśekhara* I., it would fall in either A.D. 1275 or 1276; I need hardly say that for both these years it would be incorrect.

29.—In the *Bṛihadīśvara* temple at *Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram*.¹

- 1 Svasti śriḥ [||*] Kō Mā vaṇachchakkaravattigaḥ śriḥ(śrī)-
Kulaśē[gara]dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 4vadu Katka(rka)ṭaka-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu
chatu[r]ddaśiyum Śaṇi-[k]kilamaiyum [p]eṇṇa
- 2 Uttirāḍattu nāl.

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of king *Māra*varman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Kulaśekhara*dēva,— on the day of *Uttarāshāḍhā*, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

If the equivalent obtained under No. 28 for the date of the 8th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 29, of the 4th year of the king's reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1317. It actually corresponds to **Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317**. This day was the 26th of the month of **Karkāṭaka**; and on it the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month *Śrāvaṇa*) ended 22 h. 22 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Uttarāshāḍhā*, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 6 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if this were a date of *Māra*varman *Kulaśekhara* I., it would fall in either A.D. 1271 or 1272, but that for both these years it would be incorrect.

30.—In the *Bṛihadīśvara* temple at *Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram*.²

- 1 [Kō] Māraṇmar Tribhuvāchchakravattigaḥ śr[ī]-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku
yā[ṇḍu] 5āvadu S[i]mṇa-nāyaṅgu
- 2 pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyum Tiṅga yum peṇṇa Pūsattu nāl.

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king *Māra*varman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Kulaśekhara*dēva,— on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Simha**."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of *Simha* the *nakshatra* on the 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be *Pushya* or any *nakshatra* near *Pushya*. The probability is that the month of the date was **Mina**; and actual calculation shews, not only that it was *Mina*, but also that the word *Pūsattu* of the text should be altered to *Pūrattu*, i.e. that the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Phalguni**, not *Pushya*.

I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of the date is **Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319**. This was the 10th day of the month of **Mina**; and on it the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month *Phālguna*) ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Phalguni**, by the equal space system during the whole day, according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

² No. 78 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

The three dates Nos. 28-30 together prove that the reign of **Māra-varman Kulaśekhara II.** commenced between (approximately) the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314.

For convenience of reference I now give a list of the above thirty dates, in the order of the results obtained, with the approximate commencement of the reign of each king put in brackets after his name.

A.—Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara (February 27—November 29, A.D. 1190).

No. 2. Year opp.¹ to 13 (*i.e.* 14th year) : February 26, A.D. 1204.

No. 1. Year 12 opp. to 13, or 25th year : November 29, A.D. 1214.

B.—Māra-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (March 29—September 4, A.D. 1216).

No. 6. 7th year : March 13, A.D. 1223.

No. 5. 9th year : March 28, A.D. 1225.

No. 3. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (*i.e.* 19th year) : September 4, A.D. 1234.

No. 4. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (*i.e.* 19th year) : February 19, A.D. 1235.

C.—Māra-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. (June 15, A.D. 1238—January 18, A.D. 1239).

No. 10. 11th year : April 25, A.D. 1249.

Nos. 7 and 8. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (*i.e.* 13th year) : January 18, A.D. 1251.

No. 9. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (*i.e.* 13th year) : June 14, A.D. 1251.

D.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (April 20—28, A.D. 1251).

No. 11. 2nd year : March 27, A.D. 1253.

No. 12. 2nd year : April 19, A.D. 1253.

No. 13. 3rd year : October 29, A.D. 1253.

No. 17. 7th year : October 7, A.D. 1257.

No. 14. 9th year : April 29, A.D. 1259.

No. 15. 9th year : June 15, A.D. 1259.

No. 16. 10th year : April 28, A.D. 1260.

No. 18. 11th year : July 19, A.D. 1261.

E.—Māra-varman Kulaśekhara I. (February 25—November 18, A.D. 1268).

No. 20. 10th year : January 5, A.D. 1278.

No. 21. 26th year : November 18, A.D. 1293.

No. 19. 27th year : December 10, A.D. 1294.

No. 22. 40th year : February 24, A.D. 1308.

F.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. (September 13, A.D. 1275—May 15, A.D. 1276).

No. 25. 6th year : July 21, A.D. 1281.

No. 26. 12th year : September 12, A.D. 1287.

No. 23. 13th [for 14th] year : August 1, A.D. 1289.

No. 24. 13th [for 14th] year : August 5, A.D. 1289.

No. 27. [Year] opp. to 14 (*i.e.* 15th year) : May 15, A.D. 1290.

¹ *I.e.* 'opposite.'

G.—Māravarman Kulaśekhara II. (March 6—July 23, A.D. 1314).

No. 29. 4th year: July 23, A.D. 1317.

No. 30. 5th year: March 5, A.D. 1319.

No. 28. 8th year: November 14, A.D. 1321.

(To be continued.)

No. 31.—KONDAMUDI PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

The copper plates which bear the subjoined inscription were received in June 1901 from Mr. R. Morris, I.C.S., Collector of the Kistna district, along with an abstract of their contents by Mr. J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L. They had been recently discovered in a mound in the village of Kondamudi in the Tenāli tāluka of the Kistna district and will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

The copper plates are eight in number, and measure about 7" in breadth and about $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. Their edges are not raised into rims. In the upper left corner of the first side of each plate is cut a hole for the ring on which they were strung. The ring measures about $3\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter and about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness, and its ends are soldered into the base of a circular seal of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " diameter. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates came into my hands. In the centre of the seal is, in relief, a trident the handle of which seems to end in an arrow, a bow (?), the crescent of the moon, and an indistinct symbol of roughly triangular shape. Round the margin of the seal runs a Sanskrit legend in archaic characters which differ totally from those employed on the plates.¹ The preservation of the plates is tolerably good; but the first side of the first plate is so much corroded that it can be read only with great difficulty. Besides, two corners of the first plate are broken off, and it has in this way become detached from the ring.

The alphabet of this inscription closely resembles that of the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman (No. 8 above). It shows the same peculiar *s*, *m*, *j*, and *e*. The group *jā* (ll. 5, 11 and 34) has a different shape, the vowel-mark being attached on the right, and not at the top of the letter as in the Mayidavōlu plates (ll. 18 and 24). The *n* (or *ṇ*) is identical in shape with the lingual *ṇ*, but the dental *ṇ* is represented by a separate character, while in the Mayidavōlu plates no distinction is made between all the four letters. Initial *o* occurs twice (ll. 19 and 27), and *ph* (l. 4), *ḍh* (l. 17), *gh* (l. 19), *th* (l. 37) and initial *i* (l. 18) once.

The language is Prākṛit, with the exception of the two Sanskrit words *Mahēśvara* (l. 3) and *Bṛihatphalāyana* (l. 4) and the Telugu village name *Pāmṭūra* (ll. 24 and 29). As in the Mayidavōlu plates, the orthography follows the practice of the cave inscriptions, where a single consonant does duty for a double letter.² Double *n* and double *m* are expressed by *anusvāra* and *n* (ll. 15 and 19) and *m* (ll. 5 and 44), respectively; a superfluous *anusvāra* occurs before the groups *mh* and *nh* (ll. 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 24, 26 and 29). The instrumental *eteḥi naṁ* (l. 35) is known from the Andhra inscriptions and from the Jaina Prākṛit.³ The curious phrases *etasa chasa* (l. 28) and *etaṁ chasim* (l. 36) also have their parallels in the Andhra inscriptions.⁴ A peculiar word is *asi* (ll. 13, 14, 15 and 18), *aṁsi* (ll. 17, 20 and 22) or *aṁsikā* (l. 21), 'a share,' which seems to be derived from the Sanskrit *aṁśa*. *Divāḍha* (l. 17) represents the Ardhamāgadhi *divaḍḍha*, 'one and a half.'⁵

¹ Just as here two different alphabets are employed for Sanskrit and Prākṛit, the inscriptions of the Tamil country use the Vatteḷuttu and the Tamil alphabets for Tamil words and the Grantha alphabet for Sanskrit words.

² The only exception would be *aṁsik=dddḥā* (l. 21), if this reading is correct.

³ A. S. W. I. Vol. IV. p. 104, note 9. Prof. Pischel (*Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 114) derives the particle *naṁ* or *naṁ* from the Sanskrit *nānam*.

⁴ Loc. cit. text line 8; p. 105, text line 5; p. 106, text line 11; and p. 112, text line 3.

⁵ Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 320.

The eight copper plates are marked with the numerical symbols '1' to '8' on the left of the second line of each plate. On plates ii. to viii. the figure occupies the first side, but the figure '1' stands on the *second* side of the first plate. The reason of this is that the writing on the first side of the first plate does not form part of the inscription itself (which begins on the second side of the first plate), but is a kind of docket which was probably added after the remaining 15 pages had been engraved. In ll. 12 to 15, 20, 22 and 41 occur further instances of numerical symbols, among them '10' (l. 41) and '20' (l. 22). A dash resembling the symbol '1' is used as a **mark of punctuation** at the end of 12 lines, and after 3 words in the middle of lines.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (*rājan*, l. 5) or, as he is styled on the seal, the *Mahārāja Jayavarman*, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the *Bṛihatphalāyanas* and was a worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). From his camp (or capital), the town *Kūdūra*, he informs his executive officer at *Kūdūra* that he has granted the village *Pāṇṭūra* in the district of *Kūdūra* (*Kūdūrahāra*, l. 23) to eight *Brāhmaṇas*. The royal order was copied on copper plates by a military officer **on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year** (of the king's reign, l. 41).

Neither Jayavarman nor his *gōtra* are known from other records. The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava prince *Śivaskandavarman* who issued the Mayidavōlu plates. Further, the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nāsik inscriptions¹ of *Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi* (Nos. 4 and 5)² and *Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣumāyi* (No. 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings. The archaic Sanskrit alphabet of the seal of the new plates is corroborative evidence in the same direction.

As suggested by Mr. Ramayya, *Kūdūrahāra* may be a more ancient form of *Gudrahāra*, *Gudravāra*, *Gudrāvāra* or *Gudrāra*.³ The same district is probably mentioned in the plates of *Vijayanandivarman* (l. 3), where I propose to read from the photo-lithograph *Kudrāhāra* instead of *Kuḍuhāra*, the reading of the printed texts.⁴ *Kūdūra*, which was the head-quarters of this district and the residence of king Jayavarman, and the village *Pāṇṭūra* I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 S . [v] . pato⁶ vijaya-khaṁdhāvārā
- 2 nagarā Kūdūrāto
- 3 Mahēśvara-pāda-parigahito

Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 Bṛihatphalāyana-sagoto
- 5 rājā siri-Jayavammo
- 6 ānapayati Kūdūre

¹ A still closer resemblance exists between Jayavarman's plates and the Kārlē inscription No. 19, at the beginning of which the king's name is lost; see below, p. 319, notes 1 and 7.

² I am quoting the Andhra inscriptions according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's numbering in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI. (Nāsik), and *Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of Western India* (Kārlē).

³ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 47, note 1; above, Vol. IV. p. 34, and Vol. V. p. 123.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 176, and Dr. Burnell's *South-Ind. Pal.*, second ed., p. 135.

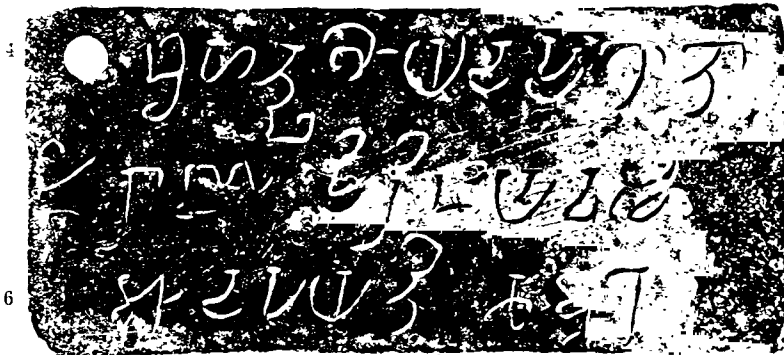
⁵ From the original plates.

⁶ The two first letters are broken away at the top. The lower portion of the letter *v* is preserved on a separate piece of the plate, which is broken off and therefore could not be shown on the accompanying photo-zincograph. Of the two possible restorations, *sava* (*sarva*) and *sira* (*sira*), the second appears preferable, because documents generally open with a word of auspicious import.

ib



ua.



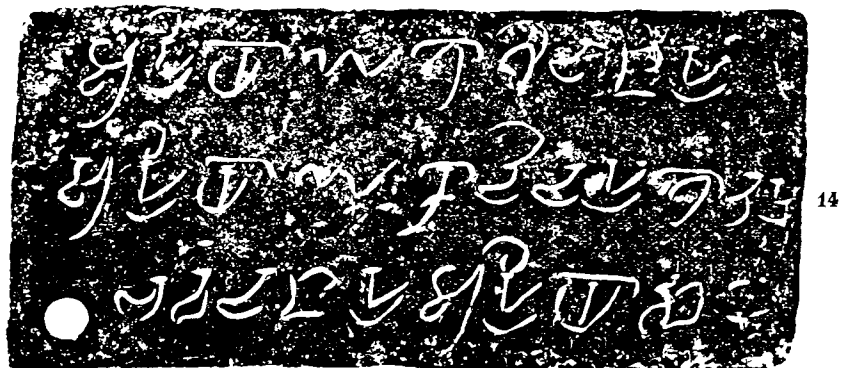
ib



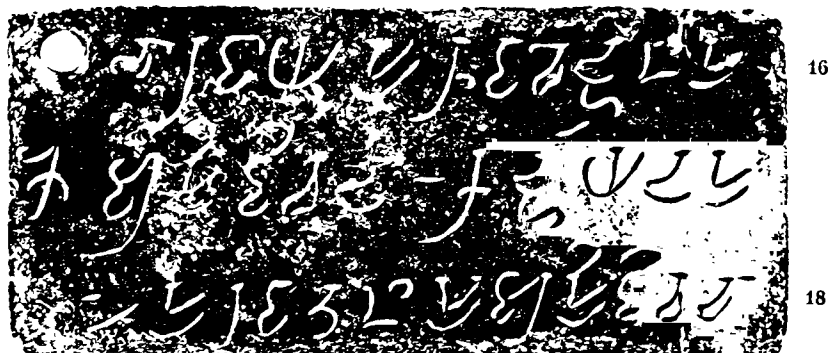
ua.



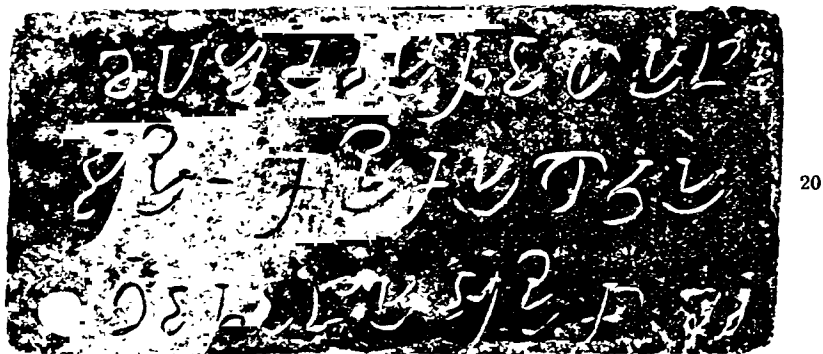
iii b



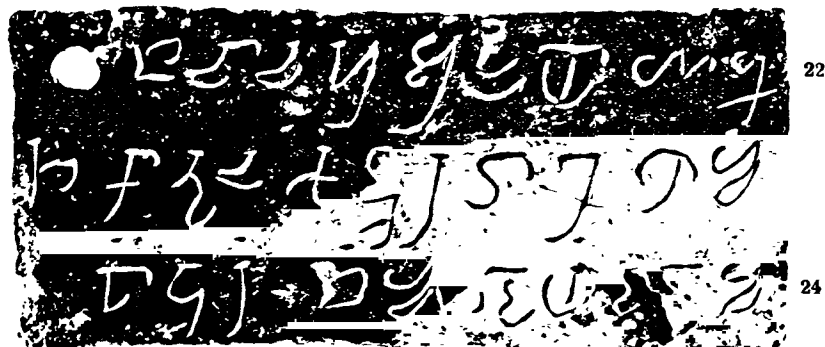
iv a.



iv b



v a



Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 vâpatam [1*] am̐mhe dâni
 8 am̐mha-vejayike —
 9 âyu-vadhanike cha —

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 10 baṁmhanânam Gotama-sagota-
 11 jâyâparasa Savagutajasa
 12 8 Tânavasa Savigijasa —

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 asiyo 3 Goginajasa
 14 asiyo 3 Koḍina-sagotasa
 15 Bhavaṁnajasasiyo be 2

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 16 Bhâradâyasa Rudaverṁnhujasa —
 17 aṁsi divadhâ — Kaṁnhâyanasa
 18 Îsaradatajasa asi diva[ḍâ¹] —

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 Opamaṁnavasa Rudaghosajasa
 20 aṁsi 1 Kosika-sagotasa
 21 Khaṁdarudajasa aṁsikâ[ddhâ] chaṁ²

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 22 janânam 8 aṁsiyo 20 4
 23 kâtuna³ Kûdûrahâre gâmam
 24 Pâṁṭûram — baṁmhadeyam da[d]âma [1*]

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 etaṁsi taṁ gâma —
 26 Pâṭûra — baṁmhadeyam
 27 kâtûna oyapâpehi [1*]

Sixth Plate ; First Side.

- 28 etasa chasa gâmasa
 29 Pâṁṭûrasa baṁmhadeyam
 30 kâtuna³ parihâre vitarâma [1*]

Sixth Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 apâpesam anomasam
 32 alonakhâdakam —
 33 araṭhasamvinayikam —

¹ Read °ḍâḍ.² Read cha.³ Read kâtûna.

Seventh Plate; First Side.

- 34 savajātapārihārikam cha [!*]
 35 etehi nam parihārehi
 36 pariharāhi [!*] etam chasim gāma[m]

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

- 37 Pātūra[m] ba[m]mhadeya[m kâ]tuna¹ etha
 38 nibamdhāpehi [!*] aviyena ānatam [!*]
 39 sayam chhato [!*] siri-aṭṭha-satā-

Eighth Plate; First Side.

- 40 vijayo dato [!*] patikā —
 41 samva 10 he pa 1 diva 1
 42 Mahātagi-varena —

Eighth Plate; Second Side.

- 43 mahādāṇḍanāyakena
 44 Bhāpahānavammēna —
 45 kaṭati —

First Plate; First Side.²

- 1 Bamhanānam Savagutaja-mahā-
 2 janānam janānam 8 Kūdūrahāre
 3 Pāmṭūrasa bamhadeyasa [!|*]

Seal.

Bṛihatphalāyana-sagōtrasya mahārāja-sri-Jayavarmanṇaḥ [!|*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) From the camp of victory, the town Kūdūra,— the fortunate³ king, the glorious Jayavarman, who is favoured by the feet of Mahēśvara (and) who belongs to the gōtra of the Bṛihatphalāyanas, orders (his) official (*vyāpṛita*) at Kūdūra (as follows) :—

(L. 7.) “For conferring on ourselves victory (in war) and for increasing (our) length of life, we have now given the village Pāmṭūra in the district of Kūdūra (Kūdūrahāra) (as) a *brahmadēya*, assigning 24 shares⁴ to 8 people, (*viz*) to (the following) Brāhmaṇas :— to Savagutaja (Śarvaguptārya), a householder⁵ of the Gautama gōtra, 8 (shares); to Savigija of the Tānavya (gōtra) 3 shares; to Goginaja 3 shares; to Bhavannaja of the Kauṇḍinya gōtra two—2— shares; to Rudavennhaja (Rudravishṇvārya) of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra) one and a half share; to Isaradataja (Īśvaradattārya) of the Kārshṇāyana (gōtra) one and a half share; to Rudaghosaja (Rudraghōshārya) of the Aupamanyava (gōtra) 1 share; and to Khandarudaja (Skandarudrārya) of the Kauśika gōtra half a share.

¹ Read *kātāna*.

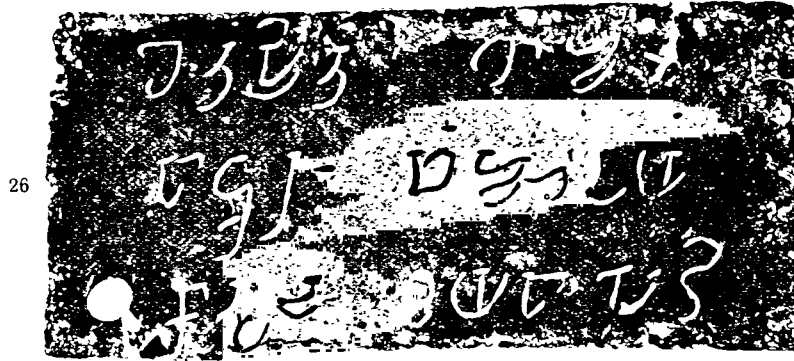
² This side of the plate is much corroded, and most of the letters are indistinct.

³ With *sicapato* compare *sukhappatto*, ‘happy,’ which Childers (s. v. *potto*) quotes from the *Dhammapada*.

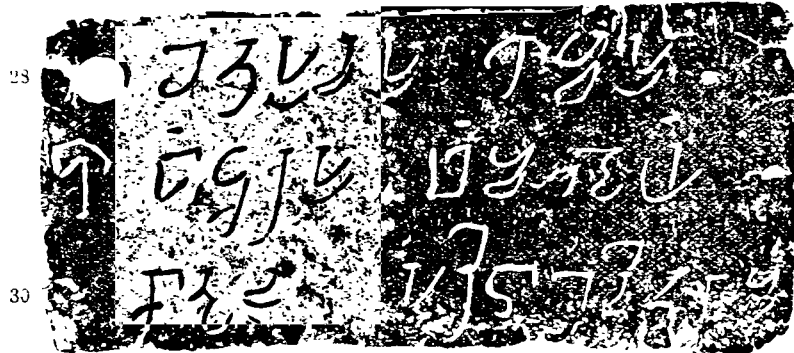
⁴ If the shares assigned to each donee are added up, the result is only 20½. Perhaps the remaining 3½ shares were set aside for communal purposes or for the village temple.

⁵ *Jāyāpara* is perhaps synonymous with *grīhastha*.

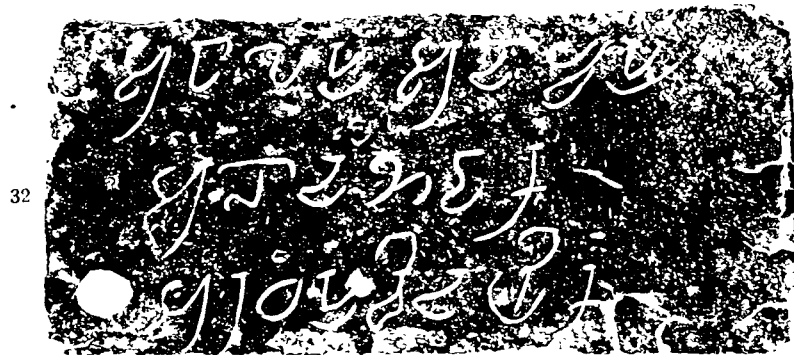
rh



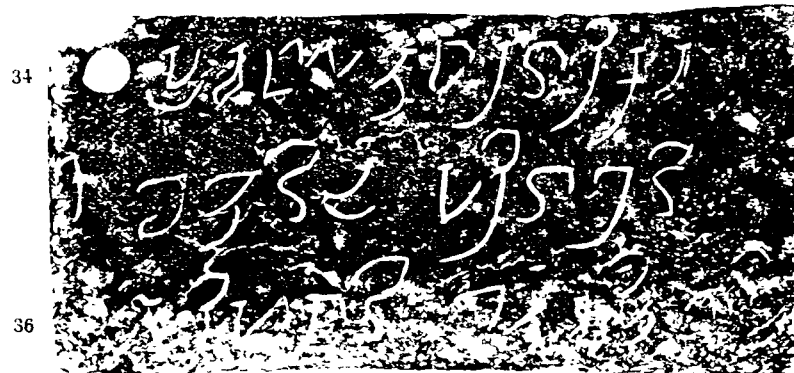
vi a.



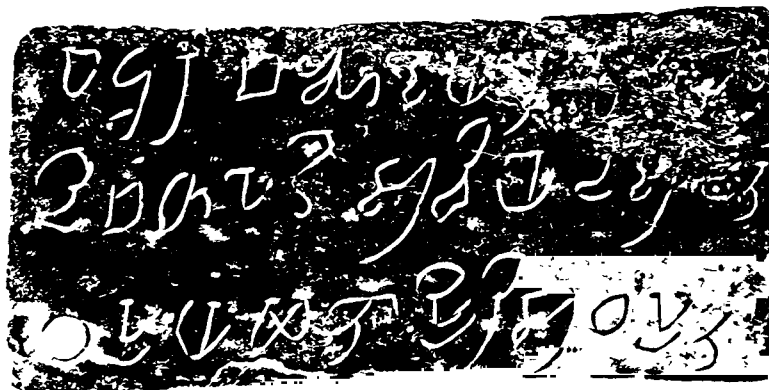
vi b.



vi c.

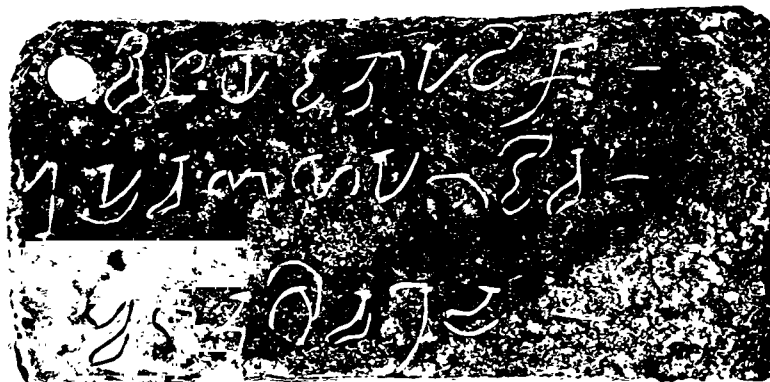


ru b.



33

viii a.



40

42

viii b.



44

i a.



2

(L. 25.) "Parcel off¹ that village Pā[n]ṭūra from this (*district*), having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*.

(L. 28.) "And to this village Pānṭūra we grant (*all*) immunities, having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*.

(L. 31.) "(*Let it be*) free from being entered, free from being meddled with, free from diggings for salt, *araṭṭhasamvīṇayika*, and endowed with immunities of all kinds.

(L. 35.) "Exempt² (*it*) with (*all*) these immunities.

(L. 36.) "And having made this village Pā[n]ṭūra a *brahmadēya*, cause a charter to be drawn up³ to this effect."

(L. 38.) The order was issued by word of mouth.⁴

(L. 39.) (*The charter*) was signed⁵ by (*the king*) himself. Fortune, wealth, power⁶ and victory⁷ were given (*by the donees to the king as a reward for the grant*).

(L. 40.) (*This*) set of plates was prepared on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year by the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Bhāpahānavarman*, the best of the *Mahātagi* (*family*?).

(First plate, first side.) (*Order referring*) to the *brahmadēya Pānṭūra* in *Kūdūrahāra*, (*granted*) to 8 people, to *Brāhmaṇas*, to the *Mahājanas* (headed by) *Savagutaja*.⁸

(On the seal.) (*The seal*) of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious *Jayavarman*, who belongs to the *gōtra* of the *Bṛihatphalāyanas*.

NO. 32.—TWO CAVE INSCRIPTIONS AT SIYAMANGALAM.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

The village of *Siyaṃaṅgalaṃ* near *Dēśūr* in the *Wandiwash* (*Vandavāsi*) *tāluka* of the North Arcot district contains a Siva temple named *Stambhēśvara* or (in Tamil) *Tūṇ-Āṇḍār*,⁹ which consists of a rock-cut shrine, two *maṇḍapas* in front of it, and a stone enclosure.¹⁰ The two rock-cut pillars of the gate by which the shrine is entered bear the two subjoined inscriptions. Besides, there are several *Chōḷa* inscriptions on the walls of the enclosure and on the rock in the

¹ The second singular imperative is addressed to the official at *Kūdūra*. The verb *oyapḍepeti* is probably derived from *avayava*, the *v* having been hardened into *p* as in *apḍepesa* (l. 31). In the *Kārlē* inscription No. 19 read also *oyapḍepeti* instead of *deya papahi* (*A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 3).

² See note 1 above. I believe that the second singular imperative is also intended in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 4 (*parihariha*), p. 104, text line 4, and p. 111, text line 14 (*pariharihi*); and the second plural imperative *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11 (*parihareṭṭha*).

³ The second singular imperative *ṣiḍamḍhāpēhi*, which is quite clear on the copper plate, has been misread in various ways in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 105, text line 5, p. 111, text line 14, and p. 112, text line 5. The second plural imperative (*ṣiḍamḍhāpētha*) is meant *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11.

⁴ On *aviyena* see *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 105, note 2.

⁵ In his valuable paper on the *Kārlē* inscriptions, which will appear in Vol. VII. of this journal, Dr. Senart derives *chhata* from *khaṇa*, 'to hurt' and hence 'to write.' The king cannot have written the order himself, because the inscription expressly states that he issued it by word of mouth. Hence I propose to translate *chhata* by 'signed.' The king's signature may have been affixed to the original document, which was deposited in the royal secretariat, and from which the copper-plates were copied. In the latter the royal signature is represented by the seal on which they are strung.

⁶ On *sattā* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 332.

⁷ Compare the *Kārlē* inscription No. 19, where Dr. Senart (see note 5 above) reads *riṇayathasattāre* or **sattākhē*. If the second alternative is accepted, the compound would mean "victory, wealth, power and fame."

⁸ This passage is a kind of docket, stating the contents of the whole document.

⁹ *I.e.*, 'the lord of pillars.' This name seems to refer to the two pillars in front of the cave.

¹⁰ Compare Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 170, and the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, new edition, Vol. II. p. 445.

north-east corner of the temple, from which we learn that Śīyamaṅgalam belonged to **Tēṇṇārrūr-nāḍu**,¹ a subdivision of **Palagunra-kōṭṭam**,² a district of **Jayaṅḡḇa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam**. The temple itself was then called **Tirukkaraḷi**, i.e. 'the sacred stone temple' (Nos. 60 and 69 of 1900), and **Tūṇ-Āṇḍār** (Nos. 61, 62, 63 and 65 of 1900).

A.—Inscription of Lalitāṅkura.

This inscription (No. 67 of 1900) is engraved on the right pillar of the gate. It consists of a single **Sanskṛit** verse in the **Āryā** metre and is written in the same archaic alphabet as the cave inscriptions at Trichinopoly³ and Mahēndravāḍi.⁴ It records that "this (temple) named **Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara**" was caused to be made by king **Lalitāṅkura**. From the cave inscription at Vallam⁵ we know that **Lalitāṅkura** was a surname of **Mahēndrapōtarāja**, who, according to Mr. Venkayya's researches,⁶ is probably identical with the **Pallava** king **Mahēndravarman I**. Two other surnames of the same king were **Satrumalla** and **Gupabhara**, of which the first occurs at Trichinopoly and Vallam, and the second at Trichinopoly, Vallam and Mahēndravāḍi. Thus the **Pallava** king **Mahēndravarman I**, who reigned about the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era, is now known to have excavated four rock-cut shrines, of which that at Mahēndravāḍi was dedicated to **Vishṇu**, and the three others to **Śiva**. The name of the Śīyamaṅgalam cave, **Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara**, means 'the **Īśvara** (i.e. **Śiva** temple) of the **Pallava** (king) **Avanibhājana**.' Hence **Avanibhājana**,⁷ i.e. 'the possessor of the earth,' must have been another surname of **Mahēndravarman I**.

TEXT.⁸

- 1 Lalitā[m]kurēṇa rājñ-Āva-
- 2 nibhāja[na]-Pallavēśvaran-nāma [!*]
- 3 kārītam=ētat=svē[dh]ā(chchhā)-karaṇḍa-
- 4 m=iva puṇya-ratnānām [!*]

TRANSLATION.

By king **Lalitāṅkura** was caused to be made this (temple) named **Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara**—a casket, as it were, (worked at) his will (and enclosing) jewels, (viz.) good deeds.⁹

B.—Inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.

This inscription (No. 68 of 1900) is engraved on the left pillar of the gate. Its alphabet is **Tamiḷ**, with the exception of the **Grantha** words *svasti śrī* at the beginning and *śrī* in line 10, and resembles that of the Tiruvallam rock inscription of **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman**; but the letter *ṇ* has throughout its archaic form, while in the Tiruvallam inscription the modern form with fully developed central loop occurs twice.¹⁰—The language is **Tamiḷ**. As in the **Madras Museum** plates of **Jaṭilavarman**,¹¹ the rules of *saṁdhi* are not observed in *Perumbālavūr* (l. 7 f.)

¹ This subdivision was named after **Tēṇṇāttūr**, No. 127 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the **Wandiwash tāḷuka**.

² The same district is mentioned in two inscriptions at **Tirumalai** near **Pōḷūr** (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 72 and 74), in a **Tiruvallam** inscription (*ibid.* Vol. III. No. 58), and in the **Ālampuṇḍi** plate (above, Vol. III. p. 226).

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 33 and 34, and Vol. II. Plate x.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. No. 19.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 72.

⁶ *Madras Christian College Magazine* of November 1893, and above, Vol. III. p. 278.

⁷ The synonymous *biruda* **Bhuvanabhājana** occurs in the inscriptions of the **Pallava** kings **Narasimha** and **Rājasimha** at **Māmallapuram** and **Kāñchi**; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 3, 7, and 25, 23rd niche.

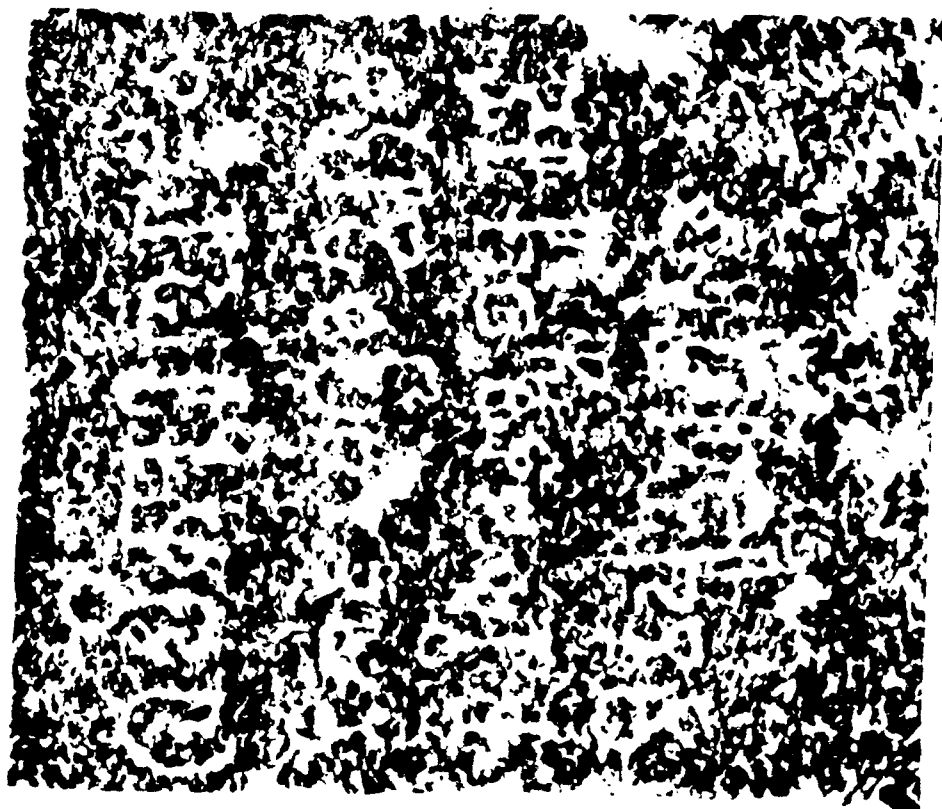
⁸ From inked estampages prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao in 1900 and 1901.

⁹ By this *simile* the king suggests that he built the temple in order to obtain merit in the future life.

¹⁰ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90 and note 6.

¹¹ See Mr. Venkayya's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 68 f.

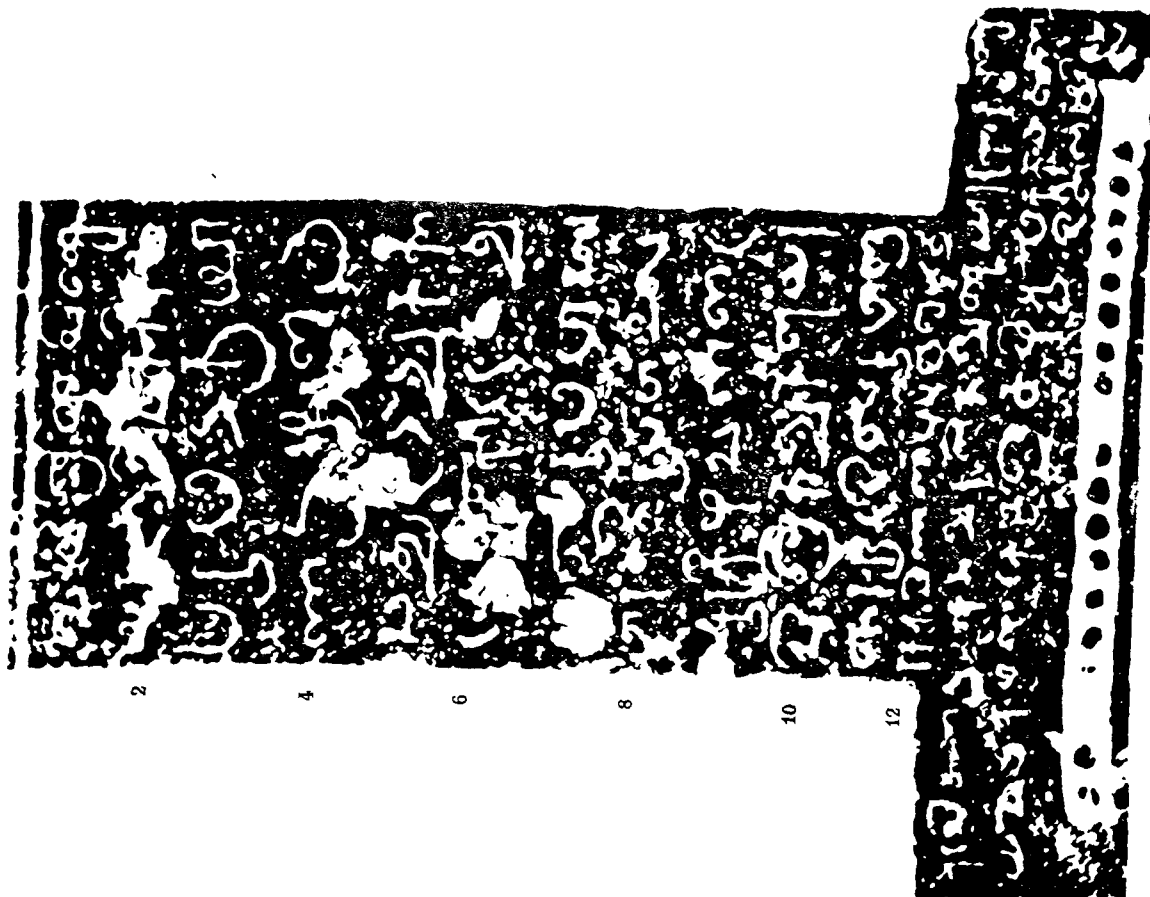
A.



SCALE ONE-THIRD.

E. MULTZSCH.

B.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH.

WIELE & KLEIN, PHOTO-ZINCO.

for *Perumbālaiyūr* and in *aiyāmai* (l. 14) for *aiyāmai*, which is an archaic form of the negative gerund *aiyāmal*. The final *n* of *kilavan* (l. 9) is doubled before the following vowel. The Tamil form *mugamaṇḍagam* (l. 14) instead of the Sanskrit *mukhamāṇḍapa* has been already noticed in the Ukkal inscription of Kṛṣṇa III.¹

The inscription is dated in the third year of the reign of **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman**, whom I have identified with the father of the Gaṅga-Pallava king **Vijaya-Nripatuṅgavikramavarman** and placed in the ninth century of the Christian era.² This is the earliest known inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Five other records of his at Śaduppēri, Viriñchipuram and Tiruvallam are dated between his 9th and 62nd years.³ Since the publication of the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Vijaya-Nripatuṅgavikramavarman,⁴ two inscriptions of his grandfather **Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman**⁵ and four inscriptions of his own reign⁶ were copied at Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district. The Śāḍaiyar temple at Tiruchchenṇambūṇḍi near Kōvilāḍi (between Tanjore and Trichinopoly) contains three inscriptions of the same king.⁷ Two of these mention **Mārambāvai**, "who was the great queen of **Nandippōttaraiyar** of the **Pallavatila**[ka ?] family."⁸ The same queen is referred to in an inscription at Niyamam in the Tanjore tāluka (No. 16 of 1899), which is unfortunately mutilated, but seems to belong to the reign of the early Chōḷa king **Rājakēsarivarman**. One feels tempted to conclude from this that Rājakēsarivarman put an end to the rule of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that certain chiefs who claimed connection with the Pallava dynasty were first subordinate to Vijaya-Nripatuṅgavikramavarman and afterwards to his conqueror, the Chōḷa king.

The inscription records that the *maṇḍapa* in front of the cave temple was built by a certain Aḍavi with the permission of a Gaṅga chief named **Nērguṭṭi**, who must have been subordinate to Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Aḍavi was the headman of a village near **Perumbālaiyūr** in **Ūrṛukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam**. This district owes its name to **Ūrṛukkāḍu**, a village in the Conjeeveram tāluka, and **Perumbālaiyūr** is perhaps the same as **Pālaiyūr** which is mentioned in the **Kaśākūḍi** plates.⁹

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Viśai-
- 2 [ya-Na]n[d]i[vi]kki[rama]-
- 3 parumaṅku yā-
- 4 ṇḍu m[ū]ṇrā-
- 5 vadu [Ū]rṛukkā-
- 6 t[ṭu-k]kōṭṭa[t]tu-
- 7 [Pp]erumbālai-
- 8 ūr-¹¹Ttiruppālai-
- 9 yūr kilavanṇ=Aḍa-
- 10 vi śrī-Gaṅgaraiyar
- 11 Nērguṭṭi Perumaṇḍa-
- 12 rkku viṇṇappaṇ=jeydu

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 12, note 15; *maṇḍagam* occurs twice in the Kūram plates, *ibid.* Vol. I. No. 151, text lines 61 and 74.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 181 f.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 108, 124 and 125, and Vol. III. Nos. 42 and 43.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. No. 23.

⁵ No. 51 of 1898: 10th year; and No. 61: [2]1st year. An inscription at Kūram (No. 35 of 1900) is dated in the 12th year.

⁶ No. 63 of 1898: 16th year; No. 81: 25th year; No. 83: 28th year; and No. 82: date lost. Two inscriptions at Kūram (Nos. 33 and 37 of 1900) are dated in the 17th and [21]st years.

⁷ No. 303 of 1901: 18th year; and Nos. 300 and 301: 22nd year.

⁸ *Pallavatila-kulattē Nandippōttaraiyar mahādēviyār=ḍṇa aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍaṇ Mārambāvaiyār.*

See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 345.

¹⁰ From two inked estampages.

¹¹ Read °bdlaiyār=.

- 13 Aḍavi taṇ-ṛāyār Naṅga[ṇ]i Naṅgaiyārkk-āga=chche-
 14 yda mugamaṇḍagam [i*] id-aḷiāmai=¹kkāttāṇ-a-
 15 ḍi eṇ muḍi mē-
 16 la [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the **third year** (of the reign) of king **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman**,—Aḍavi, the headman of **Tiruppālsiyūr** (near) **Perumbālsiyūr** in **Ūṛrukkāṭṭu-kōttam**, having made a request to (i.e. having obtained the sanction of) the glorious **Gaṅga king Nērguṭṭi Perumāṇ**,—(this) Aḍavi made the *maṇḍapa* in front (of the shrine) for (the merit of) his mother Naṅga[ṇ]i Naṅgai.

(L. 14.) The feet of him who protects this (gift) without destroying (it), (shall be) on my head.²

No. 33.—RANGANATHA INSCRIPTION OF GOPPANA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1293.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

In the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*, a modern Tamil work which professes to be based on a Sanskrit poem in 3,000 verses by Tṛitīya-Brahmatantrasvatantṛasvāmin, we are told that, when the Musalmāns³ had captured Tiruchchirāppallī (Trichinopoly), the authorities of the Raṅganātha temple on the island of Śrīraṅgam near Trichinopoly secretly removed the image of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷaṇ (Vishṇu) to Tirumalai (Tirupati).⁴ Subsequently a certain Gōpaṇarāyar is stated to have brought the image from Tirumalai to Śiṅgapuram near Śēñji, and thence back to Śrīraṅgam, where he reconsecrated the god and his two wives (Lakshmi and the Earth).⁵ On this occasion he was praised by the Vaishṇava preceptor Vēdāntadēśika in the following verse: ⁶—

आनीयानीलशृङ्गद्युतिरचितजगद्रञ्जनादञ्जनाद्रे-

श्चक्षामाराध्य कंचित्समयमथ निहत्योडनुष्कान्⁷ तुरुष्कान् ।

लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्नङ्गनाधं⁸

सम्यङ्कर्थां सपर्यामकृत भुवि यशःप्रापणी गोपणार्थः ॥

Mr. Venkayya has drawn my attention to another Tamil work, entitled *Kōyilolugu*, i.e. "Benefactions to the Temple," which registers the donations made to the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam from the earliest times. The authorities on which the statements of this book are based are not mentioned by the author. Among other facts it chronicles the same events which have been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, with fuller details. It states that in Śaka-Samvat 1149 expired,⁹ the Akshaya-samvatsara, the Muḥammadans (*Tulukkar*) occupied the Tōṇḍai-maṇḍalam. When news reached the temple authorities at Śrīraṅgam that the enemies had passed Samayapuram (9 miles north-north-east of Trichinopoly), they removed the image of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Perumāḷ to Tirunārāyaṇapuram (Mēlukōṭe in the Mysore State)

¹ Read =*aliydmāi*.

² *Turushka-Yavan-ādigaḷ*.

³ Madras edition of Kaliyuga 4900, the Virōdhi-samvatsara, p. 124 f.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 127 f.

⁵ Read °नाधं.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 92 and note 1.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁸ This must be an error for 1249.

⁹ Read °तुरुष्कान्.

by way of Jôtishkuḍi, Tirumâlirunjôlai, Kôlikkûḍu (Calicut) and Puṅgaṇûr (in the North Arcot district). The image was kept for "many days" at Mêlukôṭe and then removed to Tirumalai (Tirupati in the North Arcot district), where it was worshipped for "a long time." In the meanwhile the Muḥammadans had conquered the Pāṇḍya country and, through the influence of Vidyâranya, the kingdom of Âṇaikkondi (Vijayanagara) had been established. Its king, Harihararâyar (II.), reconquered the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. One of his officers, Gôpaṇa-Uḍaiyâr, who resided at Śeñji, took the above-mentioned image from Tirumalai to Śingapuram (near Śeñji),¹ where it was duly worshipped. He advanced with a strong force and defeated the Muḥammadans completely. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, the Paridhâvi-saṁvatsara, on the 17th solar day of the month Vaigâsi, he brought back the image of Perumâl to Śrīraṅgam and reconsecrated the god and his two consorts. He engraved on the outer portion of the east side of the temple wall (built by) Dharmavarman² the same verse which has been quoted from the *Guruparamparâ*, and which reads here as follows:—

आनीयानीलशृङ्गद्युतिरचितजगद्रक्षनादक्षनादे-

श्चेष्टामाराध्य कंचित्समयमथ निहत्विहनुष्कांस्तुलुष्कान् ।

लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयद्गङ्गनाथं

सम्यग्वर्यां सपर्यां³ कुरुत निजयशोदर्पणो गोपणार्यः ॥

The *Kôyiloḷugu* further states that Gôpaṇa-Uḍaiyâr granted fifty-two villages to the Raṅganâtha temple, and that both his sovereign, Harihararâyar (II.), and Viruppaṇa-Uḍaiyâr, the son of the latter, performed the *tulâpurusha* ceremony at the same temple.⁴

The verse quoted above and another, similar verse make up the subjoined Grantha inscription (No. 55 of 1892), which is engraved on the east wall of the second *prākāra* of the Raṅganâtha temple at Śrīraṅgam. The two verses are preceded by a chronogram representing Śaka-Saṁvat 1293⁵ (= A.D. 1371-72). This date implies that the *Guruparamparâprabhâva* either must be wrong in making Gôpaṇarâyar a contemporary of Vêdântadêśika, or— what is more probable— that the alleged birthday of Vêdântadêśika in Kaliyuga 4370, the Śukla-saṁvatsara⁶ (= A.D. 1269-70), is a pure invention. Gôpaṇarâyar is referred to in the inscription as Goppa-nârya (verse 1) and Gôpaṇa (v. 2). His residence (*râjadhâni*, v. 2) was Cheñchi (v. 1), which is the Sanskrit form of the Tamil Śeñji, *vulgo* Gingee, in the South Arcot district.⁷ Añjanâdri⁸ (v. 1) and Vṛishabhagiri (v. 2) are two names of Tirumalai, the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district.

Goppaṇa or Goppaṇṇa is known as an officer of Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar or Kampaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vīra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar, from an inscription at Achcharapâkkam (No. 250 of 1901)

¹ See above, Vol. III. p. 226.

² This mythical king is reported to have built large portions of the Raṅganâtha temple round the central shrine, which existed from times immemorial.

³ Read योमकृत.

⁴ It is interesting to note that this Tamil work refers to the donations of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, which are described in one of the Raṅganâtha inscriptions (above, Vol. III. p. 7 ff.). The king is said to have defeated the Chêra, the Chôla and Vallâ[la]dêva (i.e. the Hoysala king) and to have assumed the title *Emmanḍalaṅ-gonḍa-Perumâl*, i.e. "the king who conquered every country." Having covered a large portion of the temple with gold, he assumed the further title *Pon-mêynda-Perumâl*, i.e. "the king who covered (the temple) with gold," and set up an image of Vishṇu called after this surname. His gifts of gold and jewels are also enumerated. He is said to have spent altogether 18 *lakshas* of gold coins (*pon*) in covering the temple with gold, and the same amount in gifts.

⁵ The same year is quoted in the *Kôyiloḷugu*; see above.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 94.

⁷ Above, Vol. III. p. 226.

⁸ Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s. v.

and from three inscriptions at Kāñchī.¹ Aiyappa, the son of Anna Goppappa, is mentioned in another Kāñchī inscription of Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar, the son of Bukkana-Udaiyar (No. 33 of 1890). The same inscription shows that Goppapa was a Brāhmaṇa, as it states that he belonged to the *Āpastamba-sūtra* and *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*.

It appears from the last paragraph that Goppapa's sovereign, **Kampana-Udaiyar**, was the son of **Bukkana-Udaiyar** or **Vira-Bukkana-Udaiyar**. I feel no hesitation in identifying this Bukkana-Udaiyar with king **Bukka I. of Vijayanagara**, whose name appears as 'Vira-Bukkana-Odeyaru of Vijayanagara' in a Kanarese inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1293, the Virōdhikṛit year, at Bhatka.² and in identifying Kampana-Udaiyar with Chikka-Kampana-Odeyaru, the son of Bukka I.³ The word *Chikka* or *Kumāra*, which is prefixed to the name of Kampana-Udaiyar in some of his inscriptions, is evidently employed to distinguish him from his uncle Kampana.⁴ In the pedigree of the first Vijayanagara dynasty Kampana-Udaiyar will henceforth appear as **Kampana II.**, and his uncle as Kampana I. Mr. Taylor⁵ calls Kampana-Udaiyar the "general or agent" of Bukkarāya of Vijayanagara and states that he repaired the temple at Śrīraṅgam in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293—the date of the subjoined inscription—and that he expelled the Muḥammadan invaders from the Pāṇḍya country. Here we have a grain of truth among heaps of chaff. The existence, in the fourteenth century, of a dynasty of **Musalmān chiefs of Madhurā** is testified to by chronicles and coins,⁶ and Kampana-Udaiyar's conquest of the Pāṇḍya country is corroborated by an inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1287, the Viśvāvasu year, at Tiruppukkuḷi (No. 18 of 1899), which states that, "having taken possession of the kingdom of Rājagambhira, he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne."⁷ Rājagambhira is known to have been a surname of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman *alias* Kulasēkhara,⁸ whose Tiruppūvaṇam plates are dated, according to Professor Kielhorn, in A.D. 1214.⁹ Hence 'the kingdom of Rājagambhira' seems to denote the **Pāṇḍya** kingdom, and it may be accepted as a historical fact that Kampana II., the son of Bukka I. of Vijayanagara, expelled the Muḥammadans from Madhurā. Two inscriptions at Tiruppullāṇi¹⁰ show him in possession of a portion of the Rāmnād Zamindārī in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293 and 1296. The fact that he claimed to be 'conducting the rule of the earth' proves that he did not remain a subordinate of his father, but considered himself an independent ruler. His prime-minister (*mahāpradhāni*) **Sōmappa** is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Mēlpāḍi (No. 89 of 1889) and Achcharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901). To return to **Goppapa**, he seems to have taken part

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 86-88. When publishing these three inscriptions (*op. cit.* p. 117 f.), I represented Kampana-Udaiyar as the son of Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar on the strength of a Tirumalai inscription (*ibid.* No. 72). But, in the light of other records, I believe now that, in l. 2 f. of this record, *īrt-Vīra-Kampana-Udaiyar Kumāra-īrt-Kampana-Udaiyar kumḍrar īrt-Ommaṇa-Udaiyar* has to be translated by "Ommaṇa-Udaiyar, the son of Vira-Kampana-Udaiyar (*alias*) Kumāra-Kampana-Udaiyar."

² Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 1. An inscription of Vira-Bukkana-Udaiyar at Vēppūr (No. 20 of 1890) is dated in the Rīkshasa year (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1297); another at Tirukkalukunram (*Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892) in the Nala year (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1298); and one at Achcharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901) in Śaka-Saṃvat 1298, the Nala year. See also Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 90, Ml. 23 and 76; Vol. IV., Ch. 113 and 117.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; Vol. IV., Yl. 64 and Gu. 32.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 36.

⁵ *Catalogue*, Vol. III. p. 438 f.

⁶ See *e.g.* Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 42; Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 222 f.; Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India*, p. 32 f. and p. 66 ff.; and the late Mr. Rodgers' valuable paper in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIV, Part I. p. 49 ff. No complete reading has yet been published of a silver coin which was figured on Tufnell's Plate vi. No. 2, and of which I possess a specimen; the obverse reads *Aḥsan Shāh* 758 (of the Hijra, *i.e.* A.D. 1337-38), and the reverse *Al-Husainiyyu*.

⁷ *Irāyagambhira-irādyam kai-kkoṇḍu sti(ethi)ra-simḥsanattil pr[i](pri)thivi-irādyam paṇṇi aruḷā: n[i]ṇra*. This passage and its bearing were first pointed out by Mr. Venkaya in one of the two *Annual Reports* which he drew up during my absence on furlough.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 289.

⁹ See page 301 above.

¹⁰ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 301 f.

in his master's wars against the Musalmân chiefs of Madhurâ, as the Raṅganâtha inscription alludes to his conquest of the Tulushkas.

The subjoined list of inscriptions of **Kampana II.** shows that his influence extended from Mysore in the north to Râmnâd in the south, and that he was in power **between A.D. 1361-62 and A.D. 1374.** The Tirumalai inscription of his son **Ommanâ-Uḍaiyar**¹ is dated on the 11th December A.D. 1374.² Of his father **Bukka I.** we have inscriptions of still later date, viz. A.D. 1375-76 and 1376-77.³ To Professor Kielhorn my best thanks are due for the calculation of those among the following dates which contain astronomical details.

1.—No. 250 of 1901; at Achcharapâkkam. Kampanna-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 12[83], Plava.

2.—No. 89 of 1889; at Mēlpāḍi. Vira-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Plava.

3.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 86; at Kāñchî. Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvâvasu.

4.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 87; at Kāñchî. Vira-Kumâra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvâdi (i.e. Viśvâvasu).

5.—No. 18 of 1899; at Tiruppukkuli. Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bukkana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1287, Viśvâvasu. *Śakâbdam âyirattu-irunûrru-enbattu-êlin mēl sellâninra varttamâ[na]-Viśvâvasu-saṁvatsarattu Vriśchika-nâ[ya]rru pûrva-pakshattu shashṭi(shṭhi)yum Ariṭṭamum perra Budan-kilamai-nâl.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1287 expired = Viśvâvasu the date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 19th November A.D. 1365**, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhâ**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

6.—No. 163 of 1892; at Bhussanahalli. Vira-Kumâra-Kampana-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vira-Buk[k]aṇṇ-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-Saṁvat 12[S]8, Parâbhava.

7.—No. 21 of 1890; at Vēppûr. Vira-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. *Parâba[va]-varusham Aśvika-nâyarru pûrva-pakshshattu pañchamiyum Nâ[ya]rru-kkilamaiyum perra Pûsattu nâl.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1288 expired = Parâbhava the date, as recorded above, is quite irregular. All that I can suggest regarding it is, that the [in Tamil] strange word for the solar month, *Aśvika*, may be intended for *Āṇi*, and that *Pûsattu* may be a mistake for *Pûrattu* (Pûrva-Phalguni). If these two alterations were adopted, the date would regularly correspond to **Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 1366**, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pûrva-Phalguni**, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

8.—No. 33 of 1890; at Kāñchî. Vī[ra]-Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Bukkana-Uḍaiya[r]. *Śakâbdam 12[8]8 l mēl Parâbha[va]-saṁvatsarattu Kumbha-nâ[ya]rru pûrva-pakshattu êkâdaśiyum V[i]yâla-kk[i]lamaiyum perra Pu[na]rpûsattu [nâ]l.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1288 expired = Parâbhava the date regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 11th February A.D. 1367**, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

¹ See above, p. 324, note 1. In a local chronicle this name has been misspelt or misread 'Embana Udeiyâr;' see Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III. p. 82. Another son of Vira-Kampana-Oḍeyaru, named Nāñjappa-Oḍeyaru, is mentioned in an inscription at Dodḍa-Kaulande (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 108), which is dated *Saka-varusha samda 1296 neva Anamda-saṁvatsarada Vaisâka-su 15 Gu[rurâra*] sômagrahanadalli*. Professor Kielhorn considers this date worthless, because "in Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the full-moon *tithi* of Vaisâkha ended 23 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of *Wednesday, the 26th April A. D. 1374*, and there was no lunar eclipse on that day."

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 3, No. 135.

³ See above, p. 324, note 2.

9.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vīra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Plavaṅga.

10.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; at Tagadūru. Chikka-Kampanṇ-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vīra-Bukkaṇṇ-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-Saṁvat 1290, Kīlaka.

11.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 88; at Kāñchi. Vīra-Kampanṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Kīlaka-varushattu Makara-nḍiyaru apara-pashakshattu¹ saptamiyu[m*] Śevvāy-kkīlāḷaimaiyum² perra [T]ēr-nāl.³*

"This date is in every respect irregular, and intrinsically wrong, because the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī on a 7th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Makara."—F. K.

12.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yl. 64; at Māmbaḷli. Kampanṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vīra-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4470, Saumya.

13.—No. 293 of 1895; from Kāraṇai near Kaḍambattūr, now in the Madras Museum. Vīra-Kampana-[U][ḍaiyar*], the son of Vi . . . Uḍaiyar. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 447[2*], Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, Virōdhikṛit. [*Kali**yuga-varusham nālāyirattu-n[ā]nūrru-[e]lu[ba]ttu . . . ṅgiya Śakābdam āyirattu-irunūrru-t[on]nūrr[u]-mān . . . sellāṇi[n*]ra Virōdhikṛit-varshattu [M]ithuna . . . apara-pakshattu [pañcha]miyum Budan-kīlamai . . . ra Aviṭṭattu nāl.

"For Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4472 expired = Śaka-Saṁvat 1293 expired = Virōdhakṛit the date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 4th June A.D. 1371**, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 13 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

14.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 301; at Tiruppullāṇi. Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1293.

15.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 32; at Guṇḍlupēte. Chikka-Kampanṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vīra-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru. *Śaka-varusha 1294 saṁda varttamāna-Paridhāvi-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śu 2 Ā.⁴*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1294 expired = Paridhāvin the second *tithi* of the bright half of the month Chaitra commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday, the 7th March A.D. 1372**."—F. K.

16.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 302; at Tiruppullāṇi. Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1296.

17.—No. 28 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vīra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Ānanda-va[r*]sham Āḍi-māda[m] 10 [tēdi] Āshāḍa-bagula-chatu[r*]ddasi Śukravāramum perra n[āl].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the Karkāṭa-saṁkrānti took place 9 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday, the 28th June A.D. 1374**, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭa or Āḍi. The 10th day of the month of Āḍi therefore was **Friday, the 7th July A.D. 1374**; but the *tithi* which ended on this day, 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th (not the 14th) *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Āshāḍha. In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the number of the *tithi* has been wrongly quoted in the original date."—F. K.

18.—No. 185 of 1894; at Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam. Vīra-Kumāra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. *Ānanda-[va]rushattu Kaṇ[n]i-nāyarru a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu [da]śa[miyu]m [V]e[ḷ]i-kkīlāmaiym perra [Puṇar]pū[śa]ttu n[āl].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the 10th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Kanyā commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday, the 1st September A.D. 1374**, when

¹ Read -pakshattu.

² See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 138, No. 9.

³ Read -kkīlāmaiym.

⁴ I.e. *Āḍityarādaḷu*.

the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* and according to Garga during the whole day.— Since on Saturday, the 2nd September A.D. 1374, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 1 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** for 7 h. 13 m. or 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise, I have some doubts whether that day is not really the intended day, and whether therefore Friday has not been wrongly quoted in the original date instead of Saturday. Supposing the weekday to have been given correctly, I should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*.”— F. K.

From a Kanarese inscription at Penakoṇḍa (No. 339 of 1901), which was first noticed by Mr. Sewell,¹ we learn that **Vira-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru** (i.e. Bukka I.) had another son, named **Vira-Virupaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru** (I.), by his queen **Jommādēvi**. While Bukka I. was ruling the territory of the **Hoysala** kings at **Hosapaṭṭaṇa**, and while his son **Virupaṇṇa I.** was governing the province (*rājya*) of **Penugonḍe**, which had been entrusted to him by his father,²—the minister (*mahāpradhāna*) **Ananta[ra]sa-Oḍeyaru** built the fort of **Penugonḍe** in **Śaka-Saṁvat** 1276, the **Jaya-saṁvatsara**, on Tuesday, the 1st (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of **Chaitra**,³ i.e. on the 25th March A.D. 1354.

A copper-plate grant at **Narasīpura** mentions a third son of Bukka I., named **Mallinātha** or **Mallapp-Oḍeyaru**, whose son was **Nārāyaṇadēv-Oḍeyaru**.⁴ It is dated on Sunday, the 29th July A.D. 1397.⁵

The successor of **Bukka I.** on the throne of **Vijayanagara** was his son by **Gauri**,⁶ **Harihara II.**, whose name is given as **Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru** in Kanarese inscriptions (Nos. 3, 4, 6-8 of the following list). As will appear from Nos. 2, 5 and 9 of the same list, the **Tamiḷ** form of his name was **Hariyaṇa-** or **Ariyaṇa-Uḍaiyar**.

1.—No. 57 of 1900; at **Puttūr** near **Āraṇi**. **Harihara-Uḍaiya[r*]**. *Śakābdam* 1299 ṇ mēl śellāniṇṇa *Piṅgala-varuṣham Āḍi-mādam* [30] *tēdi Tiṅgaḷ-kiḷamai*.

“In **Śaka-Saṁvat** 1299 expired = **Piṅgala** the **Karkāṭa-saṁkrānti** took place 3 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 28th June A.D. 1377, which was the first day of the month of **Karkāṭa** or **Āḍi**. The 30th day of the month of **Āḍi** therefore was **Monday**, the 27th July A.D. 1377.”— F. K.

2.—Mr. **Venkayya** in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at **Tiruvannāmalai**. **Ariyaṇa-Uḍaiyar**. **Śaka** 1299, **Piṅgala**.

3.—No. 126 of 1901; at **Bārūkūr**. **Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru**. *Saṁvaruṣa* 1301 *nyo(ne)ya K[ā*]layukta-saṁvatsarada* [d]vitiya-Jy[ē*]shṭa-su 15 *Śukravāradalu* *sōmōparāga-puṁṇ[y]akāḷadalu*.

“**Śaka-Saṁvat** 1301 current = **Kālayukta** : **Friday**, the 11th June A.D. 1378 (the full-moon day of the second **Jyaishṭha**) ; a total eclipse of the moon from 12 h. 1 m. to 15 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India.”— F. K.

4.—No. 155 of 1901; at **Bārūkūr**. **Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru**, the son of **Vira-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru**. *Śaka-varuṣa* 130[1] *neya ma(va)rttamāna-Kālayuktākshi-saṁvachhsa(tsa)rada Mārggasira-su 1 Sōmavārad=amdu*.

¹ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 119.

² *Śrīman-mahāmāṇḍalēśvara ari-rāya-vibhāḍa bhāṣhege-tappura-rāyara-gaṇḍa Hindardga-suratrāṇa pūrva-pācchima-saṁudr-adhipati śrī-Vira-Bukkaṇṇa-Voḍeyaru Hoisa[-ānvaya-mahāpālara mādint-maṇḍalavarānu ni[ja]-bhūja-maṇḍanav-āgi pḍlisu[ta] Hosapaṭṭaṇadali sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rojyam geyyutta tanna paṭṭad-arasi Jomm[ā]dēviyara kūṁḍra śrī-Vira-Virupaṇṇa-Voḍeyarig[e] Penugōm[-dēya] rājyavarānu koṭṭu ā paṭṭaṇadali sukhadiṁ rājyava pālisutta*.

³ *Śaka-varuṣa* 1276 *neya Jaya-saṁvachhsa(tsa)rada Chaitra-su [1] Mām[galavāradalu*]*. Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that “in **Śaka-Saṁvat** 1276 expired = **Jaya** the first *tithi* of the bright half of **Chaitra** commenced 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th March A. D. 1354.”

⁴ Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, TN. 64.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 331, No. 10.

⁶ See above, Vol. III. p. 115 and note 12.

⁷ Read *Śaka-varuṣa*.

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 *current* = Kālayukta. The date is incorrect; it would correspond to Sunday, the 21st November A.D. 1378, when the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīra ended 21 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure for the *tithi* were 2, the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 22nd November A.D. 1378."—F. K.

5.—No. 32 of 1890; at Kāñchī. Vīra-Hariyapa-Uḍaiyar. Śakābdam 1300 *ṇ mēl sellāniṇṇa K[ā]layukta-varshattu Mārga[ī]-mā[sa]m 2 tēdi pūrbva(rva)-pakshattu sapta-[miyu]=Nāyarru-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa Śadayattu ṇāl.*

"This date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1300 expired = Kālayukta the Dhanuḥ-saṃkrānti took place 18 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November A.D. 1378. The second day of the month of Dhanuḥ or Mārgaśī therefore was Monday, the 29th November A.D. 1378, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatras* were Uttara-Bhādrapadā and Rēvatī. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 5 m., and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 12 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise of the 27th November A.D. 1378, but that day, as stated already, was a Saturday, and was the last day of the month of Vṛiścika (Kārttigai)."—F. K.

6.—No. 59 of 1901; at Kāntāvara. Vīra-Hariyapa-O[de]yaru. Sa(śa)ka-varuśa(sha) 1301 *nevi(ya) Siddhā(ddd)rtthi-saṃvatsarada 1 Vayisākha-su 1 Sōmavā[ra*]da[lu].*

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 expired = Siddhārthīn: Monday, the 18th April A.D. 1379; the first *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended 6 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

7.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 64; at Homma. Harihara II. or Vīra-Hariyapa-Oḍeyaru of Vijayānagara. Śaka-varuśa 1302 *neya Raudri-saṃvatsarada Śrāvaṇa-su 5 Ādirāradalu.*

"The date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1302 expired = Raudra the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa ended 14 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 7th July A.D. 1380."—F. K.

8.—No. 174 of 1901; at Bārūkūr. Vīra-Hariyapa-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-varuśa(sha) 1304 *Duṃḍubhi-saṃ[va]tsarada 1 Vayisākha-su 15 Sō.²*

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1304 expired = Duṃḍubhi: Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1382; the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha ended 9 h. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

9.—No. 31 of 1890; at Kāñchī. Hariyapa-Uḍaiyar. Śakābdam 1307 *mēl śe[l*]lān[ī]ṇa Krōdhana-varsham Āni-mādam [12 tēdi] amāvāsaiyum Guru[v]āram Mṛigaśīrshattu³ ṇāl.*

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1307 expired = Krōdhana the Mithuna-saṃkrānti took place 14 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th May A.D. 1385. The 12th day of the month of Mithuna or Āṇi therefore was Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1385; and on this day the new-moon *tithi* (of the month Jyāishtha) ended 9 h. 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

Harihara II. had three sons: Virūpāksha I., Bukka II. and Dēvarāya I. The first of them is known from the Ālampūṇḍi plate (No. 2 below) and from the *Nārāyaṇvīlāsa*⁴ and has to be identified with Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar (II.), the son of Hariyappa- or Hariyanna-Uḍaiyar (Nos. 1 and 3-5 below).⁵

1.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Vīra-Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1301.

2.—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 225; Ālampūṇḍi plate. Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. Śaka-Saṃvat 1305, Raktākshin.

¹ Read *Vaiśākha*.

² I. e. *Sōmavāradalu*.

³ Read *śīrshattu*.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v.

⁵ The *Kōyilōḷu* also mentions "Viruppanṇa-Uḍaiyār, the son of Harihararāyār;" see page 323 above.

3.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Vīra-Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śāka-Saṁvat 1310, Vibhava.

4.—No. 114 of 1897; at Kōliyaṇūr. Vi[ru]ppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śāka-Saṁvat 1 . . . , Vi[bha]va.

5.—No. 112 of 1900; at Śēngama. Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śākābdam 131[8] n mēṛ=che[llā*]nīṇṇa [Dh]ātu-saṁvatsarattu Mēsha-nāyarru pūruva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Tiruvādiraiyum perṇa Guruvāra-nāl.

“For Śāka-Saṁvat 1318 expired = Dhātu (Dhātṛi) the date regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 13th April A.D. 1396**, which was the 19th day of the month of Mēsha and when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 35 m., and the *nakshatra* was Ārdṛā, by the equal space system for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.”—F. K.

To the time of **Bukka II.**, the second son of Harihara II., belong the following six inscriptions.

1.—No. 41 of 1890; at Tirupparuttikkunṇu. Bukkarāja, the son of Arihararāja. Dundubhi-varsham Kāt[tig]ai-[m]āḍatt[i]l pūruva-pakshattu=Th[i]ṇṇaṭ-kiḷamaiyum paurṇamiyum perṇa Tā(ki)tt[i]gai-nāl.

“This date is irregular. For Śāka-Saṁvat 1304 expired = Dundubhi it would correspond to Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1382, with the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇi. It would be incorrect also for the lunar month Kārttika of the same year, and for the Śāka years 1303 and 1305 expired.”—F. K.

2.—No. 11 of 1900; at Kambayanallūr. Immaḍi-Bukkarāya (i.e. ‘Bukka the second’), the son of Hararāya (i.e. Harihara II.) and grandson of Bukkaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar (i.e. Bukka I.). Kshaya-varushattu Paṇṇuṇ[i]-mādam mudal t[i]yadi pūruva-pakshattu Uttirattād[i]yum perṇa nāl.

“This date also is irregular. For Śāka-Saṁvat 1308 expired = Kshaya the first day of the month of Paṇṇuṇi (or Mīna) would correspond to either the 24th or the 25th February A.D. 1387, but on the former of these two days (which both fell in the bright half) the *nakshatras* were Kṛittikā and Rōhiṇi (Nos. 3 and 4) and on the latter Rōhiṇi and Mṛigaśīrsha (Nos. 4 and 5), not Uttara-Bhadrpadā (No. 26).”—F. K.

3.—No. 12 of 1893; at Kāñchī. Vīra-Pratāpa-Bukkarāya-mah[ā]rā[ya]. Śākābdam 1328 n mēl sellā[n]īṇṇa Vēya-saṁvarsarattu Mēsha-nāyarru pūruva-pakshattu satta[m]iyum Sukkīrāvāramum perṇa Tiruvādirai-nāl.

“This date for Śāka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya clearly corresponds to **Friday, the 26th March A.D. 1406**, which was the day of the Mēsha-saṁkrānti (that took place 17 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise), and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was Ārdṛā, by the equal space system for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.”—F. K.

4.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 28; at Vaidyanāthapura. Bukkarāya, the son of Harihara-mahārāya. Śāka-varusha 132[8] neya Bya(vya)ya-saṁvatsarada Jēshtha-tu 5 Gu.²

“This date is irregular. For Śāka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1406, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishtha ended 13 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise.”—F. K.

5.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 55; at Vēppambattu. Vīra-Pratāpa-Bukkamahārāya. Śākābdam 132[8] n mēl sellānīṇṇa Pārttīva-saṁvatsarattukku=chchellum Vīya-saṁvatsarattu Jēshtha-bahula-amāvāsyaikum Vīyāla-kkīlamaiyum perṇa nāl.³

¹ Accordingly, the date was the last day of the month of Mīna of the solar Śāka year 1327 expired.

² I.e. *Guruvāradalu*.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 203, note 50.

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṃvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Wednesday, the 16th June A.D. 1406, when the new-moon *tithi* of Jyāishṭha ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise." —F. K.

6.—No. 41 of 1901; at Mūdabidure. Vira-Bukkarāya, the son of Harihararāya. Śaka-varsha 13[2]9 *neya Vyaya-saṃvatsarada Bhādrapada-sudhādhā(ddha)* 10 *Budhavāradoḷu*.

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṃvat 1329 *current* = Vyaya it would correspond to Tuesday, the 24th August A.D. 1406, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Bhādrapada ended 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure of the *tithi* were 11, the date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 25th August A.D. 1406." —F. K.

From manuscripts and coins¹ we know a son of Bukka II. by Tipp[ā]mbā, named Vira-Bhūpati, to whom we have to assign two inscriptions of Vira-Bhūpati-Uḍaiyar, which are noticed by Mr. Venkayya, *viz.* one of Śaka-Saṃvat 1331 at Śrīraṅgam,² and one of Śaka-Saṃvat 1336, the Manmatha year, at Tiruppandurutti.³

TEXT.⁴

- 1 सस्ति श्रीः । बन्धुप्रिये शक्रादे । आनीयानीलशृंगद्युतिरचितजगद्र[ञ्ज]ना-
दक्षनाद्रेष्टे[ञ्चा]माराद्ध कञ्चित् समयमथ निहृत्योद्धनुष्कांस्तुलुष्कान् [1]
लक्ष्मीस्त्राभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनगरे स्था[प]यन्
- 2 रंगनाथं सम्यग्व्या⁵ स[प]र्याम् पुनरकृत [य]शोदर्पणो गोप्यणार्थः ॥ [१*]
विश्वेशं रंगराजं वृषभगिरितटात्⁶ गो[प]णः (1) चो[णि]देवो नीत्वा स्वां
राजधानीन्निजबलनिहतोत्सिक्ततौलुष्कसैन्यः [1] कृत्वा
- 3 [श्री]रंग[भू]मिम⁷ [कृत]युग[सहितान्त]न्तु ल[क्ष्मी]महीभ्यां संस्थाप्यास्यां सरो-
जोत्भव⁸ इव कुरुते साधु च[र्य]ि सपर्याम् ॥ [२*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Śaka year (*expressed by the chronogram*) bandhupriya (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1293).

(Verse 1.) Having brought (*the god*) from the Añjanādri (*mountain*), the splendour of whose darkish peaks gives delight to the world, having worshipped (*him*) at Cheñchi for some time, then having slain the Tulushkas whose bows were raised,—Goppaṇārya, the mirror of fame, placing Raṅganātha together with both Lakshmi and the Earth in his own town,⁹ again duly performed excellent worship.

(V. 2) Having carried Raṅgarāja, the lord of the world, from the slope of the Vṛishabhagiri (*mountain*) to his capital,¹⁰ having slain by his army the proud Taulushka soldiers, having made the site of Śrīraṅga united with the golden age (*Kṛitayuga*), and having placed there this (*god*) together with Lakshmi and the Earth,—the Brāhmaṇa¹¹ Gōpaṇa duly performs, like the lotus-born (Brahmā), the worship which has to be practised.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 318, No. 6.

² *The same* of August 1890.

³ Read °रव्यां.

⁴ Read °जोडव.

⁵ *Kṛitayuga*. Compare p. 324 above.

⁶ Read °तटाद्.

⁷ *I.e.* in Śrīraṅgam.

⁸ *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892.

⁹ From an inked estampage prepared in 1892.

¹⁰ Read °भूमिं.

¹¹ *I.e.* to Cheñchi; see verse 1.

No. 34.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIDUGADALAGIYA-PERUMAL.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

A.—INSCRIPTION AT TIRUMALAI NEAR POLUR.

The first volume of my *South-Indian Inscriptions* contains some records, the full bearing of which could not be made out at the time of their publication through want of experience and in the absence of copies of cognate inscriptions. Several of them have been already republished in this journal.¹ I now re-edit another, which was imperfectly read and rendered before,² from a fresh inked estampage.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the outer wall of the doorway which leads to the painted cave at Tirumalai near Pôlûr in the North Arcot district. It is somewhat worn and not very easy to read. The alphabet is **Tamiḻ** and **Grantha**. The inscription consists of three portions:—a sentence in Tamiḻ prose, a Sanskrit verse in the Śārdûla metre, and a Tamiḻ verse. Each of these three passages records in different words the same fact, *viz.* the restoration of the images of a Yaksha and a Yakshî, which were set up on the Tirumalai hill. In this connection the names of three kings are mentioned:—(1) Eḷiṇi (ll. 1 and 7) or **Yavanikâ**³ (l. 4); (2) **Râjarâja** (l. 6) or **Vagaṇ**⁴ (l. 9); and (3) **Viḍugâdalagiya-Perumâl** (l. 10) or **Vyâmukta-śravaṇôjjvala**⁵ (l. 6). Eḷiṇi is stated to have belonged to the family of the kings of Chêra (l. 1) or **Kêraḷa** (l. 3), *i.e.* Malabar, or of **Vaṇji** (l. 7), the traditional capital of the Chêra kingdom, which is perhaps identical with the modern village of Chêramân-Perumâl-Kôyilûr near Tiruvaṇjikulam in the Cochin State.⁶ Both Eḷiṇi and Râjarâja receive the title Adigaimân (l. 1), Adhikanripa (l. 5 f.) or Adigaṇ⁷ (l. 9), *i.e.* 'the lord of Adigai,' the modern Tiruvadi near Cuddalore.⁸ The third king is called the lord of **Takaṭâ** (l. 6) or **Tagaḍai** (l. 10). As noted by Mr. Venkayya, this place is mentioned in the Tamiḻ poem *Puranânûru* as **Tagaḍûr**, and Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified it with **Dharmapuri**, the head-quarters of a tâluka in the Salem district.⁹ This statement is corroborated by two Chôḷa inscriptions (Nos. 307 and 308 of 1901) in the Mallikârkjuna temple at Dharmapuri, according to which Tagaḍûr, the modern Dharmapuri, was the chief town of Tagaḍûr-nâḍu, a subdivision of the Gaṅga country (*Gaṅga-nâḍu*), a district of Nigarili-Śôḷa-maṇḍalam.¹⁰ Viḍugâdalagiya-Perumâl was the son of Vagaṇ (l. 9) or Râjarâja (l. 6), who seems to have been a remote descendant (ll. 5 and 9) of Eḷiṇi. Both he and his ancestor Eḷiṇi must have been adherents of the **Jaina** religion, because

¹ Above, Vol. IV. Nos. 9, 22 and 52, and Vol. V. No. 13, A.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 75.

³ *Yavanikâ* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamiḻ *elini*, 'a curtain.'

⁴ According to the dictionaries, the Tamiḻ Vagaṇ and the Sanskrit Baka are names of Kubêra, who is also called Râjarâja.

⁵ The Tamiḻ words *cidu*, *kâdu* and *aḷagiya* correspond to the Sanskrit *mûch*, *śravaṇa* and *ujjvala*. The word looks like a nickname. Perhaps the king had protruding ears.

⁶ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 31, and my *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 4.

⁷ For references to Adigaṇ, Adigaimân and Eḷiṇi in Tamiḻ literature see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 66 and 143. Adiyama, who was a feudatory of the Chôḷa king and was defeated by Gaṅgarâja, a general of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. Index), may have been one of the chiefs of Adigai.

⁸ The *Kalingattu-Parani* (x. verse 68 f.) mentions 'the great city of Adigai,' which Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified with Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore tâluka of the South Arcot district; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 339 f. In the time of the Vijayanagara kingdom this town was the head-quarters of the province (*râjya*) of Tiruvadi; *ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 153. This province is distinct from Tiruvaḍi-râjya (with the lingual ḍ), which was situated in the Tinnevely district; above, Vol. III. p. 240, and Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 28.

⁹ See the two pages of the *Ind. Ant.* quoted in note 7 above.

¹⁰ There is another village named Tagaḍûru in the Nâñjanagûḍu tâluka of the Mysore district, which was included in Hiriyânâḍu; Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117 and 118.

they made grants at **Tirumalai**, which is referred to in the subjoined inscription as 'the holy mountain of **Enguṇaviṇai**' (l. 8) and 'the holy mountain of the Arhat in the **Tuṇḍira-maṇḍala**'¹ (l. 4 f.).

TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śēra-vaṇṣattu³ Adigaimā[ṇ] Eḷiṇi śeyda dha[r]mma-
 2 Yaksha[r]aiyum Yakshiyāraiyum eḷund-a[ru*]ḷuvittu eṇimaṇiyum i-
 3 tṭu=Kkaḍappēri-kkā[lu]ṇ=gaṇḍu kuḍutt[ā]ṇ || *Śrīmat-Kēraḷa-bhūbhṛi-
 4 tā Yavanikā-nāmnā su-dha[r]mm-ātmanā Tuṇḍir-āhvaya-maṇḍal-Ā[r]ha-su-⁵
 5 girau Yakshēśvarau kalpitau [i*] paśchāt-tat-kula-bhūṣaṇ-Ādhika-
 6 nṛipa-śrī-Rājarāja-ātmaja-Vyāmuktaśravaṇō[j*]jvalē[na Takatā-nā]thēna jīrṇ-ō-
 7 [d]dhṛitau || Vaṇḍ[i]yār⁶ kula-pa[ti]y=[E]ḷiṇ[i] vaguttav=Iyakkar=Iyakk[i]yārō-
 8 d=e[ṇ]jiyav-aḷivu 7tiruttīy=av-Enguṇaviṇai-tiru-malai vai[t]āṇ=ṇu-
 9 ṇi taṇ [va]ḷi [va]rumavaṇ vaḷi-mudali kali Adigaṇ Vagaṇ nūl v[i]ṇḷaiyar
 10 [ta]ḷai puṇai Tagaḍaiyar kāvalaṇ Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-[P]erumāḷēy [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! He⁸ set up (*again*) (*the images of*) a Yaksha and a Yakshi,—meritorious gifts (*formerly*) made by Eḷiṇi, an Adigaimāṇ of the Chēra family,—presented a gong, and granted a channel (*which he*) had constructed to (*or from*?) the Kkaḍappēri (*tank*).⁹

(L. 3.) (*The images of*) two lords of the Yakshas, which had been set up by the glorious (*and*) very pious-minded Kēraḷa king named Yavanikā on the holy mountain of the Arhat in the province (*maṇḍala*) called Tuṇḍira, were later on saved from ruin by Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjvala, the lord of Takatā (*and*) the son of the glorious Rājarāja—an Adhika prince (*who was*) the ornament of his (Yavanikā's) race.

(L. 7.) The ruins which remained (*of the images*) of a Yaksha together with a Yakshī, that had been set up by Eḷiṇi, the chief of the family (*ruling over*) the Vaṇḍiyar,¹⁰ were repaired and placed (*on*) this holy mountain of the god who possesses the eight qualities¹¹ by Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl, the protector of the Tagaḍaiyar,¹² the ornament of the heads of those learned in the sciences, (*and the son of*)¹³ the brave Adigaṇ Vagaṇ—the foremost on the (*right*) path, who came from his (Eḷiṇi's) family after (*the latter*) had died.

B.—INSCRIPTION AT KAMBAYANALLUR.

This inscription (No. 8 of 1900) is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Dēśināthēśvara temple at **Kambayanallūr** in the Ūttaṅgarai tāluca of the Salem district. The alphabet and language are **Tamiḷ**.

The inscription consists of a **Tamiḷ** verse, which opens with the date—the 22nd year (in words) of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva**. A short prose passage which is prefixed to the verse gives the same date in figures. This is another record of **Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl**, the

¹ This is a Sanskritised form of **Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam**.

² From an inked estampage.

³ Read -vaṇṣattu.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 76 contains another copy of the same verse.

⁵ For the sake of the metre *Arha* is used instead of *Arhat*.

⁶ In this verse *Vaṇḍiyar* rhymes with *d=ēṇḷiya*, *=ruṇḷi* and *viṇḷaiyar*.

⁷ Read *tiruttīy=ivv*.

⁸ The subject is Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāl (l. 10).

⁹ The same tank is mentioned in another Tirumalai inscription; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 77.

¹⁰ I. e. 'the citizens of Vaṇḍi.'

¹¹ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 107, note 1.

¹² I. e. 'the citizens of Tagadai.'

¹³ The words in brackets can be supplied with certainty on the strength of the Sanskrit portion (l. 6) and in accordance with the Tamiḷ habit of omitting the word 'son' between the names of the father and the son.

king of Tagadai and (son of) Rājarāja-Adigaṇ. He is said to have ruled over the three rivers Pāli, Pennai and Poṇṇi. The inscription records that he granted a place named Śiruk-kōṭṭai on the bank of the Pennai river to Nāgai-Nāyaka of Kuḷaṇ, and that he built a temple.

The Pāli must be identical with the Pālāru river; the Pennai is the Southern Pennāru; and the Poṇṇi is the Kāvēri. It may be assumed that the Pālāru formed the northern boundary of the king's territories and the Kāvēri the western one, while the Southern Pennāru passes not far north-east from his capital Tagadūr, the modern Dharmapuri.¹ Kuḷaṇ, where the donee came from, is another form of Kuḷam or Kuḷaṇūr, the modern Ellore.² He may have been related to the Nāyakas of Ellore, who are mentioned in inscriptions of the Telugu country.³ His name, Nāgai-Nāyaka, is perhaps connected with Nāgaiyappaḷi, an ancient name of Kambayanallūr, which occurs in two inscriptions of the Hoysala king Vira-Viśvanāthadēva (Nos. 9 and 10 of 1900).

The donor is mentioned in two inscriptions at Śēngama in the Tiruvannāmalai tāluka of the South Arcot district,— in the first of them (No. 115 of 1900), which is dated in the 20th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, as “the born Perumāl, alias the son of Rājarāja-Adigaṇ,”⁴ and in the second (No. 107 of 1900), the beginning of which is lost, but which quotes the twenty-first (year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva?), as “Rājarājadēva⁵ Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl, alias the son of Rājarāja-Adigaṇ.”⁶ In both inscriptions he is stated to have been a contemporary of Śēngēṇi Ammaiappaṇ Attimallaṇ,⁷ alias Vikrama-Chōla-Śambuvarāyaṇ, a chief who seems to have been a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.⁸ Besides, No. 107 of 1900 mentions as his contemporary a certain Śeyyagaṅgar, who is probably identical with Śiyagaṅgaṇ, a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.⁹ Consequently, the king during whose reign the subjoined inscription of Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl is dated must be Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III., who ascended the throne in A.D. 1178,¹⁰ and the date of the inscription, the 22nd year, corresponds to A.D. 1199-1200.

TEXT.¹¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] T[i]ribuva[na]chchakkaravattiga[1] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṛku yāṇḍu 22 āvadu ௨ Urai¹² maru[vu]ḍ=Gulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṛk-uraitta yāṇḍ-irubadiṇ mēl=iraṇḍir-Pennai-kkarai maruvu[ū]=Jirukkōṭṭai Ku[ḷa]ṇ Nā[gai]-Nāyagaṛk-aḷittu-kkaṇ-ṛaḷi taṇ pēr=i-
- 2 tṭa kār-aṇaiya-kaiyā[ṇ] tirai-maruvun-dadaṇ-gamala-Ttagadai maṇṇaṇ śeḷum Pāli [P]ennai Poṇṇi-ttiru-nadi mūṇṇ-udaiya virai-maruvun-dār-mārvaṇ Rāja-r[ā]ja[v-A]digaṇ vilāṅgā-moḷi Viḍugādalagiya-Perumālēy ||¹³ ௨

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēva.

¹ See page 331 above.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 308.

³ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 172 and note 2.

⁴ *Piranda Perumāl=āna Irōjardja-[A]tiga-maganār.*

⁵ This portion of the title has to be taken as the name of a Chōla king to whom Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl or his ancestors had been tributary. Compare the similar name “Kulōttuṅga-Chōla-Takatādhiraḷa, alias Māra-simhadēva,” in an inscription at Rāyakōṭa in the Krishnagiri tāluka of the Salem district (No. 3 of 1900).

⁶ The original reads *Irōja[r]dja-A[d]igaimān*, which I correct to *Irōjardja-Adiga-magaṇ* in accordance with No. 115 of 1900; see note 4 above.

⁷ Instead of *Attimallaṇ* (i.e. Hastimalla) two other inscriptions (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 132, and Vol. III. No. 61) have the title *Kaṇṇuḍaipperumān*.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 121.

⁹ *Ibid.* page 122.

¹⁰ See Professor Kielhorn's Table on p. 24 above.

¹¹ From an inked estampage.

¹² In this Tamil verse *urai maruvu* rhymes with *karai maruvu*, *tirai-maruvu* and *virai-maruvu*.

¹³ In the original this sign of punctuation is represented by a *visarga*.

In the year called two after twenty of the eminent **Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēva**,—**Viḍugādaḷagiya-Perumāl**, who never breaks his word, (*who is the son of*)¹ **Rājarāja-Adigaṇ**, whose chest wears a fragrant garland, the lord of three sacred rivers, (*viz.*) the **Pāli** (*whose banks are*) fertile, the **Pennai** (*and*) the **Ponni**, the king of **Tagadai** where large lotus-flowers are surrounded by the ripples (*of tanks*), he whose hand resembles a cloud (*in showering gifts*), granted (*the village of*) **Śirukkōttai** on the bank of the **Pennai** (*river*) to **Nā[gai]-Nāyaka** of **Ku[la]ṇ** and gave his own name (*to*) a stone temple.

No. 35.—TEKI PLATES OF RAJARAJA-CHODAGANGA ;

DATED IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR (OF KULOTTUNGA I.).

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

These copper plates were sent to me through the Government of Madras by the Collector of Gōdāvari, who in his letter of 30th April 1901 states that they were “found about two months ago by one Kodi Dosigadu of **Tēki**² in the Rāmachandrapuram tāluka, while working in his field.”

The plates are five in number and measure about 11½” in breadth and about 6” in height. The first and last plates bear writing only on the inner side, and the three middle ones on both sides. The edges of the inscribed sides are raised into rims for the protection of the writing, which is in a state of very good preservation. On the left of each inscribed side is bored a circular hole, through which passes a copper ring measuring about 6” in diameter and about ½” in thickness. The ring had not yet been cut when I received the plates. Its ends are secured in the base of a four-petalled flower, which is surmounted by a circular seal measuring 4” in diameter. This seal bears the following emblems in high relief on a countersunk surface :—across the centre the legend *śrī-Tribhuvanāṁkuśa* ; at the top a boar, standing, facing the proper left, flanked by two *chauris*, and surmounted by a crescent, an elephant-goad and the sun ; and at the bottom a conch, a drum, a four-petalled flower, a flower-bud and a throne.

The alphabet is Telugu and the language Sanskrit verse and prose. The Telugu letters *r* and *l* occur in a number of Telugu names which are quoted in l. 90 f. Of graphical peculiarities I would note that in *yū* (ll. 54 and 90) and *mū* (l. 95) the vowel *ū* is represented by the marks for *u* and *ā*.

The inscription opens with the same genealogical account of the **Eastern Chālukya** family as the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates of **Vira-Chōḍa**,³ but begins to differ in the description of the reign of **Kulōttuṅga I.** It does not mention his queen **Madhurāntakī**, but states that he had several queens (v. 11), who bore him several sons⁴ (v. 12). On one of these, **Mummaḍi-Chōḍa**,—whose name is given as **Rājarāja** in the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates,—he conferred the governorship of **Vēṅgi** after the death of his own paternal uncle **Vijayāditya (VII.)** (vv. 13-16). One year later (v. 17) he bestowed the same appointment on **Mummaḍi-Chōḍa**’s younger brother, **Vira-Chōḍa** (v. 18), who held it for six years (v. 19), when he was recalled (v. 20). Then the eldest son, **Chōḍaganga**, surnamed **Rājarāja** (vv. 21-26), ascended the throne of **Vēṅgi** (v. 33) in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1006** (in numerical words), on Thursday, the full-moon *tithi* of **Jyaishṭha**, in the *nakshatra* **Jyēshṭhā** and in the *lagna* **Simha** (v. 34). This date

¹ The words in brackets are supplied on the strength of the Sanskrit portion of the Tirumalai inscription (A. above).

² No. 122 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Rāmachandrapuram tāluka of the Gōdāvari district.

³ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39, and above, Vol. V. No. 10, respectively.

⁴ According to v. 13 of the Chellūr plates and v. 12 of the Piṭhāpuram plates **Kulōttuṅga I.** had seven sons by **Madhurāntakī**.

probably corresponds to the 22nd May A.D. 1084. At the end of the inscription (l. 108) another date is given, *viz.* the seventeenth year of the reign.

The above statements involve a few important changes in the pedigree and the chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas. As regards the former, the order of the sons of Kulōttuṅga I. in my Table of this dynasty¹ has to be altered; for the Teki plates inform us that the eldest son was not, as I thought, Vikrama-Chōḍa, Kulōttuṅga's successor on the Chōla throne, but Chōḍagaṅga. As the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates (v. 19) state that Vira-Chōḍa had only two elder brothers, it is now clear that these were Chōḍagaṅga and Mummaḍi-Chōḍa, and that Vikrama-Chōḍa was a younger brother of Vira-Chōḍa. Secondly, the dates at the end of the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates, *viz.* the twenty-first and twenty-third years of the reign, respectively, cannot be referred, as was done hitherto, to the reign of Vira-Chōḍa. For, taking the date at the end of the Teki plates in the same manner as the seventeenth year of Chōḍagaṅga, it would correspond to A.D. 1084 + 16-17 = 1100-01, while the Chellūr plates would fall in A.D. 1078 + 20-21 = 1098-99, and Vira-Chōḍa would thus have issued an edict during the governorship of his brother Chōḍagaṅga. The only way in which the dates of the three inscriptions can be reconciled is to refer them to the accession of Kulōttuṅga I. in A.D. 1070. They would then fall in A.D. 1088-89, 1090-91 and 1092-93. The two last dates would imply that Vira-Chōḍa administrated the Vēṅgī province a second time in succession of Chōḍagaṅga. That this was actually the case is explicitly stated in his Piṭhāpuram plates. We are there told that Vira-Chōḍa was recalled by Kulōttuṅga I. (v. 25), but sent to Vēṅgī again in the fifth year (v. 26). The occasion when he was recalled was evidently the appointment of Chōḍagaṅga in A.D. 1084, and "the fifth year" must mean the fifth year after Vira-Chōḍa's recall, *i.e.* A.D. 1088-89. This explanation is in perfect accordance with the fact that the Teki plates are dated two years earlier, *viz.* in the seventeenth year of Kulōttuṅga I. = A.D. 1086-87. The fact that the Chellūr plates are silent regarding the intervening governorship of Chōḍagaṅga, and that the Piṭhāpuram plates allude to it without mentioning his name, suggests that he had discredited himself with his father and had been on bad terms with his brother Vira-Chōḍa. The subjoined Table shows the relationship and the dates of the three successive governors of Vēṅgī.

Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I. ; married Madhurāntakī.			
Rājarāja <i>alias</i> Chōḍagaṅga ; A.D. 1084 to 1088-89.	Rājarāja <i>alias</i> Mummaḍi-Chōḍa ; A.D. 1077 to 1078.	Vira-Chōḍa ; A.D. 1078 to 1084 and 1088-89 to at least 1092-93.	Vikrama-Chōḍa. <i>Three other sons.</i>

Chōḍagaṅgadēva (l. 80), surnamed Rājarāja (l. 78), bore the traditional titles **Sarvalō-kāśraya**, **Vishṇuvardhana**, *etc.* (ll. 76-78), and (like his younger brother Vira-Chōḍa) resided at **Jananāthanagari** (l. 81), which Mr. Krishna Sastri proposes to identify with the modern **Rājamahēndri**.² He addresses the edict contained in this inscription to the inhabitants of the country between the **Mannēru** (river) and the **Mahēndra** (mountain) (l. 83). These must have been the northern and southern boundaries of the Vēṅgī province. The Mahēndra mountain is in the Gañjām district near the Mandasa Railway Station, and the Mannēru river passes Singa-rāyakonda, now a Railway Station in the Kandukūr taluka of the Nellore district. The king's edict does not, as usual, refer to a grant of land; it confers certain honorary privileges on the

descendants of the **Teliki** family (l. 92). These were subdivided into a thousand families, ten of which are mentioned by name (l. 90 f.), and were hereditary servants of the **Eastern Châlukya** family (v. 38 f.). They were believed to have immigrated with the mythical king **Vijayāditya** of **Ayôdhyā**¹ (v. 40) and to have settled at **Vijayavâtâ**² (the modern **Bezvâda**), which seems to have been the former capital of the Eastern Châlukyas (v. 41).

The Bhâvanârâyaṇa temple at **Bâpaṭla** bears two inscriptions (Nos. 189 and 192 of 1897), dated in **Śaka-Saṃvat 1076** and recording gifts by two merchants who were members of the **Teliki** thousand (*Teliki-vêvuru*). The first of these merchants belonged to the subdivision (*gôtra*) of the **Musunûllu**, and the second to that of the **Velandunûllu**, who are perhaps identical with the **Velumanûllu** of the Têki plates (l. 90). I subjoin the beginning of the second inscription; that of the first is identical with it. It will be seen from the following transcript that this caste claims to have ruled over the towns of **Ayôdhyâ** and **Bejavâla**, with both of which it is associated also in the Têki plates (v. 40 f.).

Svasti [||*] Y[a]ma-niyama-[dharma]-pâ(pa)râ[ya*]ṇa-[B]rahma-sambhba(bha)va-Manu-
varṣa-[â]di-śa(sa)kala-[śâstra]-viśâradulm **Ganakâpuray-Ayôdhyâpura-Ga[ja]pur-âdhi-**
nâyakulu[m] satya-śauch-âbhimânulu [g]uru-dêva-pâd-ârâdhakulu Paulasti-bhagavati-sthâna-
pra[t]ishṭi(shṭi)tulu si(sa)hasra-śâkh-ânvaya-gôtrul=aîna śrîma[d*]-**Bejavâla-sâ(śâ)sanul=**
aîna **Teliki-vêvurayamdu Velamundûlla** gôtrumḍ=aîna Sûri[se]ṭṭi, etc.

The composer and the writer of the Têki plates (l. 108 f.) were the same persons as in the case of the Chellûr plates (l. 114) and the Piṭhâpuram plates (l. 280) of **Vira-Chôḍa**.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीमा[न्]⁴ जगन्नयमिदं हरिरादिदेव[:*] सष्टु⁵ विरिचिमसृजन्नजनाभि-
पद्मात् [।*] तस्मादभूत् किल महामुनिरत्रिरस्मा-
- 2 चूडामणिः पुररिपोरुदितस्सुधांशुः⁶ [॥ १*] तस्मादब्रुधः⁷ ततश्चक्रवर्त्ती
पुरुषवा(:)स्तस्मादायुस्ततो नहु[ष]: ततो ययातिः त-
- 3 [त]: पूरुः ततो जनमेजयः ततः प्राचीशः ततस्सैन्ययातिः ततो ह्य-
पतिः ततस्सार्वभौमः ततो जयसेन[स्ततो] महाभौ-
- 4 मः तस्मादैशानकः ततः क्रोधाननः ततो देवकिः तस्मादृभुकः तस्मादृ-
क्षकः ततो मतिवरः ततः कात्यायनः ततो नीलः [त]तो
- 5 दुष्यंतः ततो भरतस्ततो भूमन्युस्ततो हस्ती ततो विरोचनः तस्मादज-
मीलस्तत(त)स्संवरेणस्तस्सुधन्वा ततः परिचित् ततो
- 6 भीमसेनः ततः प्रदीपनः ततश्शंतनुः ततो विचित्रवीर्यः ततः⁸ पाण्डुराजः
ततः पाण्डवाः तेषु वंशकरादर्जुनादभिमन्युः⁹

¹ Compare l. 8 of this inscription, and the translation in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 58.

² In l. 93 the same town is mentioned as **Vijayavâtâ**.

³ From the original copper plates.

⁴ This word is preceded by a symbol, for which see the accompanying Plate; read श्रीमाञ्जगचय°.

⁵ Read सष्टु विरिचि°.

⁶ In the letter सु the vowel-sign u is attached to either s.

⁷ The rules of *sandhi* are not always observed in the following prose passage up to तस्मादब्रुधः (l. 7).

⁸ The two *visargas* before पाण्डुराजः and पाण्डवाः have been entered subsequently.

⁹ Read °दर्जुना°.

- 7 ततः परिचित् ततो जनमेजयः ततः चेमुकः ततो नरवाहनस्ततश्च-
तानीकः तस्मादुदयनः [१*] ततः प्रभृत्यविच्छिन्न[सं]ता[ने]-
- 8 ष्वयोध्यासिंहास[न]ासी[ने]ष्वेकान्नष्टचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तदंश्यो विजयादित्यो
नाम राजा विजिगीषया दक्षिणापथं गत्वा
- 9 त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिक्षिप्य देवदुरीहया लोकांतरमगमत् [१*] तस्मिन्
संकुले पुरोहितेन वृद्धामात्यैश्च
- 10 सार्द्धमंतर्व्वद्धी तस्य महादेवी ¹मुडिवेम[न]ामाग्रहारमुपगम्य तद्व[१]स्तव्येन
विष्णुभट्टसीमयाजिना दुहि-
- 11 तृनिर्व्विशेषमभिरक्षिता ²विष्णुवर्द्धनं नंदनमसूत [१*] सा च तस्य
कुमारकस्य कुलक्रमोचितानि कर्म[१]णि कारयित्वा
- 12 तमवर्द्धयस[त्]³ च मात्रा विदितवृत्तांतो निर्गत्य चलुक्यगिरौ नंदाभगवतीं
गौरीमाराज्यं कुमारनारायणमातृगण[१]श्च सं-
- 13 तर्प्यं श्वेतातपत्रैकशंखपंचमहाशब्दादीनि कु[ल]क्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानीव
साम्राज्यचिह्नानि समादाय कडंबगंगादिभूमि-
- 14 पार्त्विज्जित्य ⁴[से]तुनर्मदामध्यं दक्षिणा[प]थं पालयामास [१*] तस्यासी-
द्विजयादित्यो विष्णुवर्द्धनचूपतेः⁵ [१*] पल्लवान्वयज[१]ताया
- 15 म[ह]ादेव्याश्च नंदनं⁶ [॥ २*] तत्सुतः पुलकेशिवल्लभः [१*] तत्पुत्रः
कीर्त्तिवन्मा⁷ [१*] [त]स्य तनयः श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्य-
- 16 सगोत्रोणां⁸ हारीतिपुत्रोणां⁹ कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानामश्वमेधाव[भ]-
थ[स्त्र]ानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां¹⁰ कुलम-
- 17 (लम)लंकरिणींस्तथाश्रयवल्लभेन्द्रस्य¹¹ भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि
वेंगीदेशमपालयत् [१*] तत्सुतो जयसिंह[व]-¹²
- 18 ल्लभ[१*]स्तयस्त्रिंशतम् [१*] [त]दनुज इन्द्रभट्टारकस्तप्त दिनानि [१*] तत्सुतो
वि[ष्णु]वर्द्धनो नव वर्षाणि [१*] तत्सुनुर्मर्गियवराजः पंचविंशतिं¹³ [१*]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 19 तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश [१*] तद्वरजः कीकिलिष्यत्सासान् [१*]
तस्य भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्च[१]त्य सप्तत्रिंशतं [१*] तत्पुत्रो

¹ The four other published inscriptions which contain this passage read मुडिवेमु°.

² Read विष्णु°.

³ Read °यत् । स च.

⁴ Read °पार्त्विज्जित्य.

⁵ Read °भूपतेः.

⁶ Read नंदनः.

⁷ Read °वन्मा.

⁸ Read °सगोत्राणां.

⁹ Read °पुत्राणां.

¹⁰ Read °नां.

¹¹ Cancel the *anusvāra* after णी.

¹² The व at the end of this line and the ल्ल at the beginning of the next were added subsequently.

¹³ The *anusvāra* of ति is repeated at the beginning of the next plate.

- 20 विजयादित्योष्टादश [1*] तत्तनयो ¹विष्णु[व]र्द्धन[व्य]ष्टविंशतम् [1*]
तत्सुतो नरेन्द्रमृगराजोष्टाचत्वारिंशतं² [1*] तत्सुतः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनो-
- 21 ध्यर्द्धवर्ष [1*] तत्सुतो गुणगविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंश[श*]तम्³ [1*] तद्भ्रा-
तुर्विक्रमादित्यस्य तनयश्चालुक्यभीमस्त्रिंशतं [1*] तत्सुतः को-
- 22 ल्ल[वि]गण्डविजयादित्यव्यगमासान् [1*] तत्सुतोम्मराजस्त्रस [1*] तत्तनय
बालमुच्चाय्य ताडपो मासमेकं [1*] तं जित्वा विक्रमादित्य [ए]कादश
- 23 मासान् [1*] ततस्ताडपराजसुतो युद्धमल्लस्त्रस [1*] तमु[च]ाव्य देशादम्भ-
राजानुजो राजभीमो [इ]ादश [1*] तत्सूनुरम्भराजः पंचविंशतिं [1*]
तस्य
- 24 द्वैमातुरो दाननृपस्त्रीणि [1*] ततस्त्रसविंशतिवर्षाणि⁴ देवदुरीहया
वेंगोमहिरनायिका[भू]त् [1*] ततो ⁵दानार्नवसुतश्शक्ति-
- 25 वर्मनृपो द्वादश ॥ ततस्तदनुजस्त्रस वत्सरान् भूतवत्सलः [1*] विमला-
दित्यभूपालः पालयामास मेदि[नी] । [३*] तत्तनयो न-
- 26 यशाली जयलक्ष्मीधाम ⁶राजराजनरेन्द्रश्चत्वारिंशतमब्दा(न्)नेकं च पुनर्मही-
मपालयदखिलां । [४*] यो रूपेण म[नोभ]-
- 27 वं विशदया कात्य[र]⁷ कलाना[न्निधिं] भोगेनापि पुरंदरं विपुलया⁸
लक्ष्म्या च लक्ष्मीधरं [1*] भीमं भीमपराक्रमेण विहसन्
- 28 भाति स्म भास्वद्यशः[१*] श्रीमत्सोमकुलैकभूषणम[णि]र्द्दीनैकचिंतामणिः ।
[५*] राजाभावनुरूपरूपविभवाममंगना-
- 29 म्ना भुवि प्रस्थातामुपयच्छति स्म विधिवद्देवीं जगत्पावनीं [1*] या
जङ्गोरिव ज[र]ङ्गवी हिमवतो गौरीव लक्ष्मीरिव क्षी-
- 30 रीदार्द्विवसेशवंशतिलकाद्राजेंद्रचोडादभूत् । [६*] पुत्रस्तयोरभवदप्रति[घा]त-
शक्तिं⁹ निशेषितारिनिवहो महनीयकीर्तिः [1*]
- 31 गंगाधराद्रिसुतयोरिव कार्त्तिकेयो राजेंद्र[चो]ड इति राजकुलप्रदीपः ।
[७*] भासामुन्नतिहेतुं प्रथमं⁹ वेंगोश्वरत्वम-
- 32 ध्यास्य [1*] यस्तेजसा दिगंतानाक्रमत सहस्रभानुरुदयमिव । [८*]
उद्यच्चण्डतरप्रतापदहनप्लुष्टाखिलद्वेषिणा सर्वान् के-
- 33 रलपा[ण्ड्य]कुंतलमुखान्निर्जित्य देशान् बलादान्न[र]¹⁰ मौलिषु भूमृतां
भयरुजा चित्तेषु दुर्मे[ध]सां प्रीतिस्सत्सु [दि]शा[सु]

¹ The u of णु is expressed twice.

² The त्वा is entered below the line.

³ Read °नरेन्द्रः । चला ।

⁴ The syllables पु and या are written on erasures.

⁵ Read प्रथमं.

⁶ The त of °शतं is entered below the line.

⁷ Read दानारणव°.

⁸ Read कात्या.

⁹ Read °शक्तिनि°.

¹⁰ Read बलात् । आशा.

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- 34 की[र्त्ति]रतुला येनार्पितोजृभते । [८*] भोगीशाभोलभोगप्रतिमनिजभुज[र्]-
भर्त्तितात्वंत[र्]भ्यन्नानाभूपाललो-
35 कप्रहितवडुविधा[र्]गर्भरत्नाभिरामं [१*] धत्ते मौलिं परार्द्धी [म]-
इति नृप[कु]ले यः कुलोत्तुंगदेवो^१ देवेद्रत्वाद-
36 नूने सुरपतिमहिमा चोडराज्येभिषिक्तः । [१०*] प्र[त्य]ातभूभृत्कुल-
जन्मभाजस्सदाभिमुख्यस्सरसाः प्र[स]न्नाः [१*] त-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 37 स्याभवन्^२ पात्यिवपुंगवस्य देव्यशुभा नद्य इवांबुराशेः । [११*]
आत्मानुरूपैर[थ] त[र्]सु लब्धेदेवीषु^३ देवप्रति[म]:
38 कुमारैस्स^४ नन्दमानो नरदेववन्द्यैर्नूनं^५ हसत्योक्तकुमारमीशं । [१२*]
आत्मेवेन्द्रियवर्ग्यं^६ सुतवर्ग्यं तेषु
39 तेषु वि[ष]येषु [१*] क्रमशस्स नियुंजानो मुष्मडिचोडं कुमारमित्त्ववदत्
[॥ १३*] वत्स वेगीमहीराज्यम्माया [दि]-
40 त्विजयैषिणा [१*] मत्पितृव्ये पुरा न्यस्त्वं विजयादित्यभूभुजि [॥ १४*]
स च^७ पंचदशैवाब्द[र्]न् पंचाननपराक्रमः [१*] महीं रक्षन् म-
41 हीनाथो दिवं देवोपमो गतं^८ [॥ १५*] इत्युक्त्वा तां धुरं दत्तां
गुरुणा चक्रवर्त्तिना [१*] असह्यतद्वियोगोपि विनयाद्वहति [स्म]
42 सः । [१६*] श्रीपादसेवासुखतो गुरुणान्न^९ जातु राज्यं सुखमित्यवेक्ष्य
[१*] संरक्ष्य वेगीभुवमेकमब्दं भूयस्स पित्रोरग-
43 मत्समीपं । [१७*] ततस्तदनुजो धीरो वीरचोडकुमारकः [१*] आदिष्टी
गुरुणा ज्ञातुं वेगीभुवमुपागमत् । [१८*] तेन भ्रातृषु पू-
44 र्वजस्य चरणांभोज[प्र]णामार्थिना भक्त्यानमनजोत्तमांगमनुजं तृष्णाव
तालिंगितुं [१*] शुश्रूषाविधिलंपटेन च गुरोः
45 पादांबुजध्यायिना नीतास्तातनियोगलंघनभिया वत्सेन^{१०} षड्वत्सराः । [१९*]
इत्थं गुरुभ्रातृसमागमैकमनोरथं तं^{११} तनय-
46 त्रयन्नः [१*] निजांतिकं निर्जितभूमिपालस्समानयन्मानवदेवदेवः ॥ [२०*]
^{१२}अध्यामजं गु[णो]दयं शास्त्रज्ञं शस्त्रकोविदं^{१३} [१*] नयन्नं^{१४}

^१ The word देवी is entered below the line.

^२ Read लब्धेदेवीषु.

^३ Read वेन्द्रियं.

^४ Read गतः.

^५ तं is entered below the line. ^{१३} Read अथा.

^{१४} The anuvāsa stands at the beginning of the next line.

^६ Read कुमारैः । स.

^७ Read स च; the च of पंच is entered below the line.

^८ Read गुरुणां न.

^२ Read पात्यिव.

^३ Read हसत्येकं.

^{१०} The न is entered below the line.

^{१३} Read कोविदं.

- 47 विनयाधारमुदारमुदितोदित¹ । [२१*] ^२शंभोश्चतुपदांभोजभमरीभूतचेतसं
[1*] धार्मिकनिर्मलाचारं^३ चालुक्यकुलभूष[णं] [॥ २२*]
48 वाचां वाचस्पतिं ^४लक्ष्म्या विक्रमेण त्रिविक्रमं [1*] प्रज्ञातृतीयनेत्रेण
निर्मलेन त्रिलोचनं । [२३*] गार्भीर्येण^५ महामोधिं ^६महोन्नत्य[1]
49 महीधरं [1*] लोकानंदितया ^७चंद्रं तेजसा ^८तिग्मतेजसं [॥ २४*]
भूभारभरणक्षांत्वा भुजगानामधीश्वरं [1*] तुल्यतं कल[1]-
50 भिन्नं चोडगंगं प्रियात्मजं [॥ २५*] राजीवलोचनो राज्ञामयं रा[जा]
भवेदिति [1*] राजराज[1]भिधानेन सार्थेनाह्वय सादरं^९ [॥ २६*]
कु-
51 तप्रणाममा[स्त्रि]थ कृत्यवेदो कृतांजलिं [1*] विक्रमाक्रांतभूचक्रश्चक्रवर्त्तीदम-
ब्रवीत् । [२७*] अस्ति प्रशस्तज[1]तीनां रत्नानामिव
52 वारिधिः [1*] जन्मभूमिश्चलुक्यानां देशो वेंगीति वि[श्रु]तः [॥ २८*]
तत्रोदय इवासाद्य ग्र[हा] इव महोन्नतिं [1*] अधःकुर्वति^{१०} म-
53 [हं]श्यास्तुंगानपि महीचृतः^{११} । [२९*] सर्वांमुर्वीमक्षंतं^{१२} रक्षितुं ते वेंगी-
देशे सिंहपी[ठ]ासनस्य [1*] नानाभूभृन्मौलिरत्नालि-^{१३}

Third Plate; First Side.

- 54 चक्रैः पादाब्जश्रीर्भाजतां राजराज । [३०*] पातालं पाति यावत्त्वमिव^{१४}
पणिपतिर्नागयूथै-
55 कनाधो^{१५} यावत्सःसेव्यमानो विबुधगणशतैर्नाकनाधोपि^{१६} नाकं [1*] तावत्त्वः^{१७}
रक्ष धार्त्रीं निशि-
56 ^{१८}तनिजभूजस्फारकौक्षेयधारावारिप्रक्षालितारिच्छलमलविमलीभूतदिकचक्रवा-^{१९}
57 लः [॥ ३१*] इत्याशिषं नृपसुतस्य नृपादवाप्य सत्वाशिषस्तदनु^{२०}
मातुर्भौ प्रणम्य [1*] देशम्विजं जिग-
58 मिषोरगमद्दिगंतान् प्रस्थानशंखपटुमंगलतूर्यघोषः ॥ [३२*] ध्वस्ता वैरि-
दशानिशा प्र-

¹ The *anusvāra* is expressed twice.

^३ Read °कत्रि°.

^६ Read मही°.

^९ Read तिग्म°.

^{१०} Read °कुर्वति°.

^{११} Read °भृन्मौलि°.

^{१६} Read °नाधोपि°.

^{१९} Read °दिकचक्र°.

^४ The ल is entered below the line.

^७ The *anusvāra* of चं is expressed twice.

^९ The *anusvāra* is corrected from a *visarga*.

^{११} Read °भूतः°.

^{१४} Read यावत्त्वमिव फणि°.

^{१७} Read तावत्त्वं°.

^{२०} The *aksharas* सदनु are entered below the line.

^२ Read °शंभ°.

^५ Read गार्भीर्येण°.

^{१२} Read °मक्षंतं°.

^{१५} Read °नाधो यावत्त्वसे°.

^{१८} Read °भुज°.

- 59 तिहृतं ध्वातं द्विषच्छङ्कं¹ वैरिस्त्रीककुभांगणादपगता हारच्छलास्तारकाः
[1*] ताप-
- 60 व्याजहुताशनी रिपुवधूहृत्सूर्यकांतिष्वभूद्वेगोदेशमहोदयोन्न-
- 61 तिमति श्रीराजराजे रवौ । [३३*] शाकाब्दे रसखांबरेदुगणिते ज्येष्ठे
मासे सिते पक्षे पूर्वतिथौ³
- 62 दिने सुरगुरोर्ज्येष्ठां शशांके गते [1*] सिंह⁴ लग्नवरे समस्तजगतीराज्या-
भिषिक्तो मुदे लोक-
- 63 स्योद्वहति स्म पट्टमनघ[1*] श्रीराजराजो विभुः । [३४*] भूलोकादुदिता
महोन्नतिमती दिङ्मण्ड-
- 64 लव्यापिनी संक्रांताखिलसत्यधा⁵ परिगता लोकानधोर्द्धानपि⁶ [1*] सन्मार्गा-
च्चलितां भुवीह पतितां⁷
- 65 पञ्चादधोगामिनीं गंगां कीर्त्तिरमंगलप्रमधनी⁸ यस्यातिशेतेतरां [॥ ३५*]
कोदण्डे रामभद्राद्रिपुकुलद-
- 66 लने भार्गवान्दरादेस्सारे शास्त्रांबुराशौ कलशभवमुनेर्विक्रमे वायुसूनीः
[1*] यस्माद्बन्धा-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 67 पसर्पप्रमथनगिलनोलंघ[व]नाहृत्तिशंकी नूनं रत्नाकरोय⁹ प्रदिशति बहुशो
रत्नराशीन् विचित्रान् [॥ ३६*] यः पुन-
- 68 रिद्धतेजोधिकतया मध्यमलोकपालोयमिति¹⁰ लोकेन लोकपालैस्सह बहुमतोपि
गोत्रवर्द्ध-
- 69¹¹ नतया वर्द्धितविशाल[की]र्त्तिर्गोत्रभेदनप्रवादिनी ह्रस्वशचीस्समस्तभुवनाश्रय[1*]
स्वाश्रयप्रदा-
- 70 द्विनी दहनात् [1*] वदान्यकुलमान्यपुण्यचरितो दक्षिणाशावलंबनशीलपरि-
पालिनः कालात् । सकलविबुधसम[1]ज-
- 71¹² [सं]सेव्यमानो विबुधविपक्षतो राक्ष[सा]धी[श्व]रात् । विक्रमाक्रांत-
निखिलभूभुवनो लुब्धकादिव वन[मात्र]गोच-
- 72 रा[ह]रुणात् [1*]¹³ भुवनभवरक्षणा[स्थि]त[स्थै]र्य्यकीटिस्संततचपलस्वभावात्
प्रभंजनात् [1*] सकललोकोपभोगसपलीकृतध-¹⁴

¹ Read °च्छङ्कं.

² Read ज्येष्ठेय.

³ Read पूर्वतिथौ.

⁴ Read सिंह.

⁵ Read °सत्यधा.

⁶ Read °नयोध्वां°.

⁷ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁸ Read °प्रमथनी.

⁹ Read रोयं.

¹⁰ The *aksharas* लोके are written on an erasure.

¹¹ A second न is written above the न at the beginning of the line.

¹² The स of सं is corrected from ज.

¹³ The upper stroke of the ai of स्थैर्य्य is missing.

¹⁴ Read °सफलौ°.

- 73 नसंचयो निष्फल(ल)धनसंग्रहाद्धनेश्वरात्¹ [i*] निखिललोकनिर्व्याजबान्धवो
²दनदैकमित्राग्निरिधन्व-
- 74 नः [i*] यश्च बहु(अ)श्रुतिरखिलभूभुवनभारभरणलीलातुलितादपि श्रुतिविही-
 नाच्चक्षुः[*]-
- 75 अवसामधीश्वरात्³ [i*] अ[ख*]ण्डितसदृत्तम[ण्ड]लो जगदाह्लादनवि[धि]स-
 धर्म्मणोपि खण्डितसदृत्ताच्च ⁴शंशलक्ष्म-
- 76 णो गुणविशेषाभिन्न[र]नमहनीयमतिमहिम्ना महाजनेन नूनं बहुमन्यते ।
 स सर्वलोकाश्च-
- 77 यश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराज[र]धिराजो राजपरमेश्वरः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टा-
 रकः परमब्र-
- 78 ह्यण्यो राजराज इत्यन्वितापरनामधेयानंदितसकलदिग्गण्डलो मंडलेश्वर-
 मौलिविलसितचरणा-
- 79 रविंदरेणुसकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानविशदविशालयशोराशिविशदीकृताशेषदिक्चक्रवा-
 लस्रक्रव-
- 80 र्त्तिलक्षणाभिराम[*]⁵ श्रीचोडगंगदेवः सकलधरातलसाम्राज्यलीलासुखमनुभवन्
 कदाचित् कुलराज-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 81 धान्या⁶ जननाधनामनगर्यामशेषभुवनाभ्यंतरापूरणातिरिक्तनिजयशोराशिशंकां
 जनय-
- 82 तः कैलासशैलविलासिनस्समुत्तंग[शि]खरस्य⁷ सौधस्यास्थानभूमौ सकलसामंत-
 चक्रप्रमुखे-
- 83 न⁸ परिवारेण परितस्सेव्यमानः म[न्त्रे]टिमहेंद्रमध्यवर्त्तिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्
⁹कुटिंबिनस्स-
- 84 र्वान् समाह्वय मंत्रिपुरोहितसेनापतियुवराजदौवारिकप्रधानसमन्त्रमित्यमात्र[र]-
 पय-
- 85 ति । यथा [i*] सन्ति महंशभूपालपादपद्मोपजीविनः [i*] भृत्याः
 कृत्यविधौ दत्ताः ¹⁰शौर्यादिगुणशालिनः । [३७*] तस्म्यधे
- 86 परया भक्त्या शक्त्या च प्रपन्नया सदा [i*] मदीयान्वयभूपालचित्तारा-
 धनतत्पराः [॥ ३८*] निजैरत्यैर्निजैः¹¹ प्राणै-

¹ Read °श्वरात्.

² Read शश°.

³ Read °धान्या जननाध°.

⁴ Read °ब.

⁵ The श्री is entered below the line.

⁶ Read धन°.

⁷ The aksharas भिरा are entered below the line.

⁸ The aksharas शिखर are written on an erasure.

⁹ Read कुटिंबि°.

¹⁰ Read °श्वरात्.

¹¹ Read °रत्ने°.

iii b.

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94 తెలుసుకొనుచును బ్రహ్మచర్యమును విడిచి వ్రేలుచును
 96 గాత్రమును బలమును ననుకరించుచును బ్రహ్మచర్యమును విడిచి వ్రేలుచును
 98 శ్రమమును బలమును ననుకరించుచును బ్రహ్మచర్యమును విడిచి వ్రేలుచును
 100 శ్రమమును బలమును ననుకరించుచును బ్రహ్మచర్యమును విడిచి వ్రేలుచును
 102 శ్రమమును బలమును ననుకరించుచును బ్రహ్మచర్యమును విడిచి వ్రేలుచును

104 శ్రమమును బలమును ననుకరించుచును బ్రహ్మచర్యమును విడిచి వ్రేలుచును
 106 శ్రమమును బలమును ననుకరించుచును బ్రహ్మచర్యమును విడిచి వ్రేలుచును
 108 శ్రమమును బలమును ననుకరించుచును బ్రహ్మచర్యమును విడిచి వ్రేలుచును

- 87 वृक्रमाद्यैर्गुणैर्विजै¹ [i*] ये चालुक्यक्षितिशानां प्रस्तावप्रतिपालिनः
[॥ ३८*] अयो[ध्य]ाधीश्वरेणा-
88 दौ दक्षिणाशाजयैषिणा [i*] ये सहैव समायाता(ः) विजयादित्यभू-
89 भुज[र] [॥ ४०*] रा[ज]वंशावतंसाना² राजधान्या महीभुजं[र] [i*]
पुरो विजयवाटेया³
90 ये वास्तव्यकुटुंबिनः । [४१*] ये च वेलुमनूळु पत्तिपालु नरियू-
ळु⁴ कुमुडाळु म-
91 ळु⁵ पोवण्डु सावकुलु उण्डळु अनुमगीण्डु अळनूळु लु
इत्यादि[कु]-
92 [ल]सहस्रभेदप्रसिद्धाः तेलि[कि]कुललब्धजन्मा[नः*]⁵ स्वधर्मकर्मनिष्ठितमनस-
[स्ते]षाम-
93 मीषां विजयवाटप्रमुखनिखिलपुरनगरग्रामपट्टनप्रभ-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 94 तिषु स्थानेषु सर्वेषु विवाहोत्सवेषु प्रवर्त्तमानेषु मिधुनस्य⁶ वी[थी]षु
तुरगा-
95 रोहणेन पर्यटनमध⁷ विवाहोत्सवावसाने राजशीपादमूले महार्घ-
96 वासीयुगल⁸ निधाय प्रणतानामेषां कनकपात्रेण तांबूलप्रदानं च पू-
97 र्वमर्यादा[स]मागतमधुना⁹ परमभक्तिपरितोषितैरस्मा[र]भिराचंद्रार्क्ष¹⁰
98 शासनोक्त्य दत्तमिति विदितमस्तु वः [i*] धर्मोयमस्मदंशजैः पा-
99 र्थिवैः प्रयत्नेन पालनीयं¹¹ [i*] शत्रुणापि कृतो धर्मः पालनीयो
100 मनीषिणां [i*] शत्रुरेव हि शत्रुः[.*]¹² स्यादधर्मशत्रुर्व कस्यचित्
[॥ ४२*] धर्मात् पैज-
101 वनो राज[र] चिराय बुभुजे भुवं¹³ [i*]¹⁴ अधर्माच्चैव नहुषः प्रतिपेदे
रसातल¹⁵ [॥ ४३*]
102 य[ः*] स्वयं कुरु[ते] धर्मं यश्च पाति कृतं [प]रैः [i*] तयाः¹⁶
पालयिता श्रेष्ठ इति

¹ Read °द्यैर्गुणैर्विजैः.² Read °सानां.³ Read °वाटाया.⁴ The रि is entered below the line.⁵ The कु of कुल is entered below the line.⁶ Read मिधुनस्य.⁷ Read °मध.⁸ Read °युगलं निधाय.⁹ Read °भक्ति°.¹⁰ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.¹¹ Read °नीयः.¹² Read स्यात्.¹³ The anusvāra is corrected from a visarga.¹⁴ Read अधर्मा°.¹⁵ Read °तलं.¹⁶ Read तयो.

- 103 प्राहुर्मनीषिणः [॥ ४४*] [ध]र्माद्विवर्द्धते राज्य¹ धर्मात् कीर्त्तिश्च
शाश्वतो । धर्मा[त्*] तृ-

Fifth Plate.

- 104 प्यंति [पित]रो धर्मात्तुष्यंति देवता[ः] । [४५*] तस्माधर्माः² प्रयत्नेन
रक्षणीयो म[ही]-
105 क्षितो³ [१*] स्वस्तोन्यस्ततो वापि लोकद्वयहितैषिणा ॥ [४६*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यो
106 हरेत वसुधरां [१*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्षमिः
[॥ ४७*] बहुभिर्व्व-
107 सु[ध]ा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फ-
108 लं ॥ [४८*] श्रीविजयराज्य[सं]वत्सर⁴ सप्तदशे दत्तस्यास्य शासन[स्य][१*]-
क्षमिः कटकाधिपः कर्त्ता
109 विद्म्य(भं)भट्टः लेखक[ः*] पेन्नाचार्यः ॥⁵

TRANSLATION.

[As far as line 36 the text is identical with that of the Pithāpuram plates of Vīra-Chōḍa. ll. 1-43; above, Vol. V. pp. 74-77.]

(Verse 11.) There were to this chief of kings (*viz.* **Kulōttuṅga I.**) (*many*) virtuous queens, born in the families of renowned princes, always devoted to (*him*), full of love, (*and*) gracious,—as to the ocean (*many*) holy rivers, sprung from the ranges of lofty mountains, always running towards (*it*), full of water, (*and*) limpid.

(V. 12.) Rejoicing in the sons (*kumāra*) who were born (*to him*) in due course by these queens, who resembled him, (*and*) who were worthy to be worshipped by princes, this godlike (*king*) surely laughs at Īśa (Śiva) who has (*only*) a single Kumāra (Skanda).

(V. 13.) Appointing (*his*) sons in due order to different districts (*vishaya*), as the soul (*directs*) the senses to different objects (*vishaya*), he spake as follows to prince **Mummaḍi-Chōḍa** :—

(V. 14.) “Dear child! Being desirous of conquering the world, I formerly conferred the kingdom of the country of **Vēṅgi** on my paternal uncle, prince **Vijayāditya**.⁶

(V. 15.) “And, ruling the earth for only **fifteen years**, this godlike prince, who resembled the five-faced (Śiva) in power, has (*now*) gone to heaven.”⁷

(V. 16.) Out of obedience he (Mummaḍi-Chōḍa) took up that burden (*viz.* the kingdom of **Vēṅgi**) which (*his*) father, the emperor, had given him with these words, though he could not bear the separation from him.⁸

¹ Read राज्य.

² Read तस्माद्धर्मः.

³ Read क्षिता.

⁴ Read वत्सर.

⁵ Here follow three symbols, for which see the accompanying Plate.

⁶ This verse is identical with v. 13 of the Pithāpuram plates, and nearly identical with v. 14 of the Chellūr plates of Vīra-Chōḍa.

⁷ This verse is nearly the same as v. 14 of the Pithāpuram plates and v. 15 of the Chellūr plates. After v. 15 of the Pithāpuram plates is omitted, though required by the context; see above, Vol. V. p. 25, note 1.

⁸ Verses 16 and 17 bear the same numbers in the Pithāpuram and Chellūr plates.

(V. 17.) "The kingdom (*is*) no pleasure at all (*compared*) with the pleasure of worshipping the holy feet of the elders;" having considered thus, he returned to (*his*) parents after having ruled the country of **Vēṅgi** for one year.

(V. 18.) Then his younger brother, the brave prince **Vira-Chôḍa**, was ordered by (*his*) father to protect the country of **Vēṅgi** (*and*) proceeded (*there*).

(V. 19.) Desirous of prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of the elder one among (*his*) brothers, thirsting to embrace the younger one whose head was bent in devotion (*to him*), longing to do obeisance to (*his*) father and meditating on (*his*) lotus-feet, this poor boy spent **six years** in fear of transgressing the command of (*his*) father.

(V. 20.) The politic king of kings, who had subdued (*all*) rulers of the earth, recalled to himself that son whose only wish was thus to be united with (*his*) father and brothers.

(V. 21-27.) Then the emperor, who knew (*his*) duty (*and*) who had conquered the circle of the earth by valour, spake as follows to (*his*) first-born dear son¹ **Chôḍagāṅga**, having affectionately addressed (*him*) by the name **Râjarâja** (*i.e.* 'king of kings'), which was full of meaning because (*he thought that*) this lotus-eyed one would become a king of kings, (*and*) having embraced (*him*) who had prostrated himself (*and*) had folded his hands:—

(V. 28.) "There is a country famed by the name of **Vēṅgi**, (*which is*) the birth-place of the noble **Chalukyas**, as the ocean (*is*) of precious pearls.

(V. 29.) "Having reached high eminence there, the members of my family overcome even mighty kings,² as the planets, having risen in the east, surmount even lofty mountains.

(V. 30.) "While thou, **Râjarâja**, art seated on the lion-throne in the **Vēṅgi** country in order to protect the whole earth unopposed, may the lustre of (*thy*) feet be enhanced by clusters of gems in the diadems of many kings, as the beauty of the lotus by swarms of bees!

(V. 31.) "As long as the king of serpents (**Śēsha**), (*who is*) the only lord of the snake-tribe, as thou (*art*) the only lord of a troop of elephants, is ruling the lower world, and as long as the lord of heaven (**Indra**), being worshipped by hundreds of gods and demi-gods, (*is ruling*) heaven, so long protect thou the earth, purifying the horizon as the impurity in the shape of enemies is washed away by the water of the edge³ of the sharp, large sword in thy hand!"

(V. 32.) When the prince, having thus obtained the blessing of the king (*and*) afterwards the true blessings of (*his*) mother, (*and*) having bowed to both, was about to start for his country, the sound of the conches (*announcing his*) departure and of shrill auspicious bugles reached the ends of the quarters.

(V. 33.) When the glorious **Râjarâja** had ascended (*the throne of*) the **Vēṅgi** country, (*as*) the sun the eastern mountain, the night of enmity was dispelled; darkness in the disguise of foes was driven away; the stars in the semblance of necklaces disappeared from the firmament—the wives of the enemies; (*and*) fire in the shape of sorrow sprang up in the sun-crystals—the hearts of the wives of foes.

(V. 34.) In the **Śâka** year reckoned by the tastes (6), the sky (0), the atmosphere (0), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* 1006)—in the month **Jyâishṭha**, in the bright fortnight, on the full-moon *tithi*, on a **Thursday**, when the moon had joined **Jyêshṭhâ**, in the excellent *lagna* **Simha**,—the sinless lord, the glorious **Râjarâja**, having been anointed to the kingdom of the whole earth, put on the tiara to the joy of the world.

¹ The word *agrajam* occurs in l. 46 and *priyâtmajam* in l. 50. I omit the intervening epithets of **Chôḍagāṅga**, from which we learn little more than that he was a worshipper of **Siva** and "an ornament of the **Châlukya** family" (v. 22).

² The words *tuṅgānāpi mahābhritāḥ* may also contain an allusion to the **Râshṭrakûṭas**, who had the surname **Tuṅga**; see above, Vol. IV. No. 40, verse 6, and Vol. V. No. 20, verse 6.

³ The word *dhârâ* has to be taken also in the sense of 'a stream.'

[V. 35 is identical with v. 23 of the Piṭhāpuram plates.]

(V. 36.) This ocean plentifully supplies heaps of wonderful gems,—surely¹ (*because it*) fears a repetition of (*its*) bridging, retreating, stirring, swallowing and overleaping² from him (*who is*) a Rāma-bhadra in archery, a Bhārgava in splitting hosts of enemies, a Mandara mountain in firmness, a pitcher-born sage in (*absorbing*) the ocean of sciences, (*and*) a son of the wind in prowess.

[Ll. 67-76 illustrate by a series of *vyatirēkūlāmkāras* that the king as regent of the middle sphere was superior to the regents of the ten directions. The pun (*ślēsha*) in the word *dakṣhiṇāśā* (l. 70) is particularly amusing.]

(L. 76.) While this asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkāśraya*), the glorious **Vishṇu-vardhana-Mahārājādhirāja**, the *Rājaparamēśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, the very pious one, who delights all regions of the world by (*his*) second name **Rājarāja**, the dust of whose lotus-feet adorns the diadems of lords of provinces (*maṇḍalēśvara*), who purifies the whole horizon by the great mass of (*his*) pure fame that is being praised by the whole world, who is distinguished by the marks of an emperor, the glorious **Chōḍagaṅga-dēva**, was enjoying the pleasure of the sport of ruling the whole earth,—once, being attended on all sides by the retinue consisting of the troop of all vassals, *etc.*, in the *darbār* hall of the palace, which had very lofty pinnacles, which possessed the splendour of the Kailāsa mountain, (*and*) which produced the impression of a lump of his fame that remained after the interior of the whole world had been filled (*with it*), at the capital of (*his*) family, the city (*nagari*) named (*after*) **Jananātha**,—called together all the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* and other ryots living between the **Mannēru**³ (*river*) and the **Mahēndra** (*mountain*) and ordered as follows in the presence of the councillors, the family priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers and the ministers:—

(V. 37.) “There are (*many*) servants, dependent on the lotus-feet of the kings of my family, clever in service, (*and*) possessing courage and other virtues.

(Vv. 38-41.) “Among them (*are those who have been*) always intent on pleasing the minds of the kings of my family by great devotion, strength and intelligence; who have protected the **Chālukya** kings at the beginning with their riches, with their lives, (*and*) with their courage and other virtues; who have come already at the beginning with king **Vijayāditya**, the lord of **Ayōdhyā**, who was desirous of conquering the southern region; the ryots dwelling in the town **Vijayavāṭa**, the capital of the kings (*who were*) ornaments of the race of the Moon (*Rājavāmśa*);⁴

(L. 90.) “And who are born in the **Teliki** family, whose minds are intent on the performance of their duties, (*and*) who are known to be divided into a thousand families such as **Velu-manūllu**, **Pattipālu**, **Nariyūllu**, **Kumudāllu**, **Marrūllu**, **Povandlu**, **Srāvakulu**, **Uṇḍrūllu**, **Anumagondalu** and **Addanūllu**.

(L. 92.) “Be it known to you that, being pleased by (*their*) great devotion, we have now granted to these people by an edict (*śāsana*), as long as the moon and the sun shall last, that when marriage festivals are celebrated at all places such as **Vijayavāṭa** and all other towns, cities,

¹ The particle *nūnam*, ‘surely,’ introduces the figure (*alāmkāra*) of ‘poetical fancy’ (*utprēkṣā*), which in the present case pertains to a cause (*hetuḥ*), viz. the fear felt by the ocean, and is founded on a series of metaphors (*rūpaka*), viz. the identity of the king with Rāma, *etc.*

² These humiliating experiences the ocean had undergone successively at the hands of Rāma, Parasurāma, the Mandara, Agastya and Hanumat.

³ *Mannēru* is the Telugu genitive of *Mannēru*.

⁴ Compare *Rāja-kula-pradīpa* in verse 7 of this inscription, which seems to mean ‘the light of the race of the Moon,’ rather than ‘the light of the warrior-caste,’ as I had translated it in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 59, verse 8.

villages and hamlets (?), the married couple may proceed on the roads on horse-back, and that afterwards when, at the end of the marriage festival, they place a pair of valuable cloths at the feet of the king and prostrate themselves, betel will be given (*to them*) in a golden vessel, (*as*) handed down by old custom.

(L. 98.) "This gift must be assiduously protected by the kings descended from our family."

[Vv. 42-48 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 108.) The *ājñapti* of this edict, which was given in the **seventeenth year** of the prosperous and victorious reign, (*was*) the commander of the camp;¹ the composer **Viddayabhaṭṭa**; (*and*) the writer **Pennāchārya**.

POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date of the **accession of Bājārāja-Chôḍagaṅga** (above, p. 345, verse 34).

"The date is irregular for Śaka-Saṃvat 1006, both expired and current. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1006 expired the full-moon *tīthi* of Jyāishṭha ended 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 22nd May A.D. 1084, when the *nakshatra* was Jyēshṭhā, by the equal space system for 19 h. 3 m., by the Brahma-Siddhānta for 1 h. 58 m., and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise. *Simha* was *lagna* from 4 h. 32 m. to 6 h. 41 m. after true sunrise.

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1006 current the same *tīthi* ended 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 2nd June A.D. 1083, when the *nakshatra* by the equal space system only was Jyēshṭhā, for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise (while it was Mūla by the Brahma-Siddhānta and according to Garga). *Simha* was *lagna* from 3 h. 51 m. to 6 h. 0 m. after true sunrise.

"The date would be irregular also for Śaka-Saṃvat 1005 current and 1007 expired."

No. 36.—RANASTIPUNDI GRANT OF VIMALADITYA; DATED IN THE EIGHTH YEAR.

By V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is engraved were discovered about 70 years ago while quarrying earth for bricks in the fields of the ancestors of a ryot in the Amalāpuram tāluka of the Gōdāvarī district, and are now in the possession of Valavala Jagganna who lives at Amalāpuram. They were received from the Collector of Gōdāvarī through the Government of Madras in 1899 and will have to be returned to the owner. Dr. Hultzsch has kindly permitted me to publish them.

The plates are five in number and were strung on a ring, which had not yet been cut when they were received. The ring measures about 6½" in diameter and about ⅓" in thickness. Its ends are secured in a four-petalled flower, which forms the base of a circular seal of about 3¼" diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvānāmkuṣa*. Below the legend is an eight-petalled flower, and above it a running boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant-goad; behind it the crescent of the moon; and above it the sun flanked by two *chauris*. The breadth of the plates is 10½", and their height 5¼". Their edges are raised into rims for protecting the writing, with the exception of the first side of the first plate, which is blank, and of the second side of the fifth plate, which bears only two lines of writing. The writing is on the whole in a state of good preservation, but a number of places are damaged by verdigris.

¹ With *koṭakādhīpa* compare *koṭakādhirāja*, etc.; above, Vol. IV. p. 309, note 1, and Vol. V. p. 131, last line.

The **alphabet** is ancient Telugu, while the **language** is mostly Sanskrit verse and prose. The description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 87-94) is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu prose. I would draw attention to the following points in the alphabet of the inscription. The long *ā* after consonants is marked in different ways; compare *dhā*, *nā*, *rā* and *hā* in line 1 with the *smā* of the first *tasmād*= in line 3, and with the *smā* of the second *tasmād*= in the same line. The long *ā* added to conjunct consonants of which the *rēpha* is a member is generally omitted, except in *rttā* of *vaṁśa-karttā* (l. 4) and *rshā* of *varshāṇi* (l. 29). The syllable *jā* occurs eight times in the inscription; but it is written correctly only once (in *mahārājādhirāja*, l. 61), while in the remaining seven cases the long *ā* is not marked at all. Initial *i* occurs in ll. 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87 and 97. In a large number of cases the *rēpha* is added to the *i*-symbol above consonants, the addition being denoted by a slight indenture at the base of the latter, e.g. in *rtti* (ll. 4, 16, 60) and *rvvi* (ll. 19, 33, 34, 41). Initial *ī* occurs in l. 91. The secondary form of the long *ī* is rarely distinguished from that of the short *i*; but in *śī* (ll. 1, 2), *sī* (l. 3) and *chī* (l. 5) an attempt is made to mark the length. Initial *u* occurs in l. 94. In combination with consonants this vowel is denoted in three different ways; compare *ru* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 4), *śu* (l. 2) and *pu* (l. 3) with *nmu* (l. 2) and *tsu* (l. 3), and with *yu* (ll. 3, 4, 8). The secondary form of the long *ū* is also denoted in three different ways; compare *bhū* (l. 1) with *sū* (ll. 2, 3) and *chū* (l. 2), and with *tsū* (ll. 8, 30, 33), *trū* (l. 41) and *śū* (l. 70). Initial *ē* occurs in ll. 36, 75, 91. Combined with consonants, this vowel is denoted in two ways; compare *tē* (l. 3), *mē* (l. 4) and *kē* (l. 7) with *jñē* and *nē* (l. 2). Initial *ai* is found in l. 6, and initial *ri* in l. 7. Final *k* occurs in l. 68; final *m* in ll. 3, 37, 41, 46; final *n* in ll. 31, 35, 36, 41 (twice), 53, 62; and final *t* in ll. 17, 20, 29, 38, 52, 64, 67. In the majority of cases no distinction is made between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*; compare *chūḍōmani* (l. 81) with *°vāraṇ-ādis*= (l. 83) and *mad=alābhi* (l. 84); but in *pratiḍakkā* (l. 22), *Kaḍaṁba* (l. 23), *Kāramachēḍu* (l. 84) and *Peggaḍa* (l. 85) the loop of the *ḍ* is quite distinct. The aspirate *chha* occurs twice in the inscription (ll. 14, 59), and in both cases in conjunction with *cha*. In all other cases its place is taken by the unaspirated *cha*. Double *shsha* is written as if it consisted of *sha* and *va*; see ll. 32, 35 and 43. The *upadhmanīya* occurs in ll. 1, 4, 5 (twice), 11 (twice), 14, 15, 38, 46, 70, 73.

Of orthographical peculiarities the following deserve to be noted:— The syllable *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *Richuka* for *Ṛibhuka* (twice in l. 7), *kritvā* for *ṛitvā* (l. 9), *°vritāmtas*= for *°vritāmtas*= (l. 21) and *°kritya* for *°kritya* (l. 86). The syllable *yi* is used for initial *i* in *yiti* (l. 9) and *yiva* (ll. 45, 47, 55, 56 (twice), 57, 68). *G* is doubled after an *anuvāra* in *Gaṁgg-ādi* (l. 23) and *°saṁggatir*= (l. 81) and before *r* in *°ggrāhinas*= (l. 12), and *t* before *r* in *Ttrilōchana* (l. 17). After *r* consonants are generally doubled, except in *-Bhīm-Ārjuna-* (l. 12) and *nirjitya* (l. 23). *Sāmbrājya* occurs for *sāmrajya* in l. 23.

The inscription opens with the Paurāṇik genealogy of the **Eastern Chālukya** kings (ll. 1-15) and with a legendary account of their ancestors (ll. 15-25). Ll. 25-42 furnish the historical genealogy of the donor **Vimalāditya**. The date of his coronation is given in verse 13. He is praised in general terms in vv. 14-20 and in the subsequent prose passage (ll. 54-61). L. 61 f. contains the king's titles **Sarvalōkāśraya**, **Vishṇuvardhana**, etc. Vv. 21-34 describe the donee and his ancestors. Then follows the grant itself, the description of the boundaries of the village granted, and of a field which belonged to it. The inscription closes with the date of the grant, and the names of the executor, the composer and the writer.

The Paurāṇik, legendary and historical portion of the genealogy agree almost literally with the corresponding passage of the **Nandamapūṇḍi grant of Rājārāja I.**¹ as far as the description of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (v. 11). The Korumelli plates of Rājārāja I.,² the Tēki plates of Chōḍagaṅga,³ the Chellūr plates of Vira-Chōḍa,⁴ and the Piṭhāpuram plates

¹ Above, Vol. IV. No. 43.

² No. 35 above.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48 ff.

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39.

of the same king¹ also agree with the Ranastipūṇḍi grant to a great extent, while the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva² furnishes substantially the same facts regarding the early Eastern Chālukyas and their ancestors. The historical portion commencing with the reign of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana is known from grants earlier than the time of Vimalāditya. But the Ranastipūṇḍi grant is the earliest inscription hitherto discovered, which contains the Paurāṇik and legendary portions (ll. 1-25).

This is the first inscription which has been found of king **Vimalāditya**, the son of **Dāna** or **Dānārṇava** by his wife **Āryamahādēvi**³ (v. 12) and younger brother of that king **Śaktivarman** who ruled immediately after the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country. An important item of information furnished by our grant is the date of Vimalāditya's accession, which until now had to be obtained by deducting the duration of his reign as given in the copper-plate grants from the date of the accession of his son and successor Rājārāja I. as found in the Korumelli plates⁴ and in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant.⁵ According to verse 13 of the subjoined inscription, **Vimalāditya's coronation** took place in the *Simha lagna* and the *Pushya nakshatra*, on Thursday, the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Vṛishabha* in **Śaka-Saṃvat 933**. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on this date:— "In line 43 read *pañchamīyām*, 'on the fifth *tithi*,' instead of *yash=shashṭhyām*. With this alteration the date corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 933 expired, to **Thursday, the 10th May A.D. 1011**. The fifth *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar month *Jyāishṭha*) in the solar month *Vṛishabha* ended at 20 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was *Pushya*, by the equal space system and according to Garga, for 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. For a place situated at 16° Northern Latitude, the *Simha lagna* on that day lasted from 5 h. 14 m. to 7 h. 24 m. after true sunrise."

The above date removes a discrepancy in the duration of the interregnum between **Dānārṇava** and **Śaktivarman**. All the grants assign 27 years to this interregnum. The interval between the accession of **Amma II.** (Śaka-Saṃvat 867) and that of **Rājārāja I.** (Śaka-Saṃvat 944) is 77 years, while the total duration of the intervening reigns is only $25 + 3 + 12 + 7 = 47$ years. It had therefore to be inferred that the interregnum lasted $77 - 47 = 30$ years. This discrepancy has already been pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch.⁶ As we know now that Vimalāditya's reign commenced in Śaka-Saṃvat 933, the interregnum is reduced to roughly 27 years, the period actually mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions.

If we subtract from A.D. 1011 the period of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor **Śaktivarman** (12 years), we get the approximate date of the accession of **Śaktivarman** himself, viz. **A.D. 999**. The interregnum which preceded Śaktivarman's reign and which lasted 27 years has thus to be placed roughly between **A.D. 972 and 999**. Hitherto it has been supposed that the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country was caused by a **Chōla** invasion.⁷ The earliest Chōla king who claims to have conquered Vēṅgī is **Rājārāja I.**, who ascended the throne in A.D. 985. The conquest of Vēṅgī is first mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 14th year of his reign = **A.D. 998-99**.⁸ Consequently, the interregnum could not have been caused by the invasion of the Chōlas, but was probably put an end to by that event. If this conclusion is correct, the Chōla king **Rājārāja I.** must have restored order in Vēṅgī by placing Śaktivarman on the throne, and the interregnum must have been due to causes other than the Chōla invasion during the time of **Rājārāja I.** There is also reason to believe that no Chōla invasion could have taken place before the time of **Rājārāja I.**

¹ Above, Vol. V. No. 10.

² Above, Vol. IV. No. 33.

³ This queen is mentioned as **Ā[r]yadēvi** in the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva; above, Vol. IV. No. 33, verse 19.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 50 and p. 53, text lines 65-67.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. p. 302.

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 272.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 32, note 1A.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 5.

The later Eastern Chālukya inscriptions, beginning with the Nandamapūṇḍi grant, report that Vimalāditya reigned **7 years**, while the subjoined inscription is dated in his **8th year** (l. 97). His accession took place in A.D. 1011, and that of his successor Rājarāja I. in A.D. 1022. Thus the duration of Vimalāditya's reign was **11 years**, i.e. 4 years in excess of the period assigned to him. The explanation of this difference has perhaps to be sought for in the following facts. Two inscriptions on the Mahēndragiri hill in the Gañjām district (Nos. 396 and 397 of 1896) record that (the Chōla king) Rājendra-Chōla defeated Vimalāditya and set up a pillar of victory on the hill. The date when this event took place is not known. But as this fact is not recorded in the usual historical introduction of Rājendra-Chōla's Tamil inscriptions, it may be presumed that it happened during the early part of his military career, when his father Rājarāja I. was still living. Again, there is an inscription in the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru near Tanjore (No. 215 of 1894), dated in the **29th year** of the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja I., which records certain gifts to the temple by Vishṇuvardhana-Vimalāditya, who is no doubt identical with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name. There is thus reason to believe that Vimalāditya was at or near Tanjore in A.D. 1013-14. This fact, coupled with the defeat recorded in the Mahēndragiri inscriptions, appears to show that Vimalāditya was taken prisoner to Tanjore by Rājendra-Chōla. While in the Chōla country, he must have married Kundavā, the daughter of the Chōla king Rājarāja I. and younger sister of Rājendra-Chōla I.¹ After this marriage Vimalāditya may have been sent back to his dominions about A.D. 1015. Taking these inferences for granted, it may be assumed that, though the period counting from his accession in A.D. 1011 to the date of his death in A.D. 1022 is 11 years, the later Eastern Chālukya records recognise neither his original accession in A.D. 1011 nor the period of his stay in the Chōla country, but reckon his reign from the time when he began to rule after his return from the Chōla country, and thus give only **7 years** as the duration of his reign.

The inscription attributes several surnames to Vimalāditya, viz. **Birudaṅka-Bhīma** (ll. 44 and 73 f.), **Tribhuvanāṅkuśa** (l. 47), **Mummaḍi-Bhīma** (l. 51) and **Bhūpa-Mahēndra** (l. 74). **Birudaṅka-Bhīma** occurs also in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant (l. 52). The surname **Mummaḍi-Bhīma** means 'the third Bhīma' and is appropriate for Vimalāditya, as there were only two among his ancestors who bore the name Bhīma. Before introducing the surname **Mummaḍi-Bhīma** (v. 19), the composer of the subjoined inscription refers to certain predecessors of the king who were looked upon as founders of the family, and states that **Mummaḍi-Bhīma** was also one of those founders. Again, in two different places the king is spoken of as 'the rescuer of (his) family' (l. 57 f.) and as 'the only rescuer of (his) family' (l. 75). If any significance is to be attached to these statements, they must imply that Vimalāditya took proper care to ensure the succession in his family and to strengthen its position. It is not impossible that there is a remote reference in these passages to Vimalāditya's alliance with the powerful Chōlas by his marriage with the Chōla princess Kundavā, and perhaps also to the actual birth of an heir to the throne, viz. Rājarāja I. The disastrous effects of the anarchy which prevailed in Vēṅgi immediately before the accession of Vimalāditya's predecessor could not have been altogether forgotten at the time when the subjoined grant was issued, and the king's attempts to render the position of his family firm and stable were apparently appreciated by the composer, if not by all the people in Vēṅgi.

The donee was a minister of the king, called **Vajra** (vv. 24, 26, 28, 30) or, in Telugu, **Vajjiya-Peggaḍa** (l. 85). He belonged to the Kaṇḍīya gōtra (v. 22), was a resident of the village of **Kāramachēḍu** (l. 84), and bore the surnames **Budhavajraprākāra** (v. 31 and l. 85), **Amātyasikhāmaṇi** and **Saujanyaṛatnākara** (v. 33 and l. 85). The composer was **Bhīmanabhaṭṭa**, son of **Rāchiya-Peddēri**. This person must have been the father of the composer of

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 126.

the Korumelli plates, Chêtanabhatta, who calls himself the son of Râchiya-Peddâri-Bhîma. The writer of the subjoined grant was Jontâchârya, who may have belonged to the same family as his namesake, the writer of a grant of Amma II.¹

Ranastipûndi, the village granted, belonged to the Guddavâdi-vishaya² (I. 62). I am unable to identify either Ranastipûndi or the other villages which are mentioned in the description of its boundaries. As regards Kâramachêdu, where the donee is stated to have come from, it may be mentioned that there is a village named Kârimchêdu, 9 miles west of Bâpatla in the Kistna district.³

TEXT.⁴

First. Plate.

- 1 ❀ श्रीधाम्नः पुरुषोत्तमस्य महती नारायणस्य प्रभोर्नाभीपङ्कजहाडभूव
जगतस्स्रष्टा स्वयंभूस्त-
- 2 तः [1*] जज्ञे मानससूनु रचिरिति यस्तस्मान्मुनेरचितस्सीमो वंश[क]रस्सुधांशु-
रुदित[.] [1*] श्रीकण्ठचूडामणिः । [1*]
- 3 तस्मादासीत्सुधा[.] सूतेर्बुधो बु[ध]नुतस्ततः [1*] ज[1*]तः पुरुरवा⁵
नाम चक्रवर्त्ति म्र[.] विक्रमः । [2*] गद्यम् । तस्मादायुरा-
- 4 युषो नहुषः नहुषाद्ययातिचक्रवर्त्ति वंशकर्त्ता ततः पुरुरि[ति] चक्रवर्त्ति
ततो जनमेजयाश्वमेधचितय-⁶
- 5 स्य कर्त्त[1*]⁷ । ततः प्राचीशः प्राचीशाख्यैर्न्यातिस्सैन्ययातेर्हयपतिर्हयपते-
स्सार्वाभौमस्सार्वाभौ-
- 6 माज्जयसेनः जयसेनास्सहाभौमः महाभौमादेशानकः ऐशानकात्क्रीधाननः
क्रीधाननाद्देवकिः
- 7 देवकेरिचुकः⁸ रिचुकादृचकः ऋच[कान्म]तिनरस्सत्रयागयाजी¹⁰ सरस्वतीनदीनाथः
ततः कात्या-
- 8 यनः कात्यायनाद्नीलः नीलाद्युथन्तः[.] स्त[स्मू]तः¹¹ । आर्य्य[1*] । गंगा-
यमुनातीरे यद्विचित्रं निखाय¹² यु-
- 9 प[1*]न्क्रमशः [1*] क्रित्वा¹³ तथाश्वमेधानाम महाकर्म्मभरत यिति¹⁴
योलभतः[.] । [3*] ततो भरताङ्गमन्युर्भूमन्योस्सुहोत्रस्सुहोत्रा-
- 10 हस्ती हस्ति[नो विरोच*]नः विरोचनादजमीलः अजमीलास्संवरणः संवर-
णस्य तपनसुतायास्तपत्याश्च सुधन्वा सुधन्व-

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 17.² On Guddavâdi see above, Vol. V. p. 123 and note 2.³ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 83.⁴ From the original copper-plates.⁵ Read पुरुरवा.⁶ Read °जयीश्वमेध°.⁷ See above, Vol. IV. p. 304, note 3.⁸ Read °शास्त्रैर्न्य°.⁹ Read °केस्रमुकः सुमुका°.¹⁰ Read °न्यातिवरस्सुत°.¹¹ Read नीलाद्युथन्तस्सुतः.¹² Read °विचित्रं निखाय°.¹³ Read कृत्या.¹⁴ Read इति.

- 11 न॰परिचित्परिचितो भीमसेनः भीमसेनाद्यदीपन॰प्रदीपनाच्चन्त[नुश]-¹
 न्तनोर्विचित्रवीर्यः विचित्रवीर्य[1*]त्याण्डराजः । आ-
 12 र्य[1*] । पुत्रास्तस्य च धर्मजभीमार्जुननकुलसहदेवाः [1*] पंचेन्द्रियवत्पंच
 स्युर्विषयग्राहिणस्तत्र(ः) । [४*] वृत्तं । येना-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 दाहि विजित्य ²काण्डवमथो [ग]ा[ण्डो]विना वज्रिणं युद्धे ³पाशुपतास्त्रव-
 [म्वक]रिषोश्चालाभि दैत्यान्बह्निन्द्रार्ह[1*]सनमध्यरोहि⁴ ज-
 14 यिना यत्कालिकेयादिकान्दत्वा स्वैरमकारि [व]शविपिनच्छेदः [कुरुणां वि]-
 भोः । [५*] ⁵ततोऽनुनादभिमन्युरभिमन्यो॰परिचित् परिचित्*ती जन-
 15 मेजयः जनमेजयात्केमुकः⁶ क्षेमुकावरवाहनः नरवा[हन]ा[च्च]तानीकः⁷ शता-
 नीकादुदयनः तत॰परं तद्वध-
 16 ⁸तिस्त्रिविचित्रसन्तानेष्वयोध्यासिंहासनासीनेष्वेकाद्वषष्टिचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तं दृश्यो⁹
 विजयादित्यो नाम राज[1*] विजिगीष-
 17 या दक्षिणापथं गत्वा त्रिलोचनपञ्चवमधिचिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकान्तरमग-
 मत् । तस्मिन्कुले
 18 पुरोहितेन सार्धमन्तर्व्वन्नी तस्य महादेवी मुडिवे[मु]नामाग्रहारमुपगम्य
 तद्वास्तव्येन विष्णुभट्ट-
 19 सोमयाजिना दुहितुनिर्व्विशेषमभिरक्षिता स[ती]¹⁰ विष्णुवर्द्धनमसूत [1*]
 सा तस्य च कुमारकस्य मा-
 20 ¹¹नव्यसगीत्रहारितपुत्रादिस्त्रचत्रगीत्रक्रमो[चि]तानि कर्म[1*]णि कारयित्वा
 तमवर्द्धयत् । स च मा-
 21 त्रा ¹²विदितव्रितांतस्त्रिर्गल्य [च]लुक्कगिरौ न[न्द]ां भगवतीं गौ[री]मारा-
 ध्य कुमार[न]ारायणमातृगणांश्च संतर्प्य¹³ खेता-¹³
 22 ¹⁴तपत्रैकगंखपंचमहाशब्दपालिकेतनप्रतिडक्कावराह[लांच्छन]पिंश्च[कंतसि]हासन-
 मकरतोरणकन[क*]दण्डगंगा-

¹ Read °नाच्छन्तनु°.

² Read खाण्डव°.

³ Read °स्त्रमन्वकरिपो°.

⁴ Read °बहन् । इन्द्रा°.

⁵ Read ततोर्जुना°.

⁶ The कः of °यात्केमुकः is corrected from का ; read °यात्वेमुकः.

⁷ Read °नाच्छतानीकः.

⁸ Read °तिस्त्रिविच्छिन्न°.

⁹ Read तं दृश्यो.

¹⁰ After सती the original has some letter which seems to have been erased by the engraver.

¹¹ Read °हारितोपुत्रा°. The other published versions of this passage (with the exception of the Tēki and Pithāpuram plates) read °पुत्रदिपचगोत्र°.

¹² Read °वृत्तांत°.

¹³ The ने of खेता° looks like ने

¹⁴ Read °शंख°, °प्रतिडक्का° and °पिंश्च°.

	PAGE		PAGE
Avatsāra,	141	R	
Bārhaspatya,	146	Rācha, <i>ch.</i> ,	109, 128
Dēvarāta,	136, 141	Rāchamalla I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	48, 52, 57, 59, 62, 63, 70, 71
Kāśyapa,	141	Rāchamalla II., <i>do.</i> ,	57, 59, 69n
Naidhruva,	141	Rāchamma, <i>m.</i> ,	44n
Tuṭhiyalla,	17, 19	Rachcha-Ganga, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	59, 69n
Viśvāmītra,	141	Rachchhyānalla, <i>s. a.</i> Rāchamalla I.,	71
Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa, <i>name of a work</i> ,	204	Rācheya-Ganga, <i>ch.</i> ,	68, 70, 71
Prichchhakarāja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> ,	27, 34	Rāchiya-Peddēri, <i>m.</i> ,	350, 361
Prithiviballava, <i>s. a.</i> Prithivivallabha,	190n	Rāchiya-Peddēri-Bhima, <i>m.</i> ,	351
Prithivi-Kōṅguṇi, <i>sur. of Muttarasa</i> ,	59	Rādha, <i>co.</i> ,	203, 204
Prithivipati I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	59, 65	Rādhanpur, <i>vi.</i> , 64n, 165n, 171, 172n, 173, 183, 184, 185, 186, 193, 194, 197, 209, 239, 252n, 256	
Prithivipati II., <i>do.</i> ,	59, 60, 65, 75, 82, 191n	Rādheya, <i>s. a.</i> Karṇa,	273, 275, 277
Prithivivallabha or Prithivivallabha, <i>biruda</i> , 168, 169n, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 182, 186, 188, 191, 192, 194, 195, 240		Rādhiya,	203n
Prithivivarman, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	134	Rāghava, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	200
Prithvirāma, <i>m.</i> ,	37	Rāghava, <i>s. a.</i> Rāma,	217n, 219
Prithivīvara, <i>Velanāṇḍu ch.</i> ,	127n, 269	Rāghava or Raghunāyaka, <i>te.</i> ,	112, 131, 231, 232
Prōlamadēvi, <i>f.</i> ,	147, 156	Rāghavēndrasvāmī-maṭṭa,	261n, 265n
Pūjyapāda, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	81	Raghu, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	4, 11n, 268n
Pulakēśin I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , 61n, 72, 169n, 189, 191, 192		Raghuvamśa, <i>quoted</i> , 3, 4, 7n, 8n, 9n, 10n, 11n, 168n, 247n, 250n	
Pulakēśin II., <i>do.</i> , 2, 3, 7n, 72, 81, 161, 171, 189, 190, 191		Rāhappa, <i>ch.</i> ,	170
Pūnāḍu six-thousand, <i>di.</i> ,	61, 66, 67, 68	rahasya, <i>s. a.</i> rahasyādhikṛta,	13n
Puṇḡapūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	323	rahasyādhikṛta, <i>a private secretary</i> ,	13
pura = 3,	128n, 129n	Rājabhīma II., <i>s. a.</i> Chalukya-Bhīma II.,	358
Purale, <i>vi.</i> ,	83	rājadhāni,	323
Puṇanāpūru, <i>name of a work</i> ,	331	rājādhirāja,	111 add, 193
Pūrāvi, <i>s. a.</i> Pūrṇā,	286, 287	Rājādhirāja I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , 22, 23, 24, 169n, 214, 218n, 224	
Puri, <i>vi.</i> ,	10	Rājāditya, <i>do.</i> ,	51, 52, 53, 55, 57
Purigere, <i>s. a.</i> Lakshmēshwar,	164, 165, 166	Rājagambhīra, <i>sur. of</i> Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara,	324
Purigere-nāḍ, <i>di.</i> ,	107n	Rājagopāla-Perumāl, <i>te.</i> ,	24, 252, 283, 284
Purigere three-hundred, <i>di.</i> ,	27, 52, 53, 57, 70	Rājaguru, <i>sur. of</i> Vāmaśakti,	94
Pūrṇā, <i>ri.</i> ,	237	Rājakesarivarman, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	321
Pūrnāprajña, <i>sur. of</i> Ānandatīrtha,	261	Rājakesarivarman, <i>sur. of Chōla kings</i> ,	169n, 221, 224, 227, 282
Purushōttama, <i>m.</i> ,	141	Rājamahēndra, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	169n
Purushōttama-mahātīrtha or Purushōttama-tīrtha, <i>sur. of</i> Achyutaprēkshāchārya, 260, 261, 265		Rājamahēndra, <i>sur. of</i> Amma I.,	47
Pushabhūti or Pushyabhūti, <i>k.</i> ,	247n	Rājamahēndra, <i>sur. of</i> Amma II.,	47
Pushavanēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	307	Rājamahēndri (Rajamundri), <i>vi.</i> ,	110n, 335
Pustaka-gachcha,	26, 36	Rājamalla, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	43, 47, 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 82
pustakapāla,	141	Rājamārtanḍa, <i>sur. of</i> Indra III.,	176
putṭi, <i>measure</i> ,	118	Rājamārtanḍa, <i>sur. of</i> Indra IV.,	182
Puttūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	327	Rājamārtanḍa, <i>sur. of</i> Khoṭṭiga,	180
Puvakotuja, <i>m.</i> ,	88	Rājanārāyaṇa-Vinnagara, <i>te.</i> ,	229n
Pāvina-Pullimaṅgala, <i>s. a.</i> Hulimaṅgala,	48, 50		

	PAGE		PAGE
Rajaperamāśvara,	111 add., 221, 227, 346	Rajambha, s. a. Rajastambha,	add.
Rajaputra,	135, 141, 168n, 199	Rajappa, m.,	286
Rajaraja, <i>Chōra ch.</i> ,	331, 332, 333, 334	Rajarāga, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	8
Rajarāja, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	223n, 348.	Rajastambha, <i>Rāshtrakūta k.</i> ,	add.
	349, 350	Rajastambhapura, s. a. Ranthambhor,	add.
Rajarāja, <i>sur. of Chōlagaiga</i> ,	334, 335, 345.	Rajastipūrādi, <i>vi.</i> ,	349, 351, 361
	346, 347	Rarāvalōka, <i>sur. of Kambayya</i> ,	65, 188, 195, 197
Rajarāja, <i>sur. of Muramādi-Chōla</i> ,	334, 335	Rajavikrama, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	43, 59, 63, 65, 66, 69n
Rajarāja I., <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	20, 24, 349, 350	Rajavikramayya, <i>do.</i> ,	61, 62
Rajarāja III., <i>do.</i> ,	282, 283, 284, 285	Rajavikrānta-Buddhavarmanrāja, <i>Gujarāt Cha-</i>	
Rajarāja II., <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	199, 200	<i>lukya ch.</i> ,	189
Rajarājendra, <i>sur. of Kulōttunga I.</i> ,	221	Rajgnātha, <i>te.</i> ,	51n, 303, 322, 323, 325, 330
Rajarājendra, <i>sur. of Vikrama-Chōla</i> ,	227	Ranganāja, s. a. Ranganātha,	330
Rajasthā, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	73, 220n	Ranna, <i>Kānarese poet</i> ,	71
Rajasinha, <i>sur. of Amoghavarsha I.</i> ,	174	Ranthambhor, <i>vi.</i> ,	add.
Rajasinha, <i>sur. of Panditaranga</i> ,	168	rāshtragāṇamamahattara,	297, 300
Rajāsina, <i>sur. of Gōvinda I.</i> ,	168	rāshtrakūta, <i>a headman</i> ,	346, 360
Rajasinha, <i>sur. of Indravarman I.</i> ,	72	Rāshtrakūta, <i>dy.</i> ,	add., 25, 26, 27, 28n, 31,
Rajasrīvita, <i>a royal decree</i> ,	99, 102, 107n		35n, 47, 48, 51, 61, 64, 70, 72, 74, 75,
Rajasundari, s. a. Śevilimēdu,	228, 229		76, 82, 83, 100, 160, 161, 163, 165, 167,
Rajataranginī, <i>quoted</i> ,	250n		168, 169, 170, 172n, 173, 174n, 181n,
Rajathirra, <i>sur. of Kēka II.</i> ,	52n, 174n, 182		182, 184n, 187n, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192,
rajavalalāha,	135n		193, 194, 196, 208, 209, 212, 240, 249,
Rajavallabha or Rajavallabha-Pālavavarman,			252, 256, 257, 258, 287, 315n
<i>sur. of Mādha</i> ,	220, 223	rāshtrapati,	35, 241, 286
Rājendra-Chōla, <i>Telanōmdu ch.</i> ,	269, 273, 274, 276	Rāsin, <i>vi.</i> ,	242
Rājendra-Chōla I., <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	20, 21, 22, 24.	Rāsiyana, s. a. Rāsin,	242
	169n, 224, 350	Rāsiyana-bhukti, <i>di.</i> ,	241, 242
Rājendra-Chōla II., s. a. Kulōttunga-Chōla I.,	220	Rātājan, <i>vi.</i> ,	242
Rājendrakōva, <i>Chōla k.</i> ,	23, 24, 169n, 214,	Rathāṅga, m.,	203
	217, 218n	Ratnapālavarman, <i>Prāgipāṭisha k.</i> ,	134
Rājyavardhana, <i>Kanauj k.</i> ,	143, 144	Ratnāvalōka, <i>sur. of Bappavarasa</i> ,	189 add.
Rāma, m.,	230	Ratnavars' a, <i>sur. of Vijayāditya</i> ,	208, 213
Rāma, <i>saint</i> ,	93, 106, 109, 112, 113, 127, 129n,	Rattā, s. a. Rāshtrakūta,	53n, 106, 179n, 189n
	131, 179n, 217n, 218, 231, 260n, 261,	Rattajjuna or Rattajuna, s. a. Rātājan,	241, 242
	275, 346n	Rattakandarpa, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> ,	177
Rāma, s. a. Paraśurāma,	359	Rattakandarpa, <i>sur. of Indra III.</i> ,	176, 186
Rāmabhadra, s. a. Rāma,	168, 231, 346	Rattakandarpa, <i>sur. of Indra IV.</i> ,	182
Rāmāśva, <i>te.</i> ,	257	Rattakandarpa, <i>sur. of Khottiga</i> ,	180
Rāmānjābhārya, <i>Vaiṣṇava teacher</i> ,	261	Rattavidyādhara, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> ,	177
Rāmapūrvatāpaniya-Upanishad,	131n	Rāvāna, <i>demon</i> ,	127, 156
Rāmatāpaniya-Upanishad,	127n	Raviga, <i>ch.</i> ,	214, 215, 217, 218, 219n
Rāmāyana, <i>quoted</i> ,	19n, 20n	Ravika, m.,	141
Rāmāyā Bhāskara, m.,	111	Ravikirti, <i>poet</i> ,	2, 3, 4, 7n, 11n, 12
Rāmēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	114	Ravikulatilaka, <i>sur. of Kulōttunga I.</i> ,	221
Rāmēśvara, <i>tīrtha</i> ,	64n	Rāyakōta, <i>vi.</i> ,	333n
Rāmnād, <i>vi.</i> ,	324, 325	Rāyapa-Bhāskara, m.,	116
Rāmpura, <i>vi.</i> ,	67, 68	Reḍḍi, <i>dy.</i> ,	110, 233
Rapabhaṇja, <i>ch.</i> ,	134, 136	Rētūri, <i>vi.</i> ,	115
rāpaka,	136	Rōvā, <i>vi.</i> ,	10

	PAGE
Révakanimmaḍi, <i>queen of Bātuga II.</i> ,	51n, 52n, 59, 70, 71
Révanta, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	275
Réva'i, <i>island</i> ,	8
Réyaiyyabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	241
Rompicharla, <i>vi.</i> ,	113, 116
Rudaghosaja (Rudraghōshārya), <i>m.</i> ,	318
Rudavennhuja (Rudravishnūvārya), <i>m.</i> ,	318
Rudra, <i>Amarāvati ch.</i> ,	147
Rudra, <i>Nātavāḍi ch.</i> ,	157, 158, 159, 160
Rudrabhaṭṭa, <i>author</i> ,	132n
Rudradāman, <i>Kshatrapa k.</i> ,	19n, 20n, 165n
Rudradēva, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> ,	39n, 163n
rūpaka, <i>alamkāra</i> ,	346n

S

Śabara, <i>tribe</i> ,	260, 266
Sabbā or Sabbamā, <i>queen of Bhīma II.</i> ,	147, 148, 155, 156
Sabbaka-Māre-Bōya, <i>m.</i> ,	156
Sabbāmbikāpuram, <i>sur. of Kōkallu</i> ,	147, 156
Śabdamanidarpana, <i>quoted</i> ,	43n, 106n, 179n, 255n
Śadaiyar, <i>te.</i> ,	321
Sadāsivarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> ,	231n
Sidēva, <i>m.</i> ,	162n
Śaduppēri, <i>vi.</i> ,	321
Sagara, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	16, 52, 56
Sagaratrinētra, <i>sur. of Maṇalera</i> ,	53n
sahagamana,	215
Sāhasānka, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> ,	177
Sāhasōttunga, <i>biruda</i> ,	275, 276
Sahya, <i>mo.</i> ,	132
Saigoṭṭa, <i>sur. of Śivamāra II.</i> ,	65
Śailapāśchātyadīpa, <i>sur. of Buddharāja</i> ,	269
Śailōdbhava, <i>ch.</i> ,	144
Sainyabhīta, <i>biruda</i> ,	143, 144
Śaiva,	57n, 93, 148, 199
Śaka, <i>tribe</i> ,	359
Sakaṭamantani-nāṇḍu, <i>di</i> ,	220, 223
śakti = 3,	128n
Śaktivarman, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	348, 349, 359
Śakuntalā, <i>quoted</i> ,	299n
Sala, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	90, 94
Śālimā, <i>vi.</i> ,	144, 146
Śālivāhana, <i>k.</i> ,	112, 131, 232
sallēkhanā,	182
Sālōṭgi, <i>vi.</i> ,	178, 186
Sāluva-Rāghava, <i>te.</i> ,	113, 131

Sāluva-Sāluva, <i>biruda</i> ,	131n
Sāluva-Timmaṇṇa, <i>s. a. Sāluva-Timma</i> ,	109n
Sālva or Śālva, <i>tribe</i> ,	131n
Sāluva- or Sāluva-Timma, <i>ch.</i> , 109, 110, 111 and add., 112, 114, 115, 116, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 231, 232, 233	
Sāmāṅgaḍ, <i>vi.</i> , 26, 167, 168, 181n, 182, 183, 187n, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 208, 209, 212n	
sāmanta,	71, 135, 155, 297, 300
Śāmasāstrin or Rāmasāstrin, <i>s. a. Naraharitirtha</i> , 261	
Samasi-Guḍigere, <i>vi.</i> ,	254
Samastabhuvanāśraya, <i>sur. of E. Chalukya kings</i> ,	221
Samastarājāśraya, <i>sur. of Kulōttunga I.</i> ,	221
sāmavājika or sāmavājika, <i>s. a. sāmavājin</i> ,	135n
sāmavājin,	125
Samayapuram, <i>vi.</i> ,	322
Sambhaka, <i>m.</i> ,	136
saṁdhivigrahin,	203, 220
Samgama, <i>vi.</i> ,	29, 37
Samgama II., <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> ,	108, 130n
Samgamnēr, <i>vi.</i> ,	82
Samhitā,	204
Śaṁkarāchārya,	232n, 261, 265n
Śaṁkarāchārya-maṭha,	263n
Śaṁkaragana, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> ,	295, 296, 299
Samkrandana, <i>s. a. Indra</i> ,	277
saṁkrānti : —	135, 136
Kanyā-saṁkrānti,	259, 260
Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti, 141, 177n, 180n, 221, 268, 273, 279, 286 and add.	
Vishuva-saṁkrānti,	221, 223
saṁtāna, saṁtānaka or saṁtati, the seven, 129, 130	
Samudragupta, <i>Gupta k.</i> ,	3n
saṁgadirakshapālaka,	233n
Sāṅgavūr, <i>s. a. Sungoor</i> ,	251, 252, 253
Sāṅgli, <i>vi.</i> , 26n, 76, 172, 176, 177, 183, 184, 186, 190, 192, 193	
Sāṅgōkā, <i>f.</i> ,	203
Saṅkalāpura, <i>vi.</i> ,	281n
Saṅkama, <i>Kalachurya k.</i> ,	92
Saṅkbhēḍā, <i>vi.</i> ,	295
Śāntara, <i>family</i> ,	9
Śāntikara, <i>k.</i> ,	135
Śāntilla, <i>ch.</i> ,	295
Śāntivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> ,	13
Śāntivarman, <i>Raṭṭa ch.</i> ,	179n
Saragūru, <i>vi.</i> ,	66n, 73n
Sārāṁvu, <i>vi.</i> ,	50
Sarasīpuri, <i>vi.</i> ,	3

	PAGE		PAGE
Sarasvati, <i>f.</i> ,	203n	Sellakêtana, <i>s. a.</i> Chellakêtana,	27, 28n, 35
Sarasvati, <i>goddess</i> ,	128n, 218	Sellavidēga, <i>biruda</i> ,	28n
Sarāṭavura, <i>s. a.</i> Sorāṭūr,	107n	Sellavidyādhara, <i>ch.</i> ,	28n
Sarbhon, <i>vi.</i> ,	256	Śembiyaṇ-Māvalivānarāyaṇ, <i>sur. of</i> Prithivi-	
Sarbhōṇ, <i>vi.</i> ,	257n	pati II.,	191n
Sarsavni, <i>vi.</i> ,	294	śēnabhōgika, <i>a village clerk</i> ,	285n, 286
Sarhātāilāṭa forty-two, <i>di.</i> ,	236	śēnādhipati,	92
Sārvabhauma, <i>the elephant of Kubera</i> ,	359	Sēnānandarāja, <i>Sēndraka ch.</i> ,	191
Sarvadarśanasamgraha,	261	Sēndra, <i>s. a.</i> Sēndraka,	73n, 81
Sarvajñachakravartin, <i>sur. of</i> Sōmēśvara III,	91n	Sēndraka, <i>family</i> ,	72, 73n, 107n, 191, 192, 254
Sarvalokāśraya, <i>sur. of E. Chalukya kings</i> , 220, 223, 335, 346, 348, 359, 360		Śēngama, <i>vi.</i> ,	329, 333
sarvamānya,	114	Śēngēṇi Ammaiyaṇṇ Attimallaṇ, <i>sur. of</i> Vikrama-Chōla-Sambuvarāyaṇ,	333
sarvanamasya,	93	Śāñji, <i>s. a.</i> Gingee,	322, 323
Sarvānanda, <i>author</i> ,	203n	Śātavinabīḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	91
Śaśakapura or Śaśapura, <i>s. a.</i> Sosavūru,	90, 94	Sōṇa, <i>co.</i> ,	82
Śāśāka, <i>Karṇasavarna k.</i> ,	143	Śevāgamēḍu, <i>s. a.</i> Śevilimēḍu,	223
Śāśākarāja, <i>k.</i> ,	143, 144, 146	Śevilimēḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	227, 228, 279
Śasavevāḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	28, 36	Śeyyagangar, <i>s. a.</i> Śiyagaṅgaṇ,	333
Sātālige or Sāntālige thousand, <i>di.</i> ,	254	shaḍaṅgavid,	241
Sātanūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	67	Shapmukha, <i>s. a.</i> Kumāra,	276
Sātārā, <i>vi.</i> ,	295n	Shaṭṣahasra, <i>di.</i> ,	147, 155, 224, 225, 227
sati (<i>sittē</i>),	215	Shiggaon, <i>vi.</i> ,	257
Śātrumalla, <i>sur. of</i> Mahēndravarmān I,	320	Shirkatti, <i>vi.</i> ,	101n
Sattenapalli, <i>vi.</i> ,	147, 148, 156, 269	Śiśaurinhāl, <i>vi.</i> ,	194
Satyā, <i>s. a.</i> Satyabhāmā,	216	Sholinghur, <i>vi.</i> ,	65n
Satyāśraya, <i>sur. of W. Chalukya kings</i> , 2, 4, 7, 11, 12, 81		Siddhala, <i>vi.</i> ,	203, 205
Satyāśraya or Satyāśraya-Vallabha, <i>s. a.</i> Pula- koṭin II.,	190n, 359	Siddhāntichandrabhūṣhaṇa, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> ,	93
Satyāśraya-Dhruvārāja-Indravarmān, <i>ch.</i> , 72, 73, 191n		Siddhitunga, <i>ch.</i> ,	189n
Satyavākya, <i>sur. of</i> Siddhāntichandrabhū- ṣhaṇa,	93	Sikimabri (?), <i>vi.</i> ,	29, 37
Satyavākya, <i>sur. of W. Gaṅga kings</i> , 41, 43, 44, 45n, 49n, 50n, 51, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70n, 71, 180, 259, 260		Śilālitya VII., <i>Palabhi k.</i> ,	297
Saujanayaratnākara, <i>sur. of</i> Vajra,	350, 361	Śilāīāra, <i>family</i> ,	168, 169n, 172n, 175, 176, 178, 181, 192
Saunvāyana, <i>s. a.</i> Uttarāyana,	268, 273	Silāmōgha, <i>k.</i> ,	214, 218
Saundaryalahari, <i>quoted</i> ,	232n	Silōdbhava, <i>family</i> ,	144, 146
Saundatti, <i>vi.</i> ,	179n, 258n	siman,	113, 114, 115, 116
Saurāshṭra, <i>co.</i> ,	197, 359	Sinhāchalām, <i>vi.</i> ,	262n, 266, 267
Saurya, <i>co.</i> ,	196, 197	Sinhādri, <i>s. a.</i> Sinhāchalām,	110 add.
Savagutaja (Śarvaguptāya), <i>m.</i> ,	318, 319	Sinhānandīn, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	75
Sāvarpa, <i>rishi</i> ,	203	Sinhavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> ,	17, 19
Sāvidēva, <i>ch.</i> ,	165n	Sinhavarman II., <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	17, 18n, 191
Savigija, <i>m.</i> ,	318	Sinā, <i>vi.</i> ,	242
Savvaibhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	241	Sinda, <i>family</i> ,	72n, 73n, 191n
Sāyānāchārya, <i>author</i> ,	261	Śingapuram, <i>vi.</i> ,	322, 323
		Singarāyakonda, <i>vi.</i> ,	335
		Sinhā, <i>s. a.</i> Sinā,	241, 242
		Siripodipūṇḍi, <i>vi.</i> ,	361
		Śirukkōṭṭai, <i>vi.</i> ,	333, 334
		Sirūr, <i>vi.</i> , 26, 98, 100n, 101n, 102, 103n, 104n, 106n, 107n, 175n, 209, 240	

	PAGE		PAGE
Śiṣupālavadha, <i>quoted</i> ,	249n	Śrīharsha, <i>m.</i> ,	37
Śitā, <i>queen</i> ,	218, 219, 260n, 261	Śrīkākulam, <i>vi.</i> ,	109
Śiva, <i>god</i> , 7n, 10n, 37n, 93, 94n, 114, 123n, 131n, 132n, 144, 146, 148, 155, 158, 169 add., 174, 179, 198, 199, 204n, 214, 215, 219, 228, 229, 230, 246n, 248n, 259n, 268, 274, 275, 277, 286, 296, 299, 319, 320, 344, 345n, 359, 361		Śrīkamātha or Kamātha, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīkūrmam,	266
Śiva-dina,	236	Śrīkaṇṭha, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> ,	94
Śivakara, <i>m.</i> ,	199	Śrīkūrmam, <i>vi.</i> ,	260, 262n, 266, 267, 268
Śivamahārāja, <i>s. a.</i> Śivamāra II.,	65	Śrīngeri, <i>vi.</i> ,	263n
Śivamāra I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , 59, 60, 63, 64, 72, 73, 74, 81n, 82		Śrīparvata, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīsailam,	51n
Śivamāra II., <i>do.</i> , 53n, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 69n, 256		Śrīprithivīvallabha or Śrīprithivīvallabha, <i>biruda</i> , 168n, 169n, 187n, 203, 221	
Śivarāja, <i>m.</i> ,	300	Śrīpuruṣa, <i>sur. of</i> Muttarasa, 42, 43, 52n, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 73, 82, 256	
Śivarpātṇa, <i>vi.</i> ,	65	Śrīrangam, <i>vi.</i> , 51n, 231, 303, 307, 309, 322, 323, 324, 330	
Śivaskandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , 17n, 85, 88, 315, 316		Śrīrangpur, <i>vi.</i> ,	162n
Śivapūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	255n	Śrīsailam, <i>vi.</i> ,	93
Śiyagaṅga, <i>ch.</i> ,	333	Śrīsena, <i>m.</i> ,	213
Śiyamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> ,	319, 320	Śrī-Tribhuvanāmkuṣa, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	334, 347
Si-yu-ki,	136, 143	Śrīvallabha, <i>biruda</i> , 163, 165, 167, 168n, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 240	
Skandagupta, <i>ch.</i> ,	248n	Śrīvāra, <i>s. a.</i> Śirūr,	107n
Ślēsha, <i>ālamkāra</i> ,	241, 343	Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya, <i>Gujarāt Chāluḫya ch.</i> ,	295n
Smārta, <i>sect</i> ,	262n	Stambha, <i>s. a.</i> Kambayya, 174n, 183, 188, 197, 252, 256	
Smṛiti,	146, 204	Stambhēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	319
Sōmana-Peggaḍa, <i>m.</i> ,	276	sthānāchārya, <i>a chief priest</i> ,	93
Sōmappa, <i>ch.</i> ,	324	sthānādhikarāṇika,	135n
Sōmēśvara, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> ,	93, 94	sthānādhikṛita,	135n
Sōmēśvara, <i>te.</i> ,	274, 276, 277	sthānāntarika,	135, 141
Sōmēśvara I., <i>W. Chāluḫya k.</i> ,	169n	St. Thomas' Mount,	89
Sōmēśvara III., <i>do.</i> ,	91n	St. Thomé, <i>vi.</i> ,	89
Sōmēśvara IV., <i>do.</i> ,	83, 92	Subandhu, <i>author</i> ,	240
Sōraṭa, <i>co.</i> ,	218	Śubhachandrapāṇḍita, <i>m.</i> ,	257
Soraṭūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	55n, 107n, 179, 185, 190n	Śubbākara, <i>k.</i> ,	135
Sosavdru, <i>vi.</i> ,	90	Śubhatuṅga, <i>sur. of</i> Krishna I., 17, 34, 161, 169, 174n, 186, 208, 212	
Sōvidēva, <i>Kaḷachurya k.</i> ,	92	Śubhatuṅga, <i>sur. of</i> Krishna II.,	175, 186
Sownshee, <i>vi.</i> ,	254	Subrahmaṇya, <i>vi.</i> ,	261n
Sphurita, <i>sur. of</i> Budha,	203	Śuchindram, <i>vi.</i> ,	20
Śrāhi,	220, 221, 278n	Sūḍi, <i>vi.</i> ,	57n, 60, 73, 82, 255n, 256n
Śrāvakulu, <i>family</i> ,	346	Sūdra, <i>caste</i> ,	147, 157, 214, 215, 268n, 269, 273
Śravaṇa-Belgola, <i>vi.</i> , 25, 40, 55n, 65, 82, 91, 179, 180, 184, 187n, 195		Sūdraka, <i>mythical k.</i> ,	56
Śrēsthīn,	17, 19	Sugata, <i>s. a.</i> Buddha,	155
Śriballaba, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīvallabha,	165, 166	Sulla, <i>vi.</i> ,	23, 37
Śribhavana, <i>s. a.</i> Shiggaon,	250, 256, 257	Sulliyūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	251 add.
Śridhara, <i>m.</i> ,	203, 213	Sumatindramātha, <i>s. a.</i> Rāghavēndrasvāmīmaṭha, 265n	
Śridvāra,	361	summer,	85, 89
Śrīharsha, <i>k.</i> ,	212	Sun, race of the,	227, 268n

T	
tadāyuktaka,	135, 141
Tādīvāya, <i>s. a.</i> Taduvaya,	147, 148, 156
Taduvaya, <i>vi.</i> ,	148
Tagadai, <i>s. a.</i> Tagadūr,	331, 332, 333, 334
Tagadūr, <i>s. a.</i> Dharmapuri,	331, 333
Tagadūr-nādu, <i>di.</i> ,	331
Tagadūru, <i>vi.</i> ,	73n, 326, 331n
Taggalūru, <i>vi.</i> ,	52n
Taila II., <i>W. Chālukya k</i> ,	51n, 71, 72, 182, 191n, 254
Taila III., <i>do.</i> ,	91
Tailapanāṅkakāra, <i>sur. of</i> Bhimarasa,	254
Takatā, <i>s. a.</i> Tagadūr,	331, 332
Takkōlam, <i>vi.</i> ,	51, 53, 55
Talakād, <i>vi.</i> ,	28, 42, 57, 59, 83, 256, 259
talakattū,	108, 109
talaprahārin,	285, 296
Talavanapura, <i>s. a.</i> Talakād,	28, 36

	PAGE
talavargin,	108n
Talekâdu, <i>s. a.</i> Talakâd,	214, 215, 218
Taleyûra, <i>vi.</i> ,	26, 28, 36
Tâlgund, <i>vi.</i> ,	7n, 8n, 15n, 254
Tâlikhêda, <i>vi.</i> ,	28, 37
Tâmrapura, <i>s. a.</i> Chêbrôlu,	39
Tâpaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	230
Tanjore, <i>vi.</i> ,	53n, 179, 232n, 350
Tankala, <i>field</i> ,	361
Tantra,	204
Tantravârttika, <i>name of a work</i> ,	204n, 205
Tapadânakakâra, <i>biruda</i> ,	57n
Tapti, <i>vi.</i> ,	170
Târamangalam, <i>vi.</i> ,	310, 311, 312
Tautâtîmatatilaka, <i>name of a work</i> ,	205
Tâyâlûr, <i>vi.</i> ,	70, 73, 254n
Tekal or Tyâkal, <i>vi.</i> ,	52n
Têki, <i>vi.</i> ,	334, 335, 336, 348, 352n
Teliki thousand, <i>family</i> ,	336, 346
Telungu, <i>s. a.</i> Telugu co.,	253
Tennârûr-nâdu, <i>di.</i> ,	320
Tennattûr, <i>vi.</i> ,	320n
Thâpêsar, <i>vi.</i> ,	143
Tigavi, <i>s. a.</i> Tugaon,	241 242
tiger crest,	73n, 50
Timma, <i>ch.</i> ,	111, 129, 131n, 232
Timma, <i>s. a.</i> Sâlva-Timma,	130
Timmaya, <i>do.</i> ,	103n
Tinnevelly, <i>vi.</i> ,	302, 303, 304, 305, 308, 309, 312
Tippambâ, <i>queen of</i> Bukka II.,	330
Tirthamkara,	25
Tiruchcheṇṇambûṇḍi, <i>vi.</i> ,	321
Tiruchehirâppalli, <i>s. a.</i> Trichinopoly,	322
tiruchchurumâligai,	232n
Tirukkalukkuṇṇam, <i>vi.</i> ,	185, 230n, 307, 324n, 326
Tirukkarali, <i>s. a.</i> Stambhêvara,	320
Tirukkâṭṭupalli, <i>vi.</i> ,	304
Tirumala or Tirumalai, <i>the Tirupati hill</i> , 232,	
	322, 323
Tirumalai near Pôlûr, <i>vi.</i> ,	320n, 324n, 325,
	331, 332, 334n
Tirumalavâdi, <i>vi.</i> ,	306, 308
Tirumâlirunḡjôlai, <i>vi.</i> ,	323
Tirunârâyanaapuram, <i>s. a.</i> Mêlukôte,	322
Tiruppâlaiyâr, <i>vi.</i> ,	322
Tirup pandurutti, <i>vi.</i> ,	307, 330
Tirupparuttikkunṇu, <i>vi.</i> ,	329
Tirupukkali, <i>vi.</i> ,	324, 325
Tiruppullâni, <i>vi.</i> ,	324, 326
Tiruppûvaṇam, <i>vi.</i> ,	83n, 301, 302n, 303n, 324

	PAGE		PAGE
Tiruvadi, vi.,	331	tuppaderē, tar,	107n
Tiruvadi-rājya, di.,	331n	Turagavedeiga, biruda,	55n
Tiruvaḍi-rājya, di.,	331n	Turuka, s. a. Turushka,	233
Tiruvaiyāru, vi.,	306, 350	Turushka, a Musalmān,	322n
Tiruvallam, vi.,	65, 320, 321	Turvasu, mythical k.,	231
Tiruvañjikulam, vi.,	331	Tusām, vi.,	108n
Tiruvannāmalai, vi.,	326, 327, 328, 329	Tyāgasamudra, sur. of Vikrama-Chōla,	228
Tiruveṅgādū, vi.,	284	Tyāgavārākara, s. a. Tyāgasamudra,	228, 229
Tiruvorriyūr, vi.,	283, 310		
tiṇili, musical instrument,	106	U	
Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, co.,	85, 322, 323, 332n	ubhayamukhi,	255n
Toral, vi.,	83	Uchchaigi, vi.,	91, 95
Torkheḍē, vi.,	173, 186n, 187, 193, 194	Udayāditya, Hoysala k.,	90, 91, 95
Tottaramūdi, vi.,	84, 110	Udayagiri, vi.,	110
Tovagūru, vi.,	48, 50	Udayana, poet,	199
Trailokyamalla, ch.,	225	Udayendiram, vi.,	60, 65, 75, 82, 190n, 191n
Traividya, sur. of Mēghachandra,	25, 37	uddēsa,	136, 141
tribhōga,	93	Ūdipi, vi.,	261n, 262n
tribhuvanachakravartin,	221, 333	udraṅga,	300
Tribhuvanamalla-Jagaddēva, Śántara ch.,	91	Ugrāditya, m.,	136
Tribhuvanānkuśa, sur. of Vimalāditya,	350, 359	Ujjain, vi.,	173n, 196, 197
Trichinopoly, vi.,	320, 322	Ujjvaladatta, author,	3n
Trikalayogīsa, Jaina teacher,	26, 36	Ukkal, vi.,	179, 185n, 223n, 321
Trikinga, co.,	198, 199	Ummaṭṭasimha, k.,	135
Tri-kūṭēsvara, te.,	89, 93	Unalāru, vi.,	29, 37
Tri-kūṭēsvara-Niṭladriś, te.,	116	Ānamāijeri, vi.,	231n
Trilinga, the Telugu country,	93	Upadrāllu, family,	316
Triṇayana-Pallava, mythical k.,	147, 155, 277n	Unnuva, vi.,	113
Tripeṭra, s. a. Śiva,	53n, 54n, 55, 56, 174n, 178, 179n	upaḍhmāniya,	1, 2, 25, 143, 256, 295, 347
Trisāṃgamaka, vi.,	166n	uparika,	135, 141
Tritiya-Brahmatantrasvatantrasvamin, <i>Vaiṣṇava teacher,</i>	322	uparikara,	136, 141, 300
Trivandrum, vi.,	263n	upāya=4,	128n
trivedin,	241	Uppalapādu, vi.,	117, 148, 156
Trivikramapaṇḍita, m.,	261	Ūrukkaḍu, vi.,	321
Tryambaka, mo.,	132	Ūrukkaṭṭu-kōṭṭam, di.,	321, 322
Tsandavolu, vi.,	263, 274	Uruvupalli, vi.,	16, 17, 18n
tūbara, a tuskless elephant,	92n	Ushavadāta, m.,	19n
Tugaon, vi.,	242	utprēkshā, alankāra,	3, 346n
tuḷapurusha,	323	Uttamaharithrakathānakam. quoted,	250n
Tulukka, s. a. Tulushka,	322	Uttarādi-maṭha,	261n
Tulushka, a Musalmān,	325, 330	Uttarai, vi.,	213
Tumbadi, vi.,	48	Uttara-Kanderuvādi-vishaya, di.,	148
Tumbepādi, s. a. Tumbadi,	47, 48, 49	Uttaramallūr, vi.,	321
Tun-Andār, s. a. Stambhēsvara,	319, 320	Uttarapurāna,	28n
Tundira-maṇḍala, s. a. Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam,	332	Uttarārāmacharita, drama,	179n
Tunga, s. a. Rāshtarakūṭa,	189n, 345n	Ūtukūru, vi.,	156
Tungā, ri.,	256		
Tungabhadra, ri.,	64, 250, 256, 257, 259, 262		

	PAGE		PAGE
V		Vañji, vi.,	331, 332
Vāchaspati, m.,	203	Varadā, ri.,	9
Vaddiga, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> ,	52n, 55, 70, 71, 176n, 178, 187, 189	Varadākhanda-vishaya, di.,	135
Vaduga-vali, s. a. Āndhrapatha,	85n	Varāha, s. a. Varāhamihira,	204
Vagaṇ, s. a. Rājarāja,	331, 332	Varāha or Jayavarāha, k.,	196, 197
vāhyālī, a camp,	250n	Varahagrāma, s. a. Wurgaon,	241, 242
Vaidyadēva, ch.,	198n	Varāhamihira, astronomer,	9n, 204n
Vaidyajivana, name of a work,	132n	Vārāṇāsi or Vārāṇāsi (Benares), vi.,	45, 51n, 107, 156, 253
Vaidyanātha, te.,	306, 308	Vardhamāna, s. a. Wadhwan,	195, 196n
Vaidyanāthapura, vi.,	329	Varēśvara, m.,	57n
Vaijayanti, s. a. Banavāsi,	13, 15	Varuṇa, god,	8, 129n, 300
Vairamēgha, sur. of Dantidurga,	169	Varuṇa, vi.,	100n
Vaishṇava,	64n, 232n, 261, 266, 322	vasantagaruvu,	232
Vaishṇava-tithi, s. a. Hari-vāsara,	111n	vāsāpaka,	285, 286
vaiśvadēva,	300	Vāsavadattā, quoted,	240, 247n, 248n, 249n, 250n
Vaiśya, caste,	220, 223	Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣumāyi, <i>Andhra k.</i> ,	316
Vājivamśa, family,	add.	Vāsiyana, m.,	241n
Vajjiya-Peggada, s. a. Vajra,	350, 361	Vāsudēva, s. a. Kṛishṇa,	203
Vajra, m.,	350, 360, 361	Vātāpi, vi.,	8, 11, 169n, 191
Vajrahasta, <i>E. Ganga k.</i> ,	134	Vatsarāja, <i>Avanti k.</i> ,	195, 196n, 197, 248
Vajraṭa, k.,	212	Vatsarāja, m.,	26, 37
Vajrēśvara, te.,	92	Vatsarāja, mythical k.,	19, 273, 277
Vakkalēri, vi.,	18n, 164, 251 add.	Vavulālā, s. a. Baboolgaon,	241, 242
Vālabha-Kāyastha,	37	Vāyupurāṇa, quoted,	132n
Valabhi, vi.,	52, 56, 78, 166n, 249n, 294, 295n, 297	Vēdagiriśvara, te.,	307
Vallabha, sur. of <i>Rāshtrakūṭa kings</i> , 27, 34, 35, 36, 169, 170, 172, 173n, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 196, 197n, 212, 247		Vēda-Kōmbura, vi.,	230
Vallabha, sur. of <i>W. Chalukya kings</i> , 8, 189, 190, 192, 193, 212		Vēdānta,	127
Vallabhadēva, ch.,	134n	Vēdāntadēśika, <i>Vaishṇava teacher</i> ,	322, 323
Vallabharāja, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> ,	190n	Vēdas and śākhās:—	
Vallāḍadēva, <i>Hoysala k.</i> ,	323n	Yajus,	232
Vallam, vi.,	320	Kaṇva or Kāṇva,	136, 141, 300
Vallarāja, s. a. Vallabharāja,	190n	Taittiriya,	15, 241
Vallāvi-vishaya, di.,	17, 19	Vājasanēya,	141, 300
Vallimalai, vi.,	60, 63, 65, 82	Vēla, s. a. Skanda,	218
Vāmaśakti, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> ,	94	Velanāṇḍu, di.,	39, 148, 268, 269, 273, 276n
Vanagajamalla, sur. of Kṛishṇa III., 51n, 55n, 178, 179		Velandunūllu, family,	336
Vānapalli, vi.,	108, 129n, 130n, 230	Velaṅgagunṭa, pond,	361
Vanavāsa, s. a. Banavāsi,	28	Vēlāṇ Mādhavaṇ, s. a. Mādhava,	220, 223
Vanavāsi, do.,	9, 27, 35	Vēlāpura, s. a. Bēlūr,	90n
Vandyaghaṭiya,	203	Vellore, vi.,	185
Vaṅga, co.,	92, 106, 203	Velumanūllu, family,	336, 346
		Vēma, ch.,	109, 128
		Vēṅgi, co.,	3, 64n, 106, 171, 208, 209, 213, 224, 225, 250, 334, 335, 344, 345, 349, 350, 358, 360
		Vēṅkaṭa, m.,	229
		Vēṅkaṭa I., <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> ,	131n
		Vennayabhaṭṭa-Sōmayājīn, m.,	277n

	PAGE		PAGE
Véppambattu, <i>vi.</i> ,	329	Vikramārka, <i>Chāpa ch.</i> ,	196n
Véppūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	324n, 325	Vikramāvalōka, <i>sur. of Gōvinda II.</i> ,	203, 213
Vidayabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	347	Vikramēndravarmān II., <i>k.</i> ,	16, 18n
Vidugādalagiya-Perumāl, <i>Chēra ch.</i> , 331, 332,		Vikrāntanārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> ,	26n, 177
	333, 334	Villa, <i>vi.</i> ,	136
Vidyābharāṇa, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> ,	93, 94	Vimalāditya, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , 348, 349, 350,	
Vidyādharaḥhaṇja, <i>ch.</i> ,	134, 140, 141n		359, 360, 361
Vidyāiānya, <i>Advaita teacher</i> ,	263, 333	Vinayāditya, <i>Hoysala k.</i> ,	90, 95
Vidyāśamkara, <i>do.</i> ,	263n	Vinayāditya, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> 72, 81, 107n, 254	
viḥāra,	166n, 286, 287	Vināyakapāla, <i>Kanauj ch.</i> ,	198
Vijayābharāṇa, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> ,	221	Vindhya, <i>mo.</i> ,	10, 249n, 250, 256, 257, 296n
Vijaya-Buddhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	85n	Viṅgipātaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	136
Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava</i>		Vinikonda, <i>s. a. Vinukonda</i> , 112, 113, 114, 115,	
<i>k.</i> ,	321		116, 130
Vijayāditya, <i>ch.</i> ,	203, 213	Vinukonda, <i>vi.</i> ,	112, 113, 114, 116
Vijayāditya, <i>Chalukya k.</i> ,	336, 346, 359	Vipparla, <i>vi.</i> ,	147n
Vijayāditya, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	81, 189n, 255n	Vippēdu, <i>vi.</i> ,	228n
Vijayāditya, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> ,	61, 63	Vīra-Ballāla II., <i>Hoysala k.</i> ,	90, 92, 93, 95, 96
Vijayāditya II., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> ,	64n	Vīra-Bhūpati, <i>Vijayanagara ch.</i> ,	330
Vijayāditya III., <i>do.</i> ,	179n	Vīra-Bukkāṇa, <i>Vīra-Bukkāṇa or Vīra-</i>	
Vijayāditya VII., <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> ,	334, 344	<i>Bukkāṇa, s. a. Bukka I.</i> , 323, 324, 325,	
Vijayanagara, <i>vi.</i> , 18n, 58, 109, 110, 112,			326, 327
131n, 196n, 231, 233, 263, 283n, 323,		Vīra-Bukkarāya, <i>s. a. Bukka II.</i> ,	330
	324, 327, 331n	Vīra-Chōḍa, <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> , 334, 335, 336,	
Vijayānagara, <i>s. a. Vijayanagara</i> ,	324, 328		344, 345, 348
Vijaya-Nandivarman, <i>k.</i> ,	316	Vīra-Chōḷa, <i>sur. of Prithivipati II.</i> ,	82
Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava</i>		Vīra-Hariyāṇa, <i>Vīra-Hariyāṇa or Vīra-Hari-</i>	
<i>k.</i> ,	320, 321, 322	<i>yappa, s. a. Harihara II.</i> ,	327, 328
Vijaya-Narasimhavarman, <i>do.</i> ,	72, 73	Vīra-Kampāṇa or Vīra-Kampāṇa, <i>s. a.</i>	
Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa, <i>te.</i> ,	92	<i>Kampāṇa II.</i> ,	324, 325, 326
Vijayānkā, <i>f.</i> ,	27, 35	Vīra-Kumāra-Kampāṇa or -Kampāṇa, <i>do.</i> ,	
Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-</i>			325, 326
<i>Pallava k.</i> ,	321	virāma,	41, 46, 51, 161, 199
Vijayarāja, <i>Gujarāt Chalukya ch.</i> ,	296	Vīramahēndra, <i>k.</i> ,	46, 47, 49, 50
Vijayaśaiva, <i>s. a. Vijaya</i> ,	22n	Vīramahēndra, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> ,	221
Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman, <i>s. a. Māndhā-</i>		Vīramahēndra, <i>sur. of Vikrama-Chōḷa</i> ,	227
<i>trivarman</i> ,	13, 15	Vīra-Mahēśvara, <i>biruda</i> , 224, 225, 275, 276, 277	
Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman, <i>s. a. Mṛigēśavar-</i>		Vīranandin, <i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	25, 37, 38
<i>man</i> ,	13	Vīra-Naranārasimhadēva, <i>s. a. Narasimha II.</i> ,	
Vijaya-Skandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> ,	85		262n, 263
Vijayavāta or Vijayavātā, <i>s. a. Bezvāḍa</i> , 336, 346		Vīranārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Amōghavaraha I.</i> , 26, 34,	
Vikkrīma-Śōḷaṇ-Ulā, <i>name of a work</i> ,	228		36, 175, 193
Vikrama-Chōḍa, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> ,	221, 224	Vīranārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> ,	177
Vikrama-Chōḷa, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , 24, 224, 227, 238,		Vīranārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Kakka II.</i> ,	26n, 181
	229, 280, 281, 335	Vīra-Nolamba, <i>Nolamba k.</i> ,	65
Vikrama-Chōḷa-Śambuvārāyaṇ, <i>ch.</i> ,	333	Vīrapratāpa, <i>sur. of Vijayanagara kings</i> ,	
Vikramāditya I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> ,	190, 191		111 add., 329
Vikramāditya II., <i>do.</i> ,	81, 164, 192	Vīra-Rāghava, <i>k.</i> ,	83, 84
Vikramāditya VI., <i>do.</i> ,	91, 92	Vīra-Śālāmēgaṇ, <i>Ceylon k.</i> ,	214
Vikramāṅkadēvacharita, <i>quoted</i> ,	11n	Vīravali, <i>m.</i> ,	229

	PAGE
Vira-Virupanna I., <i>Tijayanagara ch.</i> , . . .	327
Vira-Virupanna, <i>s. a.</i> Virûpâksha I., . . .	323, 329
Vira-Viśvanâtha, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . .	333
Virêśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . .	114, 131n, 132
Viriñchipuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	321
Viripara, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	85, 83, 147n
virôdhâbhâsa, <i>alamkâra</i> , . . .	246n
Virpêdu, <i>s. a.</i> Vippêdu, . . .	228n
Virpêdu-nâdu, <i>di.</i> , . . .	228
Virûpâksha, <i>te.</i> , . . .	58, 262n
Virûpâksha I., <i>Tijayanagara ch.</i> , . . .	323
Virupanna- or Virupanna-Udaiyar (II.), <i>s. a.</i>	
Virûpâksha I., . . .	323, 328, 329
vishayapati, . . .	35, 135, 141, 236, 237, 300
Vishnu, <i>god</i> , . . .	3, 26, 34n, 37n, 90,
92, 98, 99, 100, 105 and add., 106, 108n,	
109, 111n, 127n, 128, 131n, 159, 174n,	
204, 212, 223, 246n, 249n, 260, 265, 266n,	
274, 286, 300, 320, 323n, 361	
Vishnu, <i>s. a.</i> Vishnuvardhana, . . .	91
Vishnu, <i>s. a.</i> Vishnuvardhana I., . . .	269, 273, 275, 277
Vishnu, <i>Saiva teacher</i> , . . .	109
Vishnu-dina, . . .	27
Vishnugopavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . .	16, 18n, 191n
Vishnukonda, <i>s. a.</i> Vinukonda, . . .	112n
Vishnupurâna, . . .	174n, 180n
Vishnusarman, <i>m.</i> , . . .	17, 19
Vishnuvardhana, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . .	90, 91, 92, 95, 331n
Vishnuvardhana, <i>sur. of E. Chalukya kings</i> ,	
335, 346, 348, 350, 360	
Vishnuvardhana, <i>sur. of Kulôttunga I.</i> , . . .	220,
221, 223, 224n, 278, 279	
Vishnuvardhana I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . .	190n,
269, 295n, 349	
Vishnuvarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . .	17, 19
Viśiṣṭâdvaita, <i>doctrine</i> , . . .	265n
Viśva, <i>quoted</i> , . . .	247n
Viśvâdi, <i>s. a.</i> Viśvâvasu, . . .	325
Viśvakarman, <i>m.</i> , . . .	74
Vitarâga, <i>s. a.</i> Jinendra, . . .	165n
Vitṭhala, <i>te.</i> , . . .	262n
Vitṭhapu, <i>m.</i> , . . .	241
Vitṭhu-duvêjha, <i>m.</i> , . . .	241
vṛddharâja, . . .	75
Vṛishabhagiri, <i>s. a.</i> Tirumalai, . . .	323, 330
Vyâmkutaśraavanôjġala, <i>s. a.</i> Viḍugâdalagiya-	
Perumâl, . . .	331, 332
vyâprita, <i>an official</i> , . . .	88, 318
Vyâsa, <i>rishi</i> , . . .	37, 107, 213, 265, 300, 361
Vyâsarâya-mâtha, . . .	261n

	PAGE
Vyâsasûtra, <i>s. a.</i> Brahmasûtra, . . .	260, 265n
vyatipâta, . . .	279
vyatirêka, <i>alamkâra</i> , . . .	247n, 346
vyâvahârîka names, . . .	185n

W

Wadgaon, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	176n
Wadhwan, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	195, 196n
Wani, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	27n, 105n, 163, 170, 171, 172, 173,
183, 185, 186, 189n, 190, 193, 194, 197,	
240, 243n, 244n, 246n, 256	
winter, . . .	316, 319
Wurgaon, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	242

Y

Yâdava, <i>family</i> , . . .	27, 34, 82, 92, 93, 249, 263
Yadu, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . .	90, 94, 180n, 231
Yâjñavalkya, <i>quoted</i> , . . .	241n
Yâjñavâti or Yâjñavâtikâ, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	231, 232, 233
Yaksha, . . .	331, 332
Yakshi, . . .	331, 332
yamaka, <i>alamkâra</i> , . . .	12n
Yasakenallâta, <i>sur. of Khottiga</i> , . . .	180
Yasôlîta, <i>Sailôdbhava ch.</i> , . . .	144
Yasôbhita, <i>Sailôdbhava ch.</i> , . . .	144, 146
Yavana, <i>a Musalmân</i> , . . .	322n
Yavanikâ, <i>s. a.</i> Elini, . . .	331, 332
years of the cycle :—	
Akshaya, . . .	322
Ânanda, . . .	180n, 325n, 326
Bahudhânya, . . .	114
Dhâtri or Dhâtu, . . .	114, 115, 116, 176n, 329
Dundubhi, . . .	180n, 323, 329n
Durmati, . . .	159
Durmukha or Durmukhin, . . .	21n, 58n, 159, 160
Hemalambin, . . .	23, 214, 217
Îśvara, . . .	22, 113, 114, 115, 116, 263n
Jaya, . . .	157, 159, 327
Kâlayukta or Kâlayuktâkshi, . . .	327, 328
Kilaka, . . .	326
Kiṣṭhâna, . . .	328
Kshaya, . . .	329
Manmatha, . . .	330
Nala, . . .	220, 278, 324n
Parâbhava, . . .	325
Paridhâvin, . . .	93, 97, 323, 326
Pârthiva, . . .	329
Pîngala, . . .	262, 263, 327

	PAGE		PAGE
Plava,	224, 227, 280, 281, 325	Yellurga, vi.,	72n
Plavaṅga,	224, 280, 281, 326	Yenamadala, vi.,	147, 148, 268n
Pramāthin, . . . . .	. . . . . 177n	Yērchūri, vi.,	115, 116
Rākshasa, . . . . .	. . . . . 324n	Yerraguntapadu, vi.	148
Raktākshin,	262, 263, 328	yōga :—	
Raudra, . . . . .	. . . . . 20, 328	Vyatipāta,	225, 267
Sarvajit, . . . . .	. . . . . 58, 242	Yōgābanda Nṛ.śimha, te.,	260, 266
Saumya,	51, 55, 208, 213, 323	Yuddhamalla, E. Chalukya k.,	358
Siddhāthin, . . . . .	. . . . . 328	Yuddhāsura-Nandarāja, Rāshtrakūṭa ch.,	188
Śrimukha,	21, 25n, 262, 263	yuvamahārāja,	16, 18n, 85, 88
Śukla, . . . . .	. . . . . 323	yuvarāja, an heir-apparent,	9n, 17, 61, 63,
Vibhava, . . . . .	. . . . . 329	66, 68, 70, 171, 188, 203, 224, 260n	
Vijaya,	22n, 23, 178, 255n		
Vikārin, . . . . .	. . . . . 57		
Vikrama,	26, 36, 231, 232, 233		
Vilambin,	262, 263, 275n		
Virōdhikrit, . . . . .	. . . . . 324, 326		
Virōdhin, . . . . .	. . . . . 322n		
Viśvāvasu, . . . . .	. . . . . 321, 325		
Vṛisha, . . . . .	. . . . . 112		
Vyaya,	102, 103, 107n, 329, 330		
Yuvan,	110, 112, 131, 259, 260		
years of the reign, 13, 15, 17, 18n, 19, 20,			
21, 22, 23, 24, 50n, 58, 60, 61, 62,			
64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 73, 82, 85, 89, 102,			
107, 169n, 179, 185, 214, 217, 220,			
221, 223, 224, 227, 228, 229, 262n, 268,			
278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285,			
301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308,			
309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315,			
316, 319, 321, 322, 332, 333, 334, 335,			
347, 349, 350, 361			

Z

Zodiac, signs of the —

Dhanus,	221, 279, 283, 301, 308, 309
Kanyā,	266, 282, 303, 311, 328
Karkātaka,	20, 308, 311, 313
Kumbha,	303, 325
Makara,	20, 21, 84, 282, 283, 304, 305,
	309, 326
Mēsha,	260, 266, 275, 303, 306, 329
Mīna,	84, 284, 285, 302, 304, 305, 310, 313
Mithuna,	305, 307, 326
Rishabha or Vṛishabha,	268, 307, 312,
	349, 359
Śimha,	24, 282, 283, 310, 311, 313, 361
Tulā, 308
Vṛiśchika,	306, 309, 312, 313, 325

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